

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE *of* SOCIAL WORK

[FORMERLY NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION]

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FOREWORD

THE Executive Committee presents to the membership this volume containing the *Proceedings* of the 1933 Conference. The Editorial Committee, which assisted in the process of preparing the material for publication, consisted of Katharine D. Hardwick, Boston; Jessie F. Binford, Chicago; Mary Hurlbutt, New York City; and the following persons, serving ex officio: Frank J. Bruno, president of the 1933 Conference, and Howard R. Knight, editor of the *Proceedings*.

The publication of the *Proceedings* imposes upon the Editorial Committee the task of selection with the condensing or abridging of some of the material presented. It should, however, be made clear that the publication of a manuscript does not imply that the views set forth have been indorsed either by the Conference or by the Editorial Committee, since the Conference is not a legislative body but serves primarily as a forum for the presentation of the varying viewpoints of changes and developments in the field of social work.

The Editorial Committee wishes again to emphasize the fact that the omission of a paper from the *Proceedings* does not reflect on its value to the Conference. It may have served a very useful purpose, stimulating thought and discussion at the time of the meeting. Such considerations as publication of similar material in social-work literature or previous volumes of the *Proceedings*, the local character of projects discussed, permanent value, space in the volume, etc., may have led the Committee to omit or abridge the paper. Copies of all papers not published in the *Proceedings* are available at the Conference office. They will be loaned by mail to responsible persons upon request.

The Editorial Committee wishes to express its appreciation to the authors who submitted their manuscripts and to the division chairman who assisted in the selection of papers for this

FOREWORD

volume. Mr. Stanley Lawrence has been of great assistance in editing the manuscripts for publication and reading the proofs.

The Editorial Committee records its profound sense of loss in the passing of Mrs. Bertha Freeman Hooper, who for twenty years was the assistant editor of the *Proceedings*. It was due largely to her painstaking and loyal work that the volume of the *Proceedings* has attained its present degree of excellence.

WINNERS OF THE PUGSLEY AWARD

THE Editorial Committee of the National Conference of Social Work voted the Pugsley award for "the paper or papers adjudged to have made the most important contribution to the subject matter of social work," delivered at the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in Detroit, to Miss Antoinette Cannon, New York School of Social Work, New York City, and to Miss Neva Deardorff, director, Research Bureau, Welfare Council, New York City.

The designation of two papers does not mean that the Committee was unable to decide which was better. These outstanding contributions emerged from the group selected as most significant, not as competitors but as so different that comparison was unfruitful. They seem to the Committee to answer the classic question, "Is social work an art or a science?" Miss Cannon, in "Recent Changes in the Philosophy of Social Workers," gives us a philosophy of social work, revealing an understanding of human nature so penetrating as to be distinctly scientific. Dr. Deardorff, writing with the skill of an artist on "Next Steps in Job Analysis," makes a scientific study of social-work objectives and progress, creative and challenging.

The Committee believes each paper is inspiring and enduring.

KATHERINE D. HARDWICK
Chairman

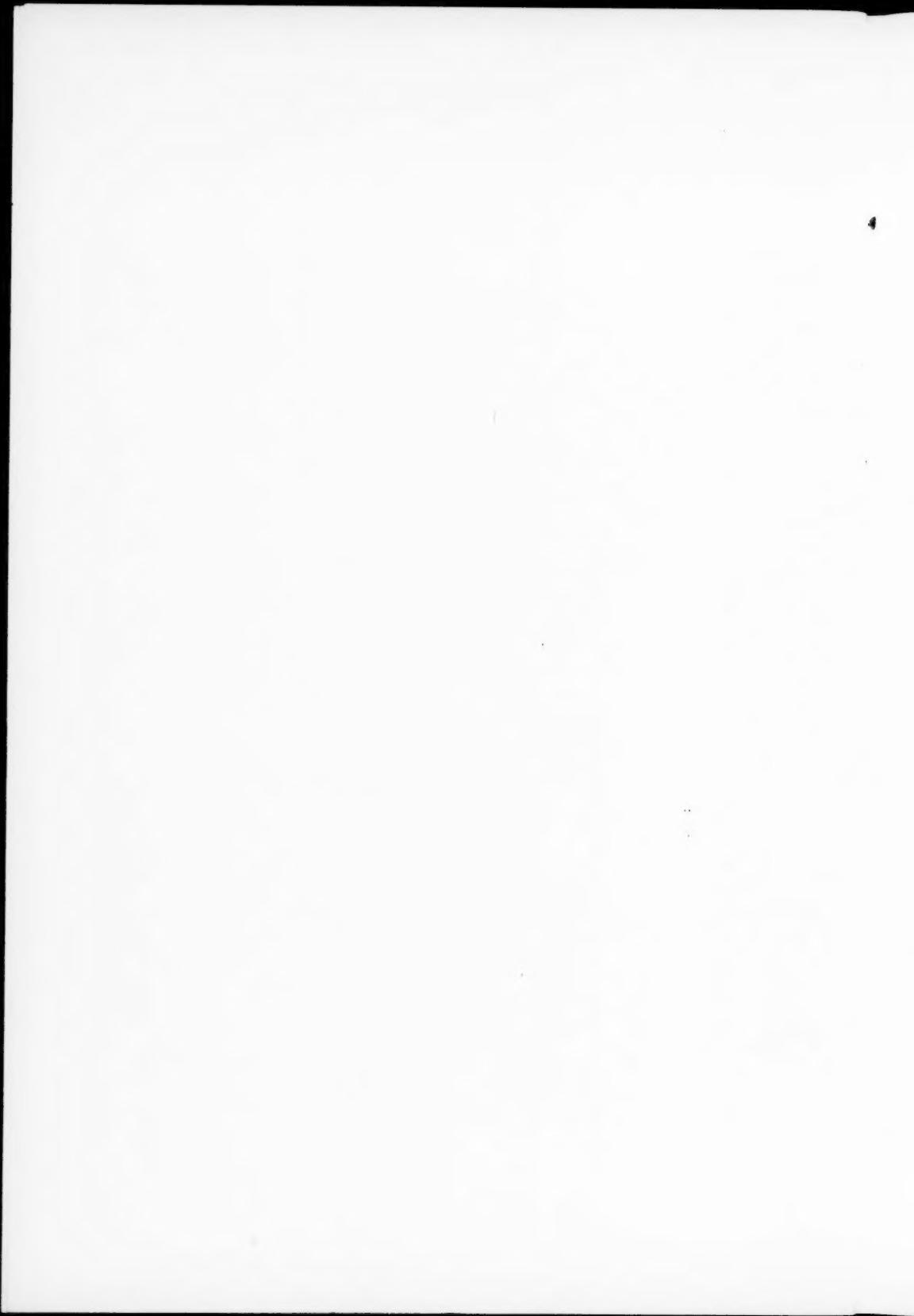


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GENERAL SESSIONS



SOCIAL-WORK OBJECTIVES IN THE NEW ERA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

*Frank J. Bruno, President, National Conference
of Social Work, St. Louis*

IT IS a commonplace that social work is facing a new world. But it is just as true that the very existence of social work is due to the problems created by exactly the same social dislocations as have brought about the present industrial catastrophe. At no time since the industrial revolution has the industrial system run so as to afford any sort of economic security for a large percentage of those who share in its development. By the lure of the high prizes to be won by the successful participants it drew its workers from the land, where they had a sort of assurance against want and starvation. Possibly even a majority of those who threw their lot in with industry have profited by that change. But there has always been a fringe of workers who, struggle as they might, could not find the right combination. Unemployment, starvation wages, deplorable housing conditions, child labor with its sequences of illiteracy, delinquency, and hopeless adult years, have been the dark shadows which no prosperity could outdistance.

THE LAG OF SOCIAL INVENTION

Theoretically the explanation for this growing disparity between the fates of those who give their lives to industry is not a difficult one. Man's capacity to produce goods has advanced more rapidly than his control of the new social relations which followed. This is the monumental cultural lag not only of the present but of all time. There is nothing in history which compares with the wide gap—indeed, the yawning chasm—which separates our brilliant achievements in the physical sciences and the eighteenth-century social philosophy of both our indus-

trial and political economy, which governs the behaviors of contemporary humanity.

The story of the ages has been one long attempt to win the battle against starvation, so to master the knotty task of production that there would be enough to eat, to wear, and reasonably to enjoy in life. In the last two centuries the physical scientists have won that battle, and put the world as we know it forever beyond the fear of starvation or want of any sort. How often have we heard during these last three dismal years that we have hungry people not because there is no wheat, but because there is too much; people without homes not because we cannot spare the men from other tasks to build them, but because we have too much land for building lots, too much brick, mortar, lumber; too many men who would like to build a house for anyone. All of this means that since Arkwright first devised the machine which liberated the fingers of women from the distaff and spinning wheel, a long line of technicians in the field of the physical sciences has obtained sufficient mastery over the forces of nature to insure enough and to spare of every conceivable material thing the human heart may desire.

While this has been going on in the realm of the physical sciences, no such advances have been made in the area of social progress. I do not need here to enter into any defense of the social philosophers and scientists who labored just as earnestly as the physical scientists in their attempts to understand the laws of the new world unfolding before their eyes. Even if the subject matter with which they worked were as tractable as physical substance, and if they had been as successful in mastering its problems and controlling its phenomena as were the physical scientists—neither of which conditions is remotely true—they would still have labored under the fatal handicap of all scientific research in the field of human relations. The formulations of duties in those relationships as laid down by the past take on the quality of sanctity with the process of time; that is, they are inviolate and it becomes sacrilege to tamper with them. As if this natural protection of the old were not enough to insure

its conservation, social change faces still another major barrier. Each advance of society is conserved by the crystallization of its gains in some formulation—the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution of the United States, the basic laws of Soviet Russia. But society moves on. It is dynamic—a growing, restless, exploring thing, ever reaching forward into new ventures. The law, custom, or rule is static and does not change with time. Society, on one hand, ever re-emphasizes the relative nature of social value; laws, customs, rules, on the other, are inelastic and absolute. Inevitably, therefore, there arise areas of strain between the concept of things as they ought to be and things as they are. And of course this tension does not remain in the realm of ideas; it exists in grim reality among people. Those who are beneficiaries of an order based upon static and absolute formulations can fall back upon accepted law or custom in defense of their right of possession, as against new ideas or concepts of social justice which might modify their claims or deny them entirely. Law, therefore, and the dictates of an orderly society are always aligned against changes, even when major injustices are crying for redress. It was necessary to destroy the accumulation of three or four centuries of the law on damages to injured workmen before we could have workmen's compensation: organized labor has had to fight against some of the most sacred traditions of the law and the Anglo-Saxon heritage of individual freedom in its effort to establish even such parity with the employer as it has won.

No such complications confront the experimenter in physical matter. When he has once invented the automobile, or the radio, or a process for making cement, the device is instantly and universally available, so far as physical factors are concerned. It is only when the social consequences of such discoveries begin to emerge that our skill deserts us, and determined opposition to the full realization of their social benefits automatically appears. It is no trick whatever now to turn out automobiles by mass production, although men worked at least a decade upon the technical complexities involved in the proc-

ess. It is only when we ask, How shall automobiles be distributed? How shall the men who are drawn from the four quarters of the nation to work in the automobile factories be so related to their occupation that the economic surplus which is accumulated may be available for their security? that we run into all sorts of difficulties and differences of opinion bitterly held, on the answers to which hang the very lives of a considerable portion of those who co-operate to make those automobiles.

The basic injustice created by the industrial revolution has never been answered in a socially satisfactory manner. When men gave up the control of the means of production and became employees of the new owners of the giant machines, what was their share of the product? To whom did the rich increment of profit which has piled up capital structure to a height so great as to be beyond the dreams of all the ages—to whom did this accumulation belong? Right there is the tragic cultural lag of the modern world; the possessing group holding tenaciously and for the most part successfully to the law and ethics of the seventeenth century by which actual ownership of wealth confers complete control over it, while the great body of economically disfranchised workers have striven desperately to establish a new law and new ethics by which the realities of the present co-operative industrial order might be reflected more justly in economic distribution.

It is not my intention to appraise merit or blame in this situation. Such judgments are both false and useless. It is necessary, however, to recognize that our new industrial system has created vast social dislocations and also that social work was their direct outcome, being called into existence as soon as the new crop of social problems arose in sufficient volume and complexity to demonstrate the incapacity of the customary methods of mutual aid to deal with them.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT

The contemporary emphasis in social work upon the emotional factor in personality in no way invalidates this statement.

The new techniques of psychiatry enable us to understand better than our fathers did the illogical variants in human behavior. If there had been no industrial revolution, and the science of psychiatry had been worked out and made available for the treatment of the frictions, sufferings, frustrations, and tragedies growing out of the frailty of human nature, social work might have taken its place within the measured tempo of its brother-arts in human relations, education, law, and the church. Social work is unique in that it is concerned with every one of these old complexities of human nature, wrenched out of all recognition by the agonies suffered by men and women in an unbalanced and unjust social order. This very fact, however, lays it open to the danger of forgetting the end in view in the concern for immediate needs; of neglecting its social philosophy while it refines its scientific technique. For these economic issues are enormous; their discussion has engendered bitter partisanship, and the immediate problems are urgent. It has been easy for us not so much to deny these social implications as to permit ourselves to neglect them by merely being so busy with our day-by-day job that they have somehow been crowded into the background.

There is an ancient religious custom coming down to the present day by which people gather at stated intervals to confess their shortcomings and to try again to catch the inspiration of a sane perspective. I wonder whether we are here attempting today in something of the same way to rise above the details of life into some height from which we can see the significance of ourselves and our accomplishments in the light of a wider vision. I know I am saying nothing which has not been said or thought by every honest social worker, and the only right I have to say it to you, who far more than I are attempting to carry the crushing responsibility of salvaging whatever is possible out of this terrible tragedy, is that together we may repeat some of the formularies of our faith and hold up before us the significance of our task; outline with such precision as we can muster the far-distant goal toward which we are headed; and try to take a

good look at the forest so that when we go back to our daily job the trees will not block its inspiration from our sight.

THE CHALLENGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Its nature and extent.—The first item of our inventory is the fact of unemployment. Millions of men and women are out of work who want more than anything else a chance to earn their own livelihood. So far as we know, there never before were so many persons in this plight, men and women who have to exist on the charity of their fellow-men. But it is not only size which characterizes the group. Someone asked me the other day whether the trouble was not that we had too many white-collar men and that they are unwilling to work at anything else. The fact is, we have too many of every one—too many engineers and architects, too many research workers and teachers, and far too many skilled and unskilled manual workers—for any probable need in the immediate future. But that is not all. The very humanitarianism which is causing employers of labor to keep their regular employees, and to honor, in granting the few jobs they have to distribute, the seniority and responsibility of the workman, is damming up the vast stream of boys and girls graduating from our schools, colleges, and universities at the rate of more than two million a year into an immense stagnant reservoir of youth. There are no figures of any reliability, but from what indices we have, it is a conservative estimate that not 50 per cent of the over four million youths who have presented themselves to industry in the last two years have found any opportunity or place for themselves in its system. It is a harrowing experience for one who has worked to be thrown out of a job, but he knows what work is and, in most instances, has the satisfaction of knowing he is capable of holding down a job. That conviction sustains morale and helps to keep up hope that he will again have his place in society. But there is no such defense for the one who has never worked. He is far more vulnerable to the attacks of helplessness, cynicism, or apathy. This is a new and sinister feature of the present unemployment, and

one to which a good deal of attention has been given in this Conference.

The concept of pauperization.—I should like to review with you next what has happened to our old friend, the concept of pauperization, during these last few years. In this matter it might be well if we had preserved some of the sense of sin which gave the confessions of the church their reason for existence, for social workers and their predecessors are not guiltless of promoting this great delusion. We know, of course, there is such a thing as pauperization, that men give up the struggle and decide it easier to ride than to carry their share of the load. We also know that if by some miracle the workshops of the nation were to throw open their doors tomorrow morning, and offer a place to every unemployed person in this nation, there would be millions of the able-bodied who would not respond. They are broken, thrown on the industrial scrap heap, and probably useless for the rest of their lives. But you and I know that the money and the things they received at our hands had but a minor part to play in their destruction. It was the experience of defeat, the emotional frustration, the unrewarded effort made day after day to gain a foothold upon the slippery industrial banks, which finally broke their spirit and led them to accept resignation as a better response than struggle. And as if that were not enough, we have erected—and I here pass no judgment on it—a condition of eligibility for relief which still further convinces them that struggle is useless. Instead of a method by which thrift, prudence, and concern for the future is recognized as desirable and is encouraged, our test for relief is destitution. All that a man has accumulated as a protection against the contingencies of the future, all that he has saved to educate his children, or to improve his standard of living, or to furnish opportunities of recreation for his family, must go; he must be stripped of every shred of economic defense, as naked of economic goods as the day he came into the world; and then he is given not what would establish a tolerable standard of life, but only enough to keep body and soul together. He is lucky if he is not required to take

the paupers' oath; if together with criminals he does not lose his right to vote, if he is not herded in masses and fed publicly from a commissary as animals are fed. And then we say that he is pauperized by the relief he gets! Perhaps he is, but not in the way that phrase is ordinarily used. Now, I know there is no group of people in America who realizes the enormity of this gratuitous insult to the dependent more than the social workers do. But is it not worth saying it again, publicly and solemnly, that we may undertake to prevent that added injury to a group which cannot defend itself? Public opinion must be made to see the falsity of this charge; and perhaps all of us come to realize that the wide acceptance of such an illusion was made possible only by the same sort of defense mechanism in ourselves which we spend our days correcting in others. It was wishful thinking on our part, or, more bluntly, a bit of rationalization by which we protected our pocket-books from claims which we intuitively knew were valid. It is such a satisfaction to believe that by not giving—or by refusing to impose taxes—we are really protecting the poor against pauperization.

Social case work and unemployment.—In the stress of the overload under which social work has been laboring some new phrases have arisen which are at least susceptible of misunderstanding. I am thinking of "case work on an economic level," "only unemployment cases," "families needing only relief." I want to speak carefully here so as not to be misunderstood, for with even such phrases I may be in agreement.

We used to say that case work could do nothing for an unemployed man, as all he needed was a job, which case work could not furnish. Therefore, we continued, all we could attempt was to give relief to tide the man over until he could get a job.

Closely allied with this formalistic concept is the work test, discarded by our best practitioners of case work, but still widely prevalent. It is based on the theory that if a man will not accept a job offered him, he does not need it. I remember, back in Minneapolis in 1914, with what satisfaction we saw the

line of applicants thin out into a number which we could handle with the resources of money and personnel at our disposal as we presented each man with a chance to cut trees on the banks of the Mississippi. Possibly that was all we could do in those days; but I have often wondered since what became of the three men who turned the job down for every one who accepted. Is not such a selective method a little like that of a maternity home in the same city which accepts unmarried mothers in their first pregnancy, but refuses them for the second or subsequent confinements? There is something moralistic about such an approach; we choose the ones who are not too bad and weed out the rest. If we came out frankly and said that a man who refuses to accept work given him as a test presents a case problem too difficult for us to handle, that our skill does not reach so far—that would be understandable and honest. But certainly the man out of a job who refuses the proffered test is in greater need of case work than the one who accepts. It is a gratuitous and probably a false assumption that he has other means of caring for himself. He may merely be precipitated lower into the slough of indifference and apathy. I wonder whether more real pauperization is not created in the discards of a work test by the experience of elimination than would ever be suffered from the acceptance of relief.

Does anyone ever go through the terror of losing his economic security without experiencing a lasting alteration of personality? It is not necessary to assume that all are hurt. Some may be spurred to renewed effort and discover means of making successful adjustments to their economic environment which they would have missed had unemployment not struck them down. And of those who are hurt, the sort of injury varies greatly. But the significance of unemployment to social work is that it damages men as profoundly as any other experience out of which social-work problems arise. It is even possible that the alteration of personality and the development of defense mechanisms and of anti-social compensations are even more sure to take place and proceed more promptly to danger-

ous lengths in a jobless person than in one exposed to almost any other disaster, because he has less race experience to guide him than in sickness, in death of protector, or even in betrayal of trust. For these and similar affections by which men suffer impairment of their social capacity, social work has developed its treatment processes. We know how to anticipate, and to a certain extent to prevent, personality injuries following illness, exile from native land, widowhood, and the helplessness of orphanhood. We do it by developing compensating activities, by giving insight into the significance of what has happened, and by awakening confidence in the possibility of developing other interests and other satisfying social relationships. We call the method "social case work." But it is only recently that we have begun to see that unemployment is a situation in which certain persons are so endangered that they too need social case work, and that treatment can follow the same general patterns as that applied to other disasters in the field of human relations.

If we mean by "case work on the economic level" that we shall recognize the supreme need by the victim of unemployment, that we shall be fully aware of the possibilities of disaster which he may face, and the necessity of a complete program of individualization for his treatment, then there is no criticism to be leveled against the phrase, but also there is no meaning to it, for that is of the nature of all social case work. If we mean rather that many seem to be able to handle the personality and emotional problems of unemployment without outside aid, that, too, is indisputable. But it is also true that most widows do fairly well without the aid of social case work, as do many sick, aliens, or even many of those whose income is decidedly below a decent standard of living. The lesson of the past years is that all forms of social work, including social case work, may be needed in the treatment of a person who before losing his job was perfectly capable of handling his own affairs unaided, and we shall do well to avoid a classification which would appear to set off one set of folk for less than the best we can offer just because they are so many, or their problems seem so unlike the

usual personality ones. For the very reason that they are at the beginning of their damaging experience, the forecast for successful treatment is the brighter.

The nonresident dependent.—Another of the cultural lags which this period has seen recognized for the first time occurs in regard to the status of the dependent nonresident. Poor-relief is not a part of the common law. No old tradition guides the state in the exercise of its relief function. It follows definitive law. And that law has specified from almost the very first that none but a resident may be its beneficiary. There was a large measure of substantial justice in such a regulation when it was originally laid down three centuries ago in England, and there was not a great deal of suffering resulting from it. Population was too stable and communities too nearly self-sufficient economic units for it to work much hardship. But most of those conditions have now vanished. Economic interrelationships now know no locality; they spread across state and national boundaries, causing not only material and money, but workmen as well, to move freely in all directions regardless of political divisions. The region about Detroit for fifteen years attracted workmen from all sections of the country. Without this free flow of labor, the modern automobile or the automobile city could not have come into being. Perhaps some are ready to say, in these dull days of remorse, that it would have been better so. But the old economic self-contained community is gone. Men will be needed in such places and times as to compel them to abandon their residence if they would secure employment. The picture has its complementary side in the flow of wealth, which tends to go from smaller to larger places, and from them to the largest centers of population. As itinerant workers when out of a job tend to flow back into these same large cities, there is an element of real justice that the large cities should be asked to support them.

But the problem is greater than this. It consists in the necessity of breaking down this seventeenth-century prerequisite for relief and building in its place a system of assistance which is

substantially just in the incidence of its cost, and which gives to that great section of our population known as nonresidents a measure of protection against want and suffering comparable with what is granted residents at the present time. The present devices by which nonresidents are expelled from one city, barred from another by a cordon of troops, and arrested on a charge of vagrancy in another, just because they do not happen to have a residence in any one locality, is a relic of the superstition and barbarism of primitive peoples. Many a savage tribe treats the stranger better.

NEED FOR RELIEF VERSUS RIGHT TO ECONOMIC SECURITY

How long can we continue to care for the unemployed on the basis of their need, instead of on the basis of their right to some sort of economic support in times of unemployment? In spite of its alleged un-American nature, social insurance against unemployment must be far more seriously considered than it has ever been in this country. Of course there may be better methods of providing economic security for the jobless; but until they are found, insurance offers a way out that cannot be ignored. There is no question but that it brings in its train a whole host of evils all its own. It is equally obvious that no system of unemployment insurance which is actuarially sound could carry the load of any such widespread and long-continued idleness as we are now experiencing and remain solvent. But, nevertheless, for that measure of protection which it will afford, unemployment insurance is too valuable a social device to be neglected. It does give to the worker some measure of security, and he does not have to go through devastating experiences before he becomes eligible. He knows, barring certain contingencies, that he can get a job, or, if that is impossible, then an income, smaller than he would earn if he were working, but yet an income. The argument for social insurance is based upon the productive capacity of modern industry. If there were not enough to go around, if we were living in an economy of deficit instead of one of surplus, job insurance would be too expensive. But of things that can

be made or grown we have a superabundance. It is scarcely debatable, therefore, that the involuntarily idle ought to receive enough of them to keep him going. Again social insurance is a technical device in the field of social relations; it is not dependent upon any physical impossibility. It is just a question whether this generation is wise enough to work out a system which would afford this elemental protection for its least-protected citizens.

TREATMENT POSSIBILITIES

There are three treatment possibilities which should receive wider adoption by social workers in their programs for the unemployed.

Client participation.—It should be possible to experiment in the way of a greater amount of participation by the client in his own treatment. Social work when it dealt with but a small portion of the population incidentally developed a method of control of the client's life, whose evil effects, though real, were not striking enough to be dangerous. But when 10 to 20 per cent of the families of the nation live only where they are told to live, in houses not of their own choosing, are clothed with hand-me-downs that violate self-respect, are compelled to eat whatever is given, and, in many instances, are moved from place to place without having any voice in their own disposition, democracy has been about as completely destroyed as it has ever been in any status short of slavery. All this is not only entirely unnecessary, but it blocks any successful treatment of a self-respecting, able-bodied, normal-minded unemployed man before social case work gets started. If the problem presented by unemployment is the development of those interests and activities which will preserve a man's self-respect and a sense of being of some consequence to his age, then treatment must give much more attention to this defect of method than has yet been attempted. The unemployed themselves can be drawn into the planning and policy-making activities of our agencies. This has been tried in a few places and has been attended by nothing but good results. It is very unfortunate that public opinion is so

strongly set against any such procedure. The conflict between labor and capital by which the worker has tried to share the responsibility with the employer and the almost complete victory of the owners of capital in opposing such recognition have left a profound distrust in the popular mind toward this sharing of responsibility by all who are co-operatively engaged in any enterprise. If there were time it would be interesting to follow out the provocative paradox of a country militantly democratic in its political philosophy, and equally devoted to industrial oligarchy. But entirely apart from the value of democracy in government or in business, client participation presents a treatment possibility of an essential nature in social work. Among those who suddenly find themselves without work or the prospect of getting any, there is no other device which so well preserves self-respect and the conviction that one is not entirely negligible in the scheme of things. It will take courage for social workers to advocate such a measure in the face of much prejudice. On the other hand, it is conceivable that experiments along this line may discover a wiser and more wholesome relationship between the different groups in our industrial communities. It is primarily on this account that the project of various forms of barter of services and goods holds such large possibilities. While we should not place too much hope in this device as a method to lead us out of the wilderness of industrial despair, it nevertheless does carry great possibilities of satisfying human wants; and is almost ideally fitted to provide that activity which the unemployed most need.

The necessity for work.—In spite of all compensatory devices, it is obvious that nothing but work is an adequate treatment for unemployment. Work of a valuable sort, which will give the person assigned to it a sense of participating in a socially significant project, if at all possible; but at least work of some sort, is essential in view of the habits and tempo of an industrial civilization. The significant device of public works which may be timed to counterbalance periods of depression has really never been tried. It may be that if the country had resolutely under-

taken a three- to six-billion-dollar public-works project three years ago, as the more progressive economists advocated, we might actually have saved money as well as have built a bridge between the prosperity levels which all our efforts and money since spent have signally failed to do. However, it is my personal judgment that public works is not a panacea, and that, like social insurance, it will handle but part of the vast volume of unemployment. In all probability the treatment of unemployment will be found to be composed of many factors, and all will have to be undertaken before real advance is made. But whatever the importance of public work, no civilized society, potentially capable of providing for every man's need, can afford to condemn men to idleness. Entirely apart from the economic losses, it is barbaric and unnecessary to permit men to suffer the humiliation of involuntary uselessness.

Adult education.—There are a couple of treatment devices which can be used without waiting for the more cumbersome project of public work, and which would at the same time give the workless a certain degree of compensating interest. These are education and recreation. Each is too large to discuss adequately, but certain outlines are clear. We have an enormous investment in educational plants which are idle part of the time. I should be the last one to advocate more work for teachers, but I know their spirit well enough to assure you that the great majority of them would willingly devote their special abilities along this line. Just between ourselves, it would do a lot for teachers and teaching too. But we should not conceive this thing too literally. Some of the jobless would profit by vocational education; others whose grade or high-school work was incomplete would be most benefited by a chance to complete those educational processes. But you know very well that there is little correlation between the economic status of one's family and one's intellectual capacity. If social work has not convinced you of that, I recommend a few years of university teaching to convince the doubter that all borderline cases are not hewers of wood and drawers of water. The chance to know about the thing

one has always wanted to learn is presented almost undiluted by unemployment, whether it is poetry, classical or modern languages, mathematics, or economics. This is a project in adult education—a field not as uncharted as many of the others we have discussed. Many believe Denmark has solved its most serious social problems by such means. It would not require much money; the resources are almost ready at hand. It would demand leadership of a high order, and especially would it need the cordial co-operation of the jobless themselves, indicating that none of these devices stands by itself, but must be integrated into a comprehensive program.

If the new era into which we are entering will call for less labor to produce our necessities, it can profitably release many for services, as Stuart Chase has pointed out, especially services in the arts. Is it too much to expect that a period of enforced idleness shall be the time when the potentially artistic may come into their own? If it were not for the Don Cossack Choir, one might be tempted to dismiss the suggestion as fantastic, and to insist that only they who devote their lives from youth on may qualify in this realm. But in that group of ex-tsarist police one has almost an exact demonstration squarely in our field. They were idle men of not overpromising material interned in a prison camp, and deteriorating over a period running into the years. Yet a musical genius, as a means of keeping up morale, whipped them together into a group of singers which can give points to any male chorus in the world. Again, imagination, leadership, and devotion to an ideal turned men thrown out of their accustomed modes of life into new and, in their cases, immensely more valuable channels of activity. Might it not be possible to capitalize such a time as this for the purpose of showing that the rich heritages of song, dramatic art, and appreciation of the beautiful our people brought with them from their fatherlands are susceptible of a new life in America, and in doing so mark one more stage in the conquest of industry's perennial disgrace?

SOCIAL-WORK IDEALS IN AN AGE OF SURPLUS

As social workers we have received generous praise for the part we have played in these tragic years. I suspect some have cringed as they have heard themselves described in laudatory phrases, for we know performance has fallen far short of ideals. We are working not in a world of poverty, but in one of great potential wealth, and our eyes are fixed on a society where the vast potentialities for production may be geared into the common good. It is infuriating to be forced to demonstrate that commissaries are brutal; we are impatient with the defeatism of the "share-the-work" program and the "back-to-the-land" movement, with their implied goals of lower and yet lower standards of living until the very souls of men become as lead. We know that we live in an age in which all of this is unnecessary; that a kind of life, measured at least in the product of the machine and conditions of labor, is possible that would place all of the population definitely beyond any economic hazard. And we shall insist that any planning in which we have a part, whether it has to do with the immediate task of caring for the jobless or with arranging for some manner by which they may handle their own affairs, shall take into account these new and rich possibilities which the toil and invention of our forebears have handed down as their gift to this generation, and that it shall lead to higher and better standards of living for all who participate in the work of the world.

SOURCES OF POVERTY

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ITAKE as my text for this paper that very well-known verse from Holy Writ: "The poor we have with us, always." For the masses of mankind throughout all ages, life has presented a harsh struggle for existence, and notwithstanding the Century of Progress that is now being commemorated, it is all too evident that relatively little progress has to this day been made toward the eradication of poverty and distress.

Even in the United States, as you who devote your professional lives to the administration of social welfare are all too painfully conscious, the magnitude of the problem of relief is simply appalling. Despite the greatly improved organization of welfare agencies and an awakened spirit of philanthropy born of a new consciousness of social responsibility, there is imminent danger of a breakdown of the system of relief through private effort.

The world-depression is naturally responsible for the particularly grave conditions of the moment; but even in normal times we commonly have several millions of unemployed and other millions whose standard of living is scarcely adequate to provide the sheer necessities of life. Although the level of living conditions for the average man has undoubtedly been raised greatly in modern times, there remain in all countries vast numbers of people harassed and stricken by poverty.

It is my purpose to analyze the sources of poverty—not the immediate causes of distress in given situations, but the underlying sources of economic difficulty. As an economist it is my duty to understand the forces which are responsible for economic conditions, even though I may not be vested with the power to change them. Let me then indicate the factors that fundamen-

tally control economic life and conditions. To do this it will be necessary to recapitulate in a broad way the history of the modern world and something of the history of economic thought.

Many of you will recall that economics has often been called the "dismal science." Some of you who found the study of the laws of economics as expounded in the textbooks a bit dreary and uninteresting, not to say difficult to understand, have no doubt assumed that this was why it became known as the "dismal science." The term, however, really arises from the fact that close analysis of the working of economic forces led the economist to dismal conclusions as to the possibilities of eliminating poverty. He foresaw perennial hardships and low standards of living for the masses of humanity.

This dismal outlook was based on the observation of two fundamental laws of nature. The first was the law of diminishing returns from land and other natural resources, and the second was the desire of mankind to procreate the species. Taken together and related to the problem of progress, they found expression in the so-called Malthusian theory that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence.

The law of diminishing returns from the application of labor and capital to natural resources cannot be questioned. It is impossible to raise one thousand bushels of wheat from an acre of land no matter how intensive or scientific the cultivation may be. Precisely defined, the law holds that it is impossible to increase the yield very greatly without a disproportionate increase of costs. To illustrate, one man with appropriate tools might produce on a forty-acre farm one thousand bushels of wheat. But two men, even with better tools and superior methods of cultivation, could not make the farm yield two thousand bushels. There comes a point where the application of additional units of labor and capital does not produce a proportional increase in output. This is the point of diminishing returns. Since the area of fertile land was limited, it was clear that if population steadily expanded the time would inevitably come

when the task of earning a living would become extremely difficult.

Population was, moreover, regarded as certain to increase in consequence of natural impulses and, for that matter, of religious and political injunctions. Indeed, as Malthus saw, population tended to increase in a geometrical ratio, whereas the food supply could increase at best in arithmetic ratio. Hence the time would soon come when the growth of population would have to be checked by starvation, if it were not curtailed by war and pestilence. Birth control as a means of restricting population had no place in Malthus' thinking.

The great economic expansion of the one hundred years since Malthus wrote has in the view of many disproved his theory. In this century three great developments have occurred which have profoundly modified the forecast, if not the theory itself. The first is the opening-up to settlement of vast new fertile areas in the American Middle West, in South America, in South Africa, in Australia, and in Manchuria. The second has been the discovery and utilization of power resources, the application of science generally to the processes of production, and the development of a more effective economic organization. The third has been the rapid growth, particularly in the Western world in the last few decades, in the practice of birth control. The result has been to give us in the nations of Western Europe and the United States a population that promises to be relatively stable in the future. From the economic point of view this augurs for the future vastly higher standards of living than could otherwise have been hoped for.

Let me illustrate the significance of these basic factors of restricted natural resources and expanding population by reference to history of a nation in which the growth of population is even now a determining factor in national policy. During the Middle Ages the islands of Japan supported a population of some twelve to fifteen million people. In order to appreciate the situation it is necessary to know that the Japanese islands have a total area about equal to that of New Mexico, while the tillable

area, amounting to about 15 per cent of the total, is about equal to that of the state of West Virginia. At this period there was no real national economic organization in Japan; the population was divided into warring tribes and production and trade were confined to narrow local areas. But about 1600 A.D. a powerful war lord, Tokugawa, succeeded in establishing a strong central government capable of organizing the economic life of Japan on a national basis. As a result of the long era of peace which ensued and the expansion in the scale of economic organization, the population of Japan increased between 1600 and 1720 from about fifteen millions to approximately thirty millions.

The Tokugawa Shogunate was, however, opposed to international economic, religious, political, or social relations, and for two hundred and sixty years a policy of virtually complete seclusion was followed. Foreign trade was restricted to one or two vessels a year and both emigration and immigration were forbidden. The economic expansion made possible by the development of a national organization reached its limits about 1720. For more than a century thereafter the population of the islands remained almost stationary. It was held in check, not by means of birth control, but by starvation and infanticide. The workings of the Malthusian theory were here precisely illustrated.

After the opening of Japan to the rest of the world in 1868, it became possible for the population again to increase. With the restoration of 1868 there began a new era in economic life, one made possible largely as a result of the commercial linking of the Japanese islands with the outside world. The Japanese improved their internal economic organization by adapting the results of scientific investigations in other countries, but, even more important was the expansion in their wealth-producing capacity which the development of international trade made possible. The Japanese people now began to specialize in the lines where they had the greatest relative advantage in production and to exchange their products for those of the outside world. In particular they concentrated on the production of raw silk, which was supplied to the industrial nations of the

West, and drew in turn from the outside world for other raw materials. Of greatest importance was the import of raw cotton from the United States, Egypt, and India for conversion into finished products for Japan's own population and for export, particularly to the Asiatic mainland.

As a result of this international economic development, coupled with internal improvements, it became possible for the islands to support, by 1930, a population of sixty-five million people and on a higher level of existence than that of 1870. But Japan has again reached the limit of her resources; her population must again be restricted—unless perchance it should overflow into other lands.¹

This Japanese history is perhaps the best illustration of the fundamental validity of the Malthusian doctrine and of the way in which changes in economic organization and the development of scientific methods of production can for considerable periods of time make possible rising standards of living while population is increasing with great rapidity. But in the end limits are again reached and standards of living are depressed. I repeat, therefore, that the restricted rate of population increase in the Western world has laid a basis for vastly higher standards of living in the future than were formerly conceived to be possible.

EXCESS PRODUCTION CAPACITY OF TODAY

But, you will say, and say rightly, that for many years we have had no dearth of production capacity; that there is in this country at least no deficiency of natural resources. On the contrary, do we not have excessive production capacity in nearly all lines, and does the source of poverty therefore not lie in defects in our economic organization? I shall now address myself to the consideration of these basic queries and shall direct attention to certain underlying and permanent factors which manifest themselves in good times as well as in bad, only in somewhat lesser degree.

¹ Despite the Manchurian occupation, students of the Japanese population problem are very well agreed that no considerable emigration of Japanese people is probable.

I shall first answer the question, Is it true that the United States has a productive capacity sufficient to maintain a standard of living substantially higher than that which prevailed in the recent boom era? In other words, were we living beyond our means and must we, for reasons of restricted producing capacity, be content, as many contend, with lower standards of living in the future?

I am happy to be able to answer these questions with some definiteness. The institution with which I am connected has for the past year been conducting a comprehensive investigation of the distribution of wealth and income in relation to economic progress. The first part of our task has been to ascertain the extent of our excess productive capacity in the various divisions of our economic life and to measure the trends over a period of thirty years beginning with the turn of the century.

We find that continuously our capacity to produce has been substantially in excess of our actual production, and that so far as any technical production factors are concerned, there is no reason why all of us should not enjoy higher standards of living than obtained even in the boom eras. We have analyzed the data in connection with agriculture, mineral resources, manufacturing industry, transport, and distributing agencies, and everywhere we find that productive capacity is substantially greater than the actual productive output. We have ascertained that there has at no time been a shortage of labor, and that our monetary and credit resources have been adequate to meet the requirements placed upon them. In other words, there do not appear to have been any weak links in the chain of productive factors. We could readily produce sufficiently to give everyone in society the basic necessities and many of the comforts of life.

Notwithstanding this productive capacity, vast numbers of our population are in actual want, and we are confronted with the paradox of misery amid plenty. The great requirement is to discover the means of making our economic machine function effectively—to make it operate on eight cylinders instead of on four or six. The first task is to discover why it is that so much of

our productive capacity remains unutilized—to find the sources of difficulty in the economic carburetor.

SOURCES OF MALADJUSTMENT

In seeking to ascertain the causes of the dilemma presented by excessive productive capacity, I shall consider first certain international economic difficulties and then turn to an analysis of maladjustments within the national economic system. I can best explain the international maladjustments by a brief recapitulation of the history of the nineteenth century.

Over the past century there has been built up through the ordinary processes of trade and finance an economic system that is worldwide in its ramifications. Its successful functioning depends upon specialized production in the various divisions of the world and the exchange of commodities between regions and nations. The system depends, moreover, upon the maintenance of balanced trade relations. The state of normal balance, or equilibrium, which existed before the World War was completely upset by the war and its aftermath.

The great shifts in private international investment and the creation of vast new intergovernmental indebtedness transformed nations from debtors to creditors, and vice versa, almost overnight. These great changes were, however, not accompanied by corresponding changes, or readjustments, in the agricultural and industrial organization of the several countries involved. On the contrary, the war served greatly to increase the exporting capacity of the nations which were becoming creditors and to decrease that of those which were becoming debtors—this because the war borrowing went for destructive purposes rather than for the upbuilding of productive capacity, as is the case with normal peace-time loans. Then, following the war, tariffs were adjusted upward by creditor countries with a view to preserving their expanded industries; but with the result that the trade readjustments necessary to permit the new international indebtedness to be liquidated were rendered virtually impossible. These maladjustments were further increased by the

extension of vast new private loans to Europe between 1924 and 1930, amounting approximately to four billion dollars. This unbalanced economic condition as between the nations of the world has served greatly to restrict the free flow of commerce between nations and has thus contributed everywhere to unemployment and economic distress.

Within the national field, a primary source of maladjustment appears to lie in the existing division of wealth and income among the various groups which comprise society. The Brookings Institution is now making a comprehensive investigation of this problem, and while our analysis is still in a tentative stage, the conclusion appears to be foreshadowed that the fundamental source of difficulty is the lack of consuming power among the masses of society.

It had long been the view of economists and business men alike that the fundamental basis of economic progress is the formation or development of new capital. By means of individual savings, funds were accumulated and made available for creating capital goods. Every increase in our capital equipment was regarded as providing additional employment, and as a result of the increasing efficiency of production, prices would fall and the purchasing power of the masses would be increased. In other words, expand capital equipment, which means greater power over nature, and the resulting increase in producing capacity would automatically accrue to the masses of people.

We find, however, that although new capital has been created in modern times with extraordinary rapidity, it has not always provided additional employment or accrued to the benefit of the masses. On the contrary, much of the capital that has been created remains idle because there is no adequate market for the products which might be turned out. And there is no adequate market precisely because the rank and file of people do not have adequate purchasing power.

The great requirement appears to be, therefore, to increase the flow of income into the hands of the people, not alone to give them the standards of living to which they properly aspire, but

also as the only means of making the wheels of industry turn with maximum efficiency. Higher incomes to the masses do not necessarily mean lower profits to employers of labor; by virtue of the effect of larger purchasing power upon the rate of industrial output, they may mean higher profits for industry. There is thus a basic mutuality of interest between capitalists and employees in this connection—this for the simple reason that increasing prosperity for the whole population is essential to the continued prosperity of each and every group in society.

The processes by which the necessary redistribution of wealth and income may be brought about are highly technical in character, involving not only questions of wage policy, of profit-sharing, and of taxation, but also in a very important way the policies of price maintenance that have been developed by industry in modern times with the view of stabilizing conditions. This aspect of the problem is so important that a word of exposition is necessary at this place.

The older economists, as I have explained, assumed that additions to the capital equipment of society would result in increased sufficiency, lower costs of production, and lower selling prices to consumers. Money wages remaining the same, real wages would thus rise and the masses would be enabled to purchase the increased volume of output. But unfortunately prices are not commonly lowered under modern conditions as soon as it might be possible to do so. In the interest of stabilization—even when no monopolistic intention is involved—prices are maintained at existing levels, and output is adjusted, restricted, in support of the policies of price maintenance. The result is to prevent the dissemination of the benefits of increased productive efficiency among the people, and thus to prevent the effective utilization of the new capital itself.

Our analyses are still tentative, and it will be another year before we can present our conclusions in final form, with all the supporting evidence. It is enough to say that we are hopeful to be able to indicate the lines along which a vastly higher level of well-being than has ever existed before may be achieved.

NECESSARY CHANGES IN PUBLIC OPINION IN THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

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IN OUR generation the power of the human mind to adapt itself rapidly to new conditions is being strained as never before. Changes in the material and social environment during the last thirty years have called for new attitudes of mind and new ways of behavior. But the old ways have persisted until at last the pains of maladjustment have focused our minds on the need of a new orientation. The time has come to examine our position—to see where we are and where we want to go.

The revolutionary change that has come in mechanical industry is mainly a consequence of the invention of instruments like the thermostat and the electric eye. Instruments of this type are able to keep watch over what the machines are doing and to throw the appropriate switches just as a man might do. The automatic factory is essentially merely a factory in which the machines are tended by nonhuman instruments. Man the machine-tender is becoming obsolete; man the adjuster of instruments is taking his place.

All signs indicate that before long it will be possible, with a few men working a few hours per week, to make and distribute all the material goods that can be made out of our natural resources. This is the answer to the material problem of the ages; how to get the material goods of the world with a minimum of hard labor. It is the material foundation of the age of plenty, the dream of mankind for half a million years of bitter poverty and desperate struggle.

America, besides being in the forefront of technological progress, finds herself with another factor of plenty, a population

ceasing to grow in numbers. Then, on top of that, the war made us creditors of all the world and theoretically entitled us to enjoy the products of other lands whenever we make up our minds to accept them. Our environment has changed with a vengeance. In a time like this the intelligence of the American mind may justly be measured by the extent of its bewilderment. It is encouraging to note the widespread recognition of the fact that something unusual is going on. The next step is to find out which of the old axioms, old economic laws, old moral standards, and old valuations have ceased to be valid and need to be revised.

SERVICE MARKET SOLVES UNEMPLOYMENT
AND DEBT PROBLEM

The focal points of pain in the social body are unemployment and debts, and these foci of pain actually indicate the areas where established thought is most ill adapted to the new environment.

Unemployment of labor is the natural outcome of devices for saving labor. Men are thrown out of jobs as technological efficiency grows. Many of the displaced men are unable to find new jobs by the growth of industry itself. Some of them are hired by new industries; others find work in the construction of new capital plant. But as industry approaches the limits imposed by natural resources, and as the rate of growth of productivity becomes faster, there comes a time when there are not enough new jobs in mechanical industry to absorb the surplus labor. Real technological unemployment may then be said to have set in; the actual number of employees in mechanical industry begins to diminish. Frederick C. Mills has presented figures indicating a reduction of employment in manufacturing from 1923 to 1929, in the face of a rising output of physical goods. The rate of reduction may be expected to increase until comparatively few men are employed in mechanical industry.

But factory jobs are not the only kinds of jobs. Wage-earners are employed also in the production of services. Services may be

defined as any gainful activity that depends on human skill, time, and effort, without any significant demand for raw material or mechanical power. The possible output of services is limited not by natural resources but only by the available imagination and the available personnel. The market for services is therefore the answer, and the complete answer, to the problem of technological unemployment.

The painful unemployment that exists today is caused by the extreme instability of the service market into which, by a natural evolution, the labor displaced by technology had been transferred prior to 1929. Services are to a large degree classed as luxuries, and in hard times people give up their luxuries. While the service market is, therefore, the natural and inevitable place for the displaced labor, there is a serious drawback. When depression comes the market for services disappears, leaving the labor unemployed. Society will have to develop means for stabilizing the market for services. Old values, old judgments, and old maxims that interfere with the necessary stabilizing of the market for services cannot survive the coming of the age of plenty.

The other focus of maladjustment is the mass of debts that clog the arteries of business. Debts are the poisonous by-product of the normal process by which capitalism in the machine age has been wont to distribute surplus income into consumer-buying power. Surplus income was invested; the money was distributed into wages to the workers in the building and machinery industries. In this way the circulation of money was maintained; or, as some of the economists happily phrased it, a dollar invested was a dollar spent. The mechanism of distribution worked badly, but it worked. There were, however, two unfortunate after-effects. There was the new productive plant, competing in the market; and there was the new debt, resting on business. In this case the dollar invested was a dollar spent for superfluous equipment, and it was a dollar spent with a string to it.

When the time came that industry had too many plants and

too many debts, the superfluous plants poisoned business by cutting prices, and the superfluous debts paralyzed business with excessive fixed charges. At that point in the business cycle nature always provided a depression, a sort of emotional spasm during which business lost some of its plants and a great many of its debts. The bankruptcy of surplus investments was not just a piece of hard luck; it was the necessary working-out of a natural law. Business will not support any more capital than it can support, and if more capital is poured into it the excess has to fall out again. In previous depressions, when this process had eliminated enough of the surplus capital, business could start again distributing purchasing power by building more plant and more debt.

The fact is that in good times the excess savings were normally distributed by unconsciously spending them. The dollar invested was a dollar spent because it was destined never to come back. Had it been spent for opera tickets, no harm would have been done. But it was spent for overequipment that would poison business, and it was spent under the illusion that it would be paid back with interest. The breaking of this illusion by bankruptcy made up one half of the dangerous emotional crisis of depression; the unemployment caused by poisoning business made up the other half of the emotional crisis. In each depression the so-called "corner" around which lay recovery was the place where there was enough bankruptcy and unemployment to make room for a new wave of investment and revival.

The natural automatic business cycle could go on only so long as the corner never turned out to lie beyond the limits of human endurance. This time when we approached it we found the corner too hot to pass. The possible loss of the savings banks and insurance companies was more than we could face, so the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was called in to save us from reaching the corner.

This time the mass of debts we had built up before 1929 could not be eliminated through the natural processes of default and

bankruptcy. The old established technique of distributing surplus income, by hope, investment, bankruptcy, and disgust, is no longer a practical mechanism. The emotional strains are too dangerous. Some way must be found to distribute income without establishing great masses of new debt.

The fact is that even under the old dispensation income has been distributed in other ways than by the standard investment and loss process. When surplus income is contributed to philanthropic or cultural organizations, it is turned into consumer-buying power without any strings to it. No debts are set up. When surplus income is paid to the government as personal income taxes, it is spent by the government and turned into consumer-buying power; no debt is set up. From now on the distribution of income through overinvestment and the building of debt will have to become a small item, and the distribution of income through income taxes and through contributions to the social services, stimulated by tax exemption, will have to become a very large item. Surplus income will have to be diverted from investment and returned to circulation through spending that is known to be spending. Old values, old judgments, old maxims, that interfere with the necessary diversion of surplus income, cannot survive the coming of the age of plenty.

The problem of technological unemployment, then, has an answer; and the problem of debt has an answer; and the answer is the same for both. If the surplus labor is to be employed, it must be used in the service market. If the surplus income is to be distributed without building superfluous equipment and without building intolerable debts, it must be distributed by spending it in the service market. If the service markets are to be stabilized, and if the speculative markets are to be restricted, then in hard times and in good times and in constantly increasing quantities the government must force the surplus income into expenditures for services.

The physical mechanism of the age of plenty is built; but it cannot operate until the economic mechanism is adjusted to conform to its requirements. In essence, these requirements are

the prevention of unemployment by the constant distribution of income through the service market and the prevention of debt by the constant allocation of income to spending rather than to investment.

NEW ORDER DEMANDS READJUSTMENTS IN THINKING

In order to establish the economic mechanism required by the age of plenty, the American people are forced to make profound readjustments in the whole structure of their thinking. Instinctive or habitual reactions to immediate stimuli will not suffice, because the environment to which our instincts and our habits were adapted no longer exists. The social organism must develop intelligent plans for its own future or it will tumble blindly into destruction.

The fundamental economic plans, when they are finally established, will of necessity center in the distribution of purchasing power and in the allocation of income between investment and expenditure. So long as money is used as the means of distribution and of allocation, the fundamental economic plans will be plans for determining the flow of money. These plans will involve public and semipublic expenditure on an expanding scale for cultural and quasi-cultural services. They will involve relief of taxation that rests on the consumer: the reduction of sales taxes, of real estate taxes, of tariffs, and of public-service charges. They will involve the establishment of heavy income taxes on the upper brackets, with large exemptions for contributions to semipublic institutions. They will involve heavy taxation of undistributed corporate surplus, to force corporation income into dividends and wages. These plans for determining the flow of money are fundamental; without them or their equivalent no permanent adjustment can be attained.

The obvious equivalent is the establishment of a communist state. Communism is one way of providing for the necessary distribution and allocation of income. The control of the flow of money by the tax system is the other way of providing for the necessary distribution and allocation of income. At the present

time the American people are not willing to try communism. Whether communism is adapted to the American temperament is very doubtful. The immediate alternative is the reorganization of our tax structure, and the extension of our public and semipublic spending program.

So far, public opinion is in only the first stages of its education. The public has learned by experience that local taxes spent for relief give money to consumers only by taking money from consumers. They add nothing to the total market for business. Having observed that the so-called local self-help was not restoring prosperity, the public has hastily concluded that spending tax money of any kind is the road to ruin. But federal taxes may be so imposed that they will not rest on consumers, but will rest on surplus income. The public has still to learn that prosperity can come and remain only through the continuous spending of public funds that come out of surplus income. No matter how luxurious the services this kind of spending may provide for the people, it cannot justly be called extravagant. The more surplus income is spent, the more market there will be for business, the more men will be actively employed, the more wealth will be created, and the larger will be the national income. The creation of wealth, whether it be shoes or education or just the widespread feeling of economic security, is not extravagance. If it is necessary that the federal government shall collect billions of dollars every year and spend them on beautifying the country so that, as a by-product, mechanical industry may be running full time and producing wealth for the whole population to enjoy, then those billions will surely be money well spent.

In the last analysis the success of our passage into the new age of plenty will depend on whether the public can be led to agree to the necessary measures for distributing purchasing power and for allocating surplus to spending for services. Meanwhile, however, special plans of many kinds that contribute toward the required adjustment are being promoted, and public opinion is being rapidly educated to recognize their value and

to accept them. For example, the conservation of natural resources, particularly of those resources that cannot be replaced, is coming forcibly to public attention, now that industry is in a position to increase its production far beyond the output of 1929.

Some central authority will have to decide what is the best way to use those materials that, once used, are gone forever.

Plans are being made for the distribution of that most characteristic product of the age of plenty—leisure time. The distribution of leisure is affected with a public interest, and will be controlled in part by law. There are three such plans now before the public: the restriction of child labor, the restriction of hours of labor in industry, and the old-age pension. The old-age pension, in particular, will come to be regarded not as a dole to the destitute, but as a universal right. The public will come in time to recognize that a generous old-age pension will create a class of buyers who have nothing to sell, that it will encourage retirement and make more room for the younger workers, and above all that it will remove the necessity of the pathetic and hopeless effort to lay by investments for old age.

Another characteristic product of the age of plenty will be economic security. Now that there is plenty for all, the principle that everyone shall have a secure right to the means of life becomes not only a moral but an economic necessity. The problem of economic security is leading to plans of many kinds. Timed public-works programs have been widely discussed. If the financing is correctly done, they may be effective. The same is true of unemployment insurance, provided the funds are not invested but held strictly in cash.

There are also the numerous forms of accident and sickness insurance, shading off into public and semipublic services of all kinds that make up the free income of the people. Most of you are engaged in planning and providing some of these free services, and the field will unquestionably grow far beyond your present plans. Considered in their purely economic aspect as adjustments to a system of high productive power, the social

services have a place as plans for guaranteeing personal security to all the people. Economic security removes the desperate pressure to save and invest and lose money. Too much investment-and-loss is exactly the poison that a highly productive system cannot tolerate. Economic security, therefore, is not only a moral obligation resting on society, but it is a technical necessity for the operation of the age of plenty. Basic security is the prerequisite for that habit of spending and not saving that the age of plenty demands.

There will develop plans for the preservation of another product of the technological revolution, one that is hardly yet realized—the enlarged freedom of action that comes with riches. *Laissez faire* is as dead as the feudal system, but individualism is only in its infancy. Business is apparently developing in two opposite directions, both of them leading toward an enlarged distribution of freedom. One kind of industry, that so-called natural monopoly, is headed for swift absorption into full public control. The effect of this development will be to destroy the liberty of action of certain promoters of holding companies, but it will enlarge the freedom of the common people by removing the hand of big business from their necks. The other kind of industry, that in which there is no mechanical advantage in large operations, is in the long run apparently headed for decentralization. The financial effects of the necessary distribution of income and of the necessary allocation of income away from the securities markets will tend toward the growth and survival of small industries.

Public ownership and control of power and transportation will tend in the same direction. The automobile and the radio tend to promote the geographical decentralization of industry. The many technical advantages of the small plant, well known to engineers, will have greater weight as the influence of the financial expert is progressively discredited. All these developments are making possible an expansion of the area within which free action will be allowable.

The relation of freedom to social control in decentralized in-

dustry of high productive power is imperfectly understood, and no doubt the subject will be discussed for many years to come. Some of the principles are already beginning to be foreshadowed. Public control of working hours and a moderate minimum wage, can apparently be imposed on industry without destroying its freedom. Control of production, however, and control of prices are recognized as causing instability of the business system as a whole by destroying its elasticity. In the attempt to counteract the resulting instability, the restrictions on freedom tend to become very severe. For this reason, among a people so expert in passive disobedience as our own, there is grave question of the possibility of production control, except as an emergency measure.

INDUSTRIAL CONTROL HAS SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Beyond the technical considerations involved in the social control of industry, however, are social implications that go very deeply into the nature of the American temperament and also into the nature of the historic process through which we are now passing.

The American people have been selected by their past history for their adventurous and unruly qualities. Under the superficial regimentation of nationally advertised toothpastes, and under the temporary despair of the great depression, this is a vital, individual, nomadic, turbulent conglomeration of races. Our genius for not obeying superfluous laws is immense. There is no widespread desire in America for any neatly organized society. The American people may hope to establish and to maintain whatever social controls are necessary to make the age of plenty operate, if they can learn what those are before it is too late. But they will almost surely refuse to establish, or fail to maintain, the discipline that would add the last touch of efficiency and of justice at a disproportionate cost in freedom of individual action.

Moreover, the historic process through which we are now passing is not favorable to the establishment of a fully regimented social order. America, and perhaps the whole Western

world, is passing into the primitive stage of a new civilization. Only the material foundation of the new age of plenty is now laid down. The superstructure is still to be created, and it is not for us, the primitives, to know or to prophesy what form that superstructure will assume in the next few centuries. Our job is twofold: to plan the operation of the economic system so as to make it work, but so as to leave the maximum possible flexibility of action in the unknown future that lies before us; and to orient our minds toward the cultural problems of the future that are now visible over the edge of the horizon. To fit ourselves for the beginning of the new age we shall have to accept whatever discipline the material laws of our new environment may impose. But we shall also have to preserve a healthy skepticism toward all restrictions on our liberty to adventure into new fields.

These observations on the probable boundary between social control and individual liberty can at best be only tentative. The future is still too obscure for clear definition of that boundary. But there is some reason to feel that on this question public opinion, and especially liberal opinion, has by the existing preponderance of the economic crisis been led into a false perspective. We have temporarily overlooked the fact that in the new social order manufacturing will be a minor activity; that the service industries will be the dominant half of the economic system; and that the growth of our culture demands freedom of experimentation in the field of services. In the long run a planned economic order is not the central focus of an adequately planned society for an age of plenty. The focus of an adequately planned society will ultimately be found to lie, not in the economic service of supply, but in the area of cultural advance. If a satisfactory adjustment to the age of plenty is to be attained, it is vitally important to plan for the preservation of the largest possible freedom of variation, of experimentation, and of adventure. As Whitehead has already said: "It is fatal to extend the compulsory dominion of men over men beyond the barest limit necessary for their co-ordination."

To social workers in particular the beginning of the age of plenty will bring enlarged responsibilities. You will be charged with the responsibility of adjusting the minds of great masses of people to the moral laws and to the standards of value that the new age will demand. The civilization now beginning will not be invented and imposed by a dictator; it will develop out of the reactions of all the people to the conditions of their life and to the sporadic contributions of genius. You will be in position to influence those reactions along the lines that lead toward the future.

The economic aspect of life may be expected to fall into the background as soon as the distribution problem has been solved to a measurable degree. It will be the function of social workers as well as of other intelligent people to help maintain the distribution of income by defending the necessary government measures, and also by teaching the habit of spending, on which the operation of the age of plenty fundamentally rests. And since spending depends on basic economic security, the effort to build economic security will rank as of primary importance.

When the normal adjustment of society to a state of high productivity shall have been attained, it will be found that the cultural activities of life occupy central place. Slum districts will give way to parks, public-health services will be greatly extended, the treatment of criminals and of mental defectives will be brought up to modern standards. Education for children and for adults will grow in quality and in extent. There will be a growing demand for music, and drama, and architecture, and for all the arts. The arts of living, the art of using leisure time, the art of social co-operation, the art of personal relationships, the arts of appreciation, will develop in more ways than we can now foresee. In all these developments the social services will play an important part in steering public opinion toward a sound standard of values.

Underlying the changes of habit and of law that are now beginning, our philosophy, our religion, our very language, are already shaping themselves for new purposes and new standards

of judgment. Philosophy turns toward adventure. Whitehead says: "Without adventure civilization is in full decay."

Sweitzer says: "There is no middle term between the ethic of enthusiasm and the ethic of resignation. But an ethic of resignation cannot think out, much less bring into existence, a system of social relations that can be called really civilized." Religion is obviously turning from traditional moral standards to new standards based on pragmatic and on aesthetic sanctions. God and Prometheus draw closer. Our words begin to show the drift of our thinking. The old sins of avarice and of usury, forgotten in the age of thrift, are coming back under new names, as the recognition dimly begins to form that finance is public enemy No. 1. The vanguard of modern thought begins to breathe the air of the new world.

The time has now come to recognize not only the moral demand but the economic necessity for an advance of the social services. The technological revolution has done more than merely to furnish the opportunity for a great expansion of the cultural services. The technological revolution has created a situation where its own operation requires an expansion of the cultural services. There is no way to make the economic system run at all unless most of the time and most of the money in the system are spent on cultural services.

This is a new situation. You have struggled for years to establish the decencies of life for their own sake. The time has now come when you can demand the means for an expanded social-work program in the name of economic law. The fates have taken your side. The heavy artillery has come up—in fact, it is parked in the White House. The stars in their courses are fighting for you. Whatever defeats and disappointments may be still in store, the law stands that there is no way out of the dark valley but the way of cultural advance.

For the first time in human history we go forward into the beginning of a new stage of culture knowing what we are doing. We, the primitives of a new age, go out with open eyes to find our destiny. We have solved the problem of material plenty; the

age-old dream of Aladdin's lamp has come true under our hands. Now we take up with hope the dream that will lead us across the frontier of the new civilization that lies before us. We dream now of a world where lifelong fear and humiliation and frustration may no longer be the common lot of humanity, but where a happy relationship to all the arts of life may be within the reach of all men and all women. To our generation has come the high opportunity to pass, if we can, from the old dream to the new.

We are tired with the long battle, with sleepless nights and desperate days; we have seen casualties to tear our hearts; but we cannot lie down here and die. The storm drives us on. On one hand lies the bottomless pit of a new speculative madness; on the other the bottomless pit of a new World War. The road of destiny is under our feet, and ahead we see the first glimpses of the promised land. On our vision and enthusiasm, on our courage and vitality, lie the issues of fate. The day has come for us to keep our heads, to think clearly, to put first things first, and boldly to go forward to the high adventure of the new world.

PUBLIC RELIEF AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

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A LONG step forward in the history of civilization was taken when the British Parliament in 1601 enacted the first general public-relief law. It was a beginning of the socialization of all the various risks and insecurities as to the necessities of life. It was in effect a rudimentary form of general social insurance.

Many of the American states took over, in principle, the English Poor Law. In those states there has been no square mile of territory for which there was not some public official whose duty it was to provide relief to the necessitous. As a rule these public-relief officers until very recently were among the most obscure of public authorities. The recipients of relief were relatively few, the relief item a small percentage of the municipal budget, its administration little understood by the public, and generally not highly esteemed. In the piping days of prosperity, not only the poorhouse but also the relief officer seemed far along the road to elimination.

Public relief in the emergency.—The workings of the public-relief system during the depression offer extraordinarily rich material for a mature consideration of the nature, limitations, and possibilities of public relief as a social policy. Let us briefly glance at what has happened.

The deluge of unemployment began in the spring of 1930; its waters rose higher and higher, to March, 1933. The local relief officials were slow to recognize what was happening. Then they became bewildered and dismayed. Their budgets, intended for a year, were disappearing in a few months. The methods and the staff of the relief-giving machinery, weak as they had been, in most places, were now unthinkably inadequate.

Perhaps we have been a little too severe, in one respect, in our judgment of the older group of relief officials. Knowing little, or nothing, of modern social case work, having no standards of investigation, no estimate of a tolerable family budget, and no real means of keeping in touch with recipients of relief, perhaps the only resources which occurred to them, as some defense against illimitable hordes of applicants, was a rough and discouraging manner, a grant which under no circumstances could spell comfort, and an admonition not to come again. At any rate these methods characterized, in many public-relief offices, the first half of 1930.

Our experiences in New York State are perhaps a little more encouraging than in some states. All the cities were visited from a state-wide public or private agency in December, 1930, and again in July, 1931, to ascertain conditions, to compare notes, to give counsel if asked, and to report conditions to the Governor and legislature. By midsummer, 1931, it was clear that local relief was breaking down; that the localities could no longer provide all the funds needed; that applicants were constantly increasing; that grants were less and less—in a word, that human needs were not being met, and that widespread and appalling suffering was immediately before us. By a special session of the legislature, in August-September, 1931, the broader shoulders of the state were placed, along with the localities, under the load. The state gave not only funds, but direction, moral support, and regulation. It also gave additional local staff and state field agents for frequent conference. It recognized and encouraged work relief as well as home relief. It appropriated \$20,000,000 for state aid.

With this added financial, moral, and technical assistance, the relief work, still administered by the localities, was greatly increased in volume and considerably improved in quality. The regular session of 1932 continued the Emergency Relief Law, authorized localities to fund their emergency relief over a period of five years, instead of three, and later to ten years, appropriated \$5,000,000 additional, and submitted a relief bond

issue of \$30,000,000 to the vote of the people in November, 1932.

The number of applicants increased, until in midwinter of 1933 it was clear that even the \$30,000,000 authorized by the people of the state, together with the somewhat diminishing resources of the localities, was again insufficient. Federal aid was sought and secured, beginning in February, 1933.

Even these resources, distributed with such knowledge and consideration as was possible with the huge numbers of applications making necessary the employment of great numbers of relief agents whose only contact with the subject was their own need, again became sufficient for only the barest necessities of life. At this moment the dwindling resources of cities and counties, even with a fair proportion of the federal relief fund, and with full use of the remaining portion of the \$30,000,000, spell a subsistence ration, until the state can vote on a relief bond issue of \$60,000,000 next November. We may now hope that the \$60,000,000, if authorized next November, together with federal and local funds, will see us through, until a rising tide of recovery has considerably reduced the sums needed for relief.

Social insurance.—Probably everyone who has had any part whatever in these strenuous years finds himself entertaining at least one clear conviction—that this experience must never be repeated; that if we have any statesmen at all, they will certainly see to it that no such severe and long-continued deprivation of income is ever again visited upon any such proportion of our people; and, further, that we must proceed at once to other and better methods of relieving such distress as may not be actually prevented. We are painfully aware of the great suffering and acute humiliation on the part of hundreds of thousands of people which preceded application for charity. We echo the comment that relief is demoralizing. We think of the stigma attaching to relief, especially public relief. We demand alternative and better measures for meeting need arising under any circumstances. We turn instinctively to such measures as unemployment reserves, health insurance, old-age security, and the like,

as from something wholly bad, to measures which we assume to be utterly different, wholly good, and entirely adequate to all needs.

Every social worker certainly must welcome the suggestion of all of these alternative methods. We must be in the completest sympathy with their objectives; ready to put our shoulders to the wheel in the none-too-easy task of putting them over.

At this stage, however, in midstream, so to speak, when the relief emergency seems to be about to relax slightly, when public works may take over a part of the burden, and when legislatures are not sitting for the enactment of new measures, we may profitably pause and consider, to the best of our ability, all the realities concerned. Social workers, certainly, least of all, should act in important changes without a careful analysis of all the facts. We should not be so attracted by words or phrases as to fail to inquire deeply into their content.

Among the questions which we should ask in regard to social insurance and relief are such as these:

1. Is there any real prospect that types of insurance can be formulated which will provide for all the different hazards and misfortunes which now require public relief?
2. To what extent, if at all, do various types of social insurance share any of the difficulties of public relief?
3. To what extent can the economic groups in the population, for whose benefit social insurance has been devised, actually carry all, or their share, of the cost of adequate insurance benefits?
4. To what extent are those aspects of public relief, which, until now, have impressed us so unfavorably, inherent and unavoidable, and to what extent may they be removed by a better administration or better financing?

In a word, I am inclined to believe that for a long time to come, and probably permanently, we will have a substantial volume of public relief; that the financial bases of relief and insurance (when the insurance plan is a rather inclusive one) are very much alike; that in some respects the public-service plan

may have access to larger sums; that as insurance plans include more types of benefits or larger or longer benefits, the financial strain leads them to lean upon general taxation for substantial amounts, which is the financial basis for public relief; that our conceptions of public relief need to be radically reconstructed; and that our methods should be and can be radically modified.

Health insurance.—First, as to the financial aspects of insurance and of relief. We speak of health insurance, old-age insurance, or unemployment insurance as contributory. They are contributory in a qualified sense, but relief is contributory in much the same sense. The British health insurance is one of the simpler forms with limited benefits—the services of the general practitioner of medicine and cash benefits for the sick. Its cost is carried, roughly, 40 per cent by the insured persons, 40 per cent by their employers, and 20 per cent by the government. As to the insured person's payment (as well as the employer's), it is in no sense a *voluntary* contribution. It *has* to be paid—it is required to be paid by the government. Money which the government requires us to pay periodically is actually a tax; in this case it is a special tax. There is an appreciable cost involved in the collection of a special tax.

Both the British health-insurance fund and a public-relief fund, then, are derived from taxes. There are important differences in the incidence of these taxes, in addition to the fact that one of them is special and the other general. The British health-insurance tax is a uniform tax upon all those included within its benefits. They all pay the same amount, whether their incomes are near the maximum included or whether they are among those receiving the lowest wages. Their tax is not assessed in proportion to their individual ability to pay. It is assumed that all those in manual labor (irrespective of the rate of wages), or in non-manual labor with a remuneration not exceeding, roughly, \$1,200 per annum, will be able without undue hardship to make the uniform payment. In the Continental health-insurance plans, the payment by the insured varies according to his in-

come, as does also the amount of his cash benefit, but not of his medical service, in case of illness.

The public-relief fund is included in the general local tax (though the amount is sometimes stated separately on the back of the tax bill) which is laid upon all taxpayers, presumably according to their ability to pay. Not all members of the community are direct taxpayers; but a local tax, usually a real estate tax, is quickly passed on to tenants and customers; and, in fact, is absorbed into and reflected by the cost of living of the entire community. A public-relief fund seems to me, therefore, in the truest sense of the word, a community fund. It is participated in by all residents of the community, supposedly in proportion to their ability to pay. Every resident in the community who pays rent or buys food, or any other articles whatsoever, thereby actually makes a contribution to the relief fund of the community. Even the grocery order or cash, received by the recipient of relief, expended locally, makes its tiny contribution through the increased prices of its food and rent, to the relief fund of the community. Being a part of the general fund, there is no special expenditure involved in its collection.

Public medical services.—So far, therefore, as the financial basis is concerned, there is little essential difference between insurance and public relief, though the latter is based on ability to pay and the former is uniform—like a poll tax in Great Britain (but not on the Continent). Sir Arthur Newsholme, than whom there is no more acute student of the social aspects of medicine, has stated in his recent volume that “these alternatives [taxation and compulsory insurance] may be regarded as ultimately identical.” He points out further that taxation for the prevention or treatment of disease in a well-organized community is more equitable in its incidence, according to means, than any existing plan of payment for medical care in any system of sickness insurance; and that in fact throughout the world it has been found necessary to supplement insurance with public provision of medical care. For these reasons, it is widely believed that, whatever health insurance we may have, it will also be

necessary to have a substantial volume of public medical services—probably for the more expensive diseases, those requiring highly technical skill or special facilities, and those dangerous to public health. It seems to me extremely significant that the distinguished Royal Commission on National Health Insurance in Great Britain, in its report published early in 1926, after very able and searching inquiry, gave it as their opinion that the medical services provided through some form of public action should be much more extensive than those now given by the insurance system, and added: "In particular we feel sure that the wider the scope of these services the more difficult will it be to retain the insurance principle. The ultimate solution will lie, we think, in the direction of divorcing the medical service entirely from the insurance system, and recognizing it, along with all the other public health activities, as a service to be supported from the general public funds."

How about the morale of the beneficiaries of a public medical service as compared with those of the health-insurance system? My friend, Dr. George F. McCleary, formerly deputy senior medical officer of the British Ministry of Health, touching this point, has remarked that David Lloyd-George, when presenting his health-insurance scheme, said that it was proposed "to preserve the independence of character and self-respect of the workingman." He may have been thinking, primarily perhaps, of the cash benefits for sick persons, which was the more prominent aspect of the plan at that time. He can hardly have meant to imply that the beneficiaries of a public medical service, available irrespective of income, lose their independence of character and self-respect. It may be noted that the beneficiary of the health-insurance plan actually pays only approximately 40 per cent of its cost, another 40 per cent being paid by his employer, and 20 per cent, roughly, by the government. He does not pay, therefore, for 60 per cent of the benefits which he receives, but undoubtedly his character is in no respect impaired thereby. The patron of a public medical service, on the other hand, without paying a specific amount, or uniform sum therefor, is sharing

the benefit of a community provision for which he has paid his share of the tax in proportion to his ability to pay. He is not receiving something for nothing and his self-respect, equally, is fully maintained.

The facts in this particular are, I think, entirely clear. The public medical services rendered by the state of New York, and by some of its counties and cities, have outgrown any connection with the idea of dependency or pauperism and are community services for the benefit of those who need them. Our state hospitals for the insane originally established, in the words even of the early reports of the State Charities Aid Association, "for the pauper insane," have long outgrown, in the public mind, and in the minds of the families of the patients, any connection with the idea of pauperism. Those families who are able to pay for a patient, in whole or in part, do so—after the patient has been received, and in proportion to their ability. Only a small minority of the patients come from families who are recipients of relief. In other words, they are community institutions for all those needing that particular kind of treatment. The same is true of our tuberculosis hospitals, and generally of our Health Department activities such as clinics for tuberculosis, orthopedic defects, venereal diseases, and the like. The clear trend in public medical services is to give the needed specialized service, the giving of which is a public benefit, to all those needing, and asking for, such service. Under these circumstances there is no stigma attaching to the beneficiaries. They are not considered by their neighbors, and do not consider themselves, as in any sense dependents.

Why should they? We are all utilizing public services in other fields which are open to all who desire them, with no thought of receiving something to which we are not entitled, or receiving something for nothing. We send our children, if we have them, to the public schools, and we pay taxes for the schools even though we send no children to them. The taxes are in no sense proportioned to the number of children we send. We enjoy our parks, we ride on our parkways, we enjoy the

public recreation facilities, and, in short, we use a very wide range of public services, intended for the free use of all those who need them, and supported by all the taxpayers of the community in proportion to their ability to pay.

A public medical service then, looking a long way ahead, has a broader basis and a more equitable basis of financial support than the usual type of health insurance.

Would a health-insurance plan be more easily secured? Would it be a halfway house to a complete public medical service? These are important questions and have a serious bearing on the question of what to do next.

Old-age security.—Is it true, or largely true, of plans for meeting any other important social need that a public service has a broader basis and a better basis of financial support than insurance? Yes, I think it is clearly true of old-age security. Of course, I am not questioning the wisdom of saving for old age, of an annuity system, when income is sufficient to permit it. On the contrary, we should go much farther than we have gone in making saving easy and safe, and in enabling persons approaching old age, with modest savings, to convert them, without high operating costs, into annuities.

I am thinking of those who by reason of low income and large family responsibilities, or because of unwise investments (if there are any wise ones) and losses of savings, or because of responsibility for others carried into old age, are not able on a commercial basis to provide themselves with an annuity. The occasion for participation by the public arises on a basis of need. Is anything gained by not facing it frankly and straightforwardly as a question of need? This is the basis of most of the laws called old-age security laws. It is my opinion that the recipients of such relief regard old-age security relief as from a fund which is a community tax-produced fund, intended to be made available for old people needing aid, and that its receipt is not to be considered as inconsistent with self-respect, character, and the maintenance of what may have been the recipient's previous social position. That is, I do not personally

share the belief that in old-age security there is any real gain, financially, psychologically, or from point of view of morale, of shifting from a basis frankly of relief of need to a so-called contributory basis in which nevertheless a large proportion would come from public funds and because of need.

Unemployment insurance.—When we come to the subject of unemployment relief, the situation is still more complicated. For one thing, the various proposals in regard to unemployment reserves or insurance, now being discussed, differ in fundamental ways from one another. What is called the Ohio Plan is based primarily upon meeting the relief need. The Wisconsin Plan has as one main objective, the stabilization of employment. The former requires employer and employee participation; the latter the employer only. Certainly all reasonable provision which employers can make in the form of reserves for unemployment, and any savings which the employers may be able to make therefor without harmfully reducing their standards of living, should be made.

This clearly calls for searching study and serious discussion on the part of those proposing to do something about it, with a view to uniting, at least a preponderance of those favoring constructive legislation, in support of some concrete proposals as being practical immediate objectives. The Milbank Memorial Fund is making such a study of health insurance, and the groups most immediately concerned are no doubt doing so as to unemployment reserves. It would be extremely unfortunate if the present opportunity should pass without the enactment generally of legislation to this end.

Public funds essential.—Both European experience and American proposals indicate, however, that the most generous scale of unemployment reserves, whether by employers alone or by both employers and employees, will not be able to support the unemployed during anything like a major depression. The Ohio Plan provides specifically for an unemployment benefit for sixteen weeks per year, leaving support for the remainder of the year to be met by the savings of the unemployed, by the as-

sistance of relatives or friends, or by some very substantial form of public relief. It was found necessary to make huge loans or grants from the national treasury to the British Unemployment Fund. In the discussion of the workings of proposed American plans, there is frank recognition by many of the probable necessity of grants from state or federal treasuries for carrying unemployment benefits when the unemployment reserves have been exhausted. These are sometimes spoken of as "transitional benefits"—a transition from a benefit derived from sums set aside for the purpose by employers or employees, or both, by way of a grant which is an unrecognized form of public relief, to what seems to be considered the lowest stage of human misfortune, the receipt of public relief on the basis of need.

If, then, the necessity of relief money, whether disguised under the term of a transitional benefit or frankly recognized as public relief, is clearly seen, it is important to inquire whether it might not be better to drop the disguise; to recognize relief as such, when it is relief; and to ask whether, even in unemployment need, relief cannot be considered and administered in such a way as to obviate a large part if not all of its objectionable features. It would not be inconsistent with recognizing a transitional benefit as relief to have the transitional benefit actually paid through the insurance agency, provided the question of need had been taken into account, either by public-relief authorities or even by the insurance authorities. Public relief given in various states as mothers' allowances, or to the aged, though retaining fully the factor of need, has been handled in part by separate authority and under different phraseology, and with a large degree of success, so far as acceptability is concerned. It is quite possible that a further special type, the normally employed person, should be another special relief group, handled by special officials. All of this would be, I think, provisional, and when relief in general and relief authorities have been placed on a higher basis, it is altogether likely that all forms of public relief may be brought together.

New attitude toward relief needed.—Unemployment insurance

or relief is undoubtedly far more difficult than health insurance or old-age security. In the family requiring some form of aid by reason of unemployment, there are able-bodied persons presumably competent to support the family. Can such persons receive relief when unemployed and destitute, without developing a sense of insufficiency or inferiority? If relief is given, will not the relief workers insist on knowing just how the relief is expended, how the members of the family live their daily lives, and, in fact, on trying to control their daily lives, to prevent the waste of the relief given?

Nothing of course can wholly alter the fact that unemployment *is* a misfortune. I doubt, however, that the receipt of relief because of unemployment creates a sense of inferiority. Rather, I think it creates a sense of hardship and injustice. I do think it likely that relief workers, when dealing with families in which there is no presumption of fraud or incapacity, have gone much too far in wishing to know about or control the lives of the recipients. In protecting the pocket-book of the community, they may have forgotten to protect the personality of the beneficiary. Such methods, however, are not essential to the administration of public relief. To discard them, under these circumstances, is part of that reconstitution of public relief which seems to me urgently necessary. We have in fact thrown them overboard as to nearly one-half of all our vast sums of emergency relief in New York, mainly as to work relief. The plan is to give the client days of work enough to meet his budget. He earns the money and it is his and he feels that it is his, and he spends it as he likes. There has been no considerable complaint that it has been wasted.

As to the recipients of a public medical service, or of old-age security, questions of stigma, psychology, or morale are out. Is it fanciful to think that with recipients of public relief, who are actually in need, stigma and morale should equally be out? I do not think it is at all fanciful; in fact, I think that a much larger number of the recipients of relief than we commonly assume already think of it in that way. They think of it in many

instances, I feel sure, as of a community service intended to help people in their circumstances, which they should accept without hesitation, and in the acceptance of which there is no sacrifice of character or standing.

I have long felt—long before the depression came—that we should make the receipt of relief, in case of real need, something which would be generally considered as wholly respectable, dignified, and proper. I do not think that is in the least an impossible aim.

I am inclined to believe that the so-called stigma of public relief was not born in the thoughts or conduct of its recipients (except when they were *not* in need), but was born in the self-interest of the taxpaying group, and of relief workers, feeling themselves representatives of the taxpaying group, and, in the absence of wiser methods, building up a defense against any indefinite increase of demands upon public funds. We may well bear in mind a French motto, which has long been carried on some of the silver coins of this country, which, being liberally interpreted, means, I think, that "to him who thinks a thing a shame, it is a shame," and implies the converse, that to him who thinks a thing respectable, dignified, and proper, to him it is respectable, dignified, and proper. The emergence of the trained social worker, and the development of adequate means of investigation as to need, make safe a far more considerate handling of public relief.

Conclusion.—As to unemployment, then, we suggest the passage of the wisest and most adequate unemployment reserves bill which can be framed; a recognition of the fact that this undoubtedly will not meet all situations; and a radical readjustment of public relief which should go far to remove its social handicap and its damage to the self-esteem of the recipient.

It is well to recognize a few general points as to social insurance:

1. Insurance is in essence a plan of current savings for future contingencies.
2. If all future contingencies are taken into account, the

savings necessarily run into large figures—so large that neither life insurance nor sickness insurance actually underwrites more than a small proportion of the total risks involved. Fire, shipwreck, tornado, occur so infrequently that it is practicable to insure for substantial and complete protection. On the other hand, catastrophes due to the limitations of human beings and their reactions to their environment are frequent and serious, and for no one of them have we yet devised a practical method of complete protection.

3. Careful researches by various competent authorities at different times, as to the cost of a reasonable standard of family life, and as to the actual income of wage-earners in large groups of industries, show that even at the highest degree of prosperity a majority of families in this country were living close to the margin of economic want. No scheme of financing can get out of a low wage more than there is in it. Insurance creates no capital. It merely transfers it from one pocket to another.

4. For this large group of families, savings for future contingencies must be at the cost of reducing the present standards of living below that which is generally regarded as a reasonable minimum.

5. For these families the only protection against future contingencies, consistent with present maintenance of a reasonable standard of living, is some financial basis which socializes in some degree the total income of all classes in the community—by taxation.

6. When the collective resources are drawn upon by public taxation, considerable public control usually follows, with a distinct likelihood of early public operation.

To what extent the socialization to a necessary degree of the total income of the community shall be secured through a modified form of insurance, and to what extent it shall be secured through the establishment of public social services, is perhaps the most difficult, as well as the most important, social problem which we must face and determine in the early future.

THE ENGLISH SCHEME OF NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

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I WANT to begin my thesis by inviting you to consider a definition of human life. Human life has been defined in many ways, but I propose to define it from the point of view of this paper as a continuous exposure to risk. From the day of birth to the day of death we are all exposed to risks of varying severity, and I think it true to say of all of us that, whether we like it or not, we are compelled to take the advice which Nietzsche gave to "live dangerously." Against most of the serious risks to which we are exposed the isolated efforts of individuals can do little, but mankind long ago discovered that much might be done by the association of a number of individuals united together to present an effective front to the onset of adversity. Any associations of that kind, associations formed for the purpose of spreading a risk by communal effort, are carrying out what is essentially the principle of insurance.

One of the oldest forms of insurance is that against sickness. One finds, to go no farther back than the Middle Ages, that there were in England at that time many associations of poor men and women, getting together without state compulsion or stimulation from their social superiors, to protect themselves by mutual aid against sickness. The social guilds of the Middle Ages are well worth study in this connection. As an example—and an interesting one, I think—there is the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary, formed in 1388 in Hull. This was an association of men and women—women taking part in the management of the guild equally with men—who paid their contributions into a fund from which assistance was given in times of adversity. The rules of the guild provided:

If it should happen that any of the guild becomes infirm, bowed, blind, dumb, deaf, maimed or sick, whether with some lasting or only temporary sickness and whether in old age or in youth, or be so borne down by any other mishap that he has not the means of living, then for kindness' sake and the souls' sake of the founders, it is ordained he shall have out of the goods of the guild, at the hands of the wardens, seven pence each week; and everyone being so infirm, bowed, blind, deaf, dumb, maimed or sick shall have the seven pence as long as he lives.

So, you see, as long ago as the fourteenth century voluntary health insurance flourished in England through the agency of the social guilds. And when the social guilds came under the heavy hand of King Henry VIII, who abolished them and confiscated their property, this same spirit of mutual aid found expression in a new association providing sickness insurance, the friendly society. The friendly societies were also voluntary associations. They developed greatly in the nineteenth century, and in the beginning of the twentieth century were providing health insurance for a substantial proportion of the population of Great Britain.

But it was found that voluntary health insurance did not fully meet the need. There were many persons not sufficiently provident, not sufficiently farsighted, to take the trouble to insure themselves, and when owing to sickness they were unable to work, they became a charge upon public relief or private charity. The idea, therefore, began to form that health insurance should be made compulsory. And it is interesting to note that one of the first advocates of compulsory insurance was the father of the English novel, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*. In 1697 Daniel Defoe published a scheme of health insurance resting upon a compulsory basis. He claimed that his scheme would secure us "against beggars, parish poor and almshouses, by which not a creature so miserable or so poor but should claim subsistence as his due, and not ask it of charity." In those words Defoe sounded the note of modern social insurance, and I like to think that in his "second state sublime" Defoe may look down from the Elysian Fields and see the widespread adoption throughout Europe of the ideas he cast two hundred and thirty-six years ago upon an unheeding world.

Compulsory insurance on a national scale was not adopted in Europe, however, until 1884, when Prince Bismarck introduced the German social-insurance scheme. Many countries followed the example of Germany, including Great Britain, whose health-insurance scheme dates from 1912.

Health insurance is part of the British threefold system of social insurance. There are, first, the health-insurance scheme; second, the widows', orphans', and old-age contributory-pension scheme; and, third, the unemployment-insurance scheme. Each of these three schemes has a separate system of finance and a separate system of administration. There is this connection between the health-insurance and the contributory-pension schemes: that every person insured under the health-insurance scheme is automatically insured under the contributory-pension scheme, although he pays a separate contribution in respect of each scheme.

The health-insurance scheme, which rests upon a contributory and compulsory basis, lays insurance against sickness as an obligation upon all persons of either sex aged sixteen years upward employed under a contract of service in manual labor irrespective of their earnings. It applies also to all non-manual workers aged sixteen years and upward employed under a contract of service whose earnings do not exceed £250 a year or, \$1,250. The health-insured persons form 38 per cent of the total population and comprise a wider group than persons insured against unemployment; for agricultural laborers and persons employed in domestic service come under the health-insurance scheme whereas they do not come under the scheme of insurance against unemployment. The insured person is compelled to insure and to pay a contribution. The employer is compelled to see that his employees do insure and the employer is also compelled to contribute. It is held proper that an employer should contribute, because he has a direct interest in the health of his worker. The state—the general taxpayer—also contributes, this contribution being about 20 per cent of the total cost of the scheme. It is held that the state should contribute because it

compels employer and employee to contribute, and, after all, it is very much to the interest of the state that the workers of the country upon whose work the economic existence of the nation depends should be maintained in the best possible state of health.

Those are the three parties contributing to the scheme. What of the benefits? Of benefits there are two kinds: cash benefits and benefits in kind. Cash benefits include weekly payments to insured persons when rendered incapable of work by sickness. There is another cash benefit, the maternity benefit, which consists of a cash payment equal to \$10, upon the confinement of the uninsured wife of an insured man. If the wife is herself insured, she receives an additional \$10, and both kinds of maternity benefit, whether they accrue from the husband's premium or from the wife's premiums, are paid direct to the wife. Then there is the benefit in kind, which consists of medical attendance and treatment and the provision of necessary medicines and appliances.

The arrangements for medical treatment are peculiar to the British scheme. They were drawn up largely in consultation with representatives of the medical profession, and for that reason the scheme in its actual operation, apart from some little friction at the beginning some twenty years ago, has been free from the acrid disputes, "sometimes culminating in fully developed physicians' strikes," that have arisen in some other parts of Europe.

There are two cardinal principles to which the medical profession in Europe attach great importance and these principles are embodied in the British scheme. The first is that insurance physicians shall not be selected by the government, but that every qualified physician shall have the right to undertake the treatment of insured persons if he wishes to do so. In the British scheme, insurance physicians are not a body of government officials. They are the ordinary general practitioners of the country who have chosen to devote a part of their time to treating insured persons. The second basic principle is that the insured person shall have free choice of physician. Now that is

not true of some of the Continental insurance schemes, although free choice of physicians is regarded by the medical profession all over Europe as a point of fundamental importance. (And some learned German has lately unearthed a quotation from Seneca to show that the value of free choice of doctor was well known in Rome two thousand years ago.) It has been embodied in our scheme ever since its inception. As a result, the income of a physician from insurance practice depends solely upon the number of insured persons who may choose to employ that particular physician.

You may ask, then, "If every physician, whether good or bad, can take a part in the scheme, and if every insured person, however ignorant, can choose his physician, how is it that insurance physicians are kept up to the mark?" It is true that in our scheme the insurance physicians have no superior officers to look after them and to tell them what they may and what they may not do; that every physician of whatever professional skill can come into the service, and that every insured person can choose any doctor he likes. But when I am asked how the insurance physicians are kept up to the mark I ask in turn, "How are physicians kept up to the mark in private practice?" They have no superior officers to supervise their work. They are chosen freely by their private patients. It may be interesting to consider for a moment what it is that keeps the physician in private practice up to the mark. In the first place, he is in daily contact with suffering people and the natural reaction of any human being placed in that position is to try to do what he can to alleviate suffering. Again, in the alleviation of suffering he has an opportunity to exercise his skill as a craftsman—he knows the joy that comes of having done his work successfully, the joy of the skilled craftsman, and I doubt whether any joy in life can exceed that. It is a form of creative effort such as is given to few to exercise. Now why should these motives lose their power when a physician takes part in a great service for the promotion of the health of the nation? Why should the physician then suddenly become careless? Why should he lose the joy of the skilled

craftsman in his work? The answer is that he does not. But, I have been told what you say about those two motives is idealism; when one gets down to brass tacks, in private practice the physician does his best because it pays. Again, my answer would be that under our system of free choice of doctors, it pays the doctor to do his best in insurance practice, for if he does not he will sooner or later see his list of patients growing less and less, and the lists of his competitors in practice growing larger and larger by the transfer of insured persons from his list to theirs. So that the economic motive is operative under our system of free choice; it is as strongly operative as it is under ordinary conditions of private practice.

But there is another influence making for good work under our system. The insured person can lodge a complaint against his physician if he feels he has been in any way neglected. If such a complaint is lodged, it is considered by a special committee of the local insurance committee. This special committee consists of three physicians, three representatives of insured persons, and a neutral chairman. This is the tribunal dealing with complaints. As a matter of fact, complaints are comparatively few and far between. We have fifteen million insured persons and fifteen thousand insurance physicians; and the annual number of complaints is no more than two hundred and fifty to three hundred, most of which are found upon investigation to be unfounded.

You may ask, "How is the health-insurance scheme working? What is the good of it? What do the people think about it?" I should like to tell you what the British medical profession have put on record in giving evidence before the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance. In 1926 the Commission issued a report which contained statements of evidence brought before the commissioners. Among the bodies giving evidence was the British Medical Association, and I will quote you something of what they said to the Royal Commission:

First, large numbers, indeed whole classes of persons, now receive a real medical attention which they formerly did not receive at all. Second, the

number of practitioners in proportion to the population in densely populated areas has increased. Third, illness is now coming under skilled observation and treatment at an earlier stage than was formerly the case. Fourth, speaking generally, the work of practitioners has been given a bias towards prevention which was formerly not so marked. Fifth, co-operation among practitioners is being encouraged to an increasing degree, and there is now a more marked recognition more than formerly of the collective responsibility of the medical profession to the community in respect of all health matters.

That is a part of the evidence given by the representative body of the British medical profession.

The conclusion of the Royal Commission was set forth in the following terms:

We can say at once that we are satisfied that the scheme of national health insurance has fully justified itself and has on the whole been successful in operation. The workers of the country have obtained under it substantial advantages, in particular by securing the title to free medical attention and medicine whenever and as soon as these are required, and by the proportionate diminution—to the extent of the cash benefit granted—of their anxiety as to loss of wages during illness. We are convinced that national health insurance has now become a permanent feature of the social system of the country and should be continued on its present compulsory and contributory basis.

That was the opinion of the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the working of the scheme. Yes, it has been a good thing for our country. Whether such a scheme would be a good thing for other countries is a question on which I can form no opinion. The conditions of various countries differ so widely that it is quite possible that a scheme which works exceedingly well in one may not work at all well in another.

I am sometimes asked, "What are the tendencies of health insurance in Europe?" There are various tendencies but I shall mention only one or two. First, the modern tendency is to attach relatively less importance to cash benefits and relatively more to the provision of medical treatment. When health insurance first began and was in its early development, the object was to compensate the disabled worker for the loss of the wages which he was unable through illness to earn. The note of health insurance in its beginning and early and middle development was "compensation for loss of earning power." But the note of modern health insurance is "restoration of earning power." The

important thing is not so much to give the disabled worker money—although of course that is important—but the really important thing is to give him the medical treatment necessary to restore him to health so that he may again become a working citizen. That is one tendency.

Another tendency is to separate the provision of cash benefits from medical treatment. Under the German scheme, the first of the compulsory health schemes which came into operation, the cash benefits and medical treatment were, and still are, administered by the same body. That is one reason why the German scheme provoked serious conflict between the insurance authorities and the physicians. In our scheme the cash benefits are administered by one set of bodies, the approved societies, and medical benefit is administered by another set, the insurance committees, which were specially created for the purpose of the scheme. And on those bodies the medical profession is adequately represented. In France the separation of the cash-benefit side from the medical-treatment side has been carried a little farther. And when the Australian Royal Commission on National Health Insurance reported in favor of introducing compulsory health insurance into Australia, they recommended that the cash-benefit side should be undertaken by a separate system of administration and that the health provisions should form no part at all of the insurance system but should be part of a national scheme for the prevention and treatment of accident and disease.

THE DEVELOPING NATIONAL PROGRAM OF RELIEF

*Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator,
Washington, D.C.*

FOR two years, up until last August, it was the private relief agencies that carried the brunt and the burden of relief work. Now I find in taking public office that the same social workers have moved into public enterprises and are administering unemployment relief from one end of the country to the other. This paper will deal with the present situation in terms of unemployment relief: who gets relief and how it is administered; something about transients; self-help organizations; the Trade Recovery and the Public Works Bill; then the conclusion.

When I went to Washington two or three weeks ago I found that the states and cities, through the expenditure of public funds, were carrying in whole or in part four million families—nearly eighteen million people in the United States. Almost one person in six in America today is receiving relief from public funds. One can repeat those figures very rapidly and have small realization of their implications, but social workers will, of course, know what they mean. Huge numbers of people in every state in the Union are receiving public outdoor relief. In some counties 90 per cent of the people are receiving help; in some states, 40 per cent.

Who gets relief.—We are now dealing with people of all classes. It is no longer a matter of unemployables and chronic dependents; but of your friends and mine who are involved in this. Every one of us knows some family of our friends which is or should be getting relief. The whole picture comes closer home than ever before. It seems to me that the intent of this act is that relief should be given to the heads of families who are out

of work and whose dependency arises from the fact that they are out of work; single men and women who are out of work, and to transient families, as well as the transient men and women roaming about the country. Those are the persons for whom relief is intended. I am not going to hide behind the cloak of the intent of Congress as to what federal funds can be used for. It is my belief that the people who fought for this bill, who tried to get this money, were trying to get it for relief for the unemployed, and not for a number of other perfectly fine and worthy social objectives. So in my opinion these funds were not intended to pay for the board of children, to support orphanages, Travelers Aid societies, and a dozen and one other activities, many of which are having great difficulty in supporting themselves.

How shall relief be administered?—How shall four million families be cared for? First is the Federal Relief Administration. I have a feeling that that will be a very small group of people, perhaps thirty-five to fifty; then the field staff of ten or twelve people who will go out to the various states trying to interpret the policies of the Federal Relief Administration. We hope to have as fine a statistical and research department as can be secured, and will get such other administrative assistants as are required. I believe that fifty or sixty people can do all the work required.

Second is the State Relief Administration. The Federal Relief Administration will not decide how much money is going to this or to that county. That responsibility obviously must be placed upon the several state commissions. All the power we propose to exercise in regard to states is that which can be exercised by the states themselves in relation to the several local communities.

Now for the local business, because there is where the job is to be done. The state commissions do not administer relief. This is the job of thousands of local communities. That public funds should be administered by public agencies is, I believe, a sound statement of policy. Just as all state commissions responsible

for the distribution of federal and state funds to local communities are public bodies, so in turn should those local units be public agencies responsible for the expenditure of public funds in the same manner as any other municipal or county department.

This policy obviously must be interpreted on a realistic basis in various parts of the United States. Hundreds of private agencies scattered throughout the land have freely and generously offered their services in the administration of public funds. It would be a serious handicap to relief work if the abilities and interests of these individuals were lost. But these individuals should be made public officials, working under the control of public authority. Thousands of these workers are serving and will continue to serve without pay, but, if paid, they should be compensated in the same manner as any other public servant.

It is not the intention of this regulation to instruct the several states to make hasty changes in agreements which the state administration may have made with the private agencies. Adjustment, however, to this policy should be made no later than August 1, 1933.

This ruling prohibits the turning-over of Federal Emergency Relief funds to a private agency. The unemployed must apply to a public agency for relief, and this relief must be furnished direct to the applicant by a public agent.

Next, who should pay for this bill? I was the most surprised man in the world when I got to Washington and found that the federal government was paying 80 per cent of all unemployment relief in the United States. This was done by so-called loans, which of course will never be repaid. A great many of the things that happened in the administration of this relief work were due to the fact that both the states and the federal government took the position that the loans, being loans, it was none of the federal government's business how they were administered. All that is changed. They are grants now, and I have to sign my name to every one of them. Therefore the question of who shall pay for this bill becomes very important.

The federal fund is divided into two parts, one the so-called "matching fund" of \$250,000,000 and the same amount in another fund called the "free fund." I call it the "discretionary fund." The first fund is now working out pretty well. It means that the Federal Relief Administration will pay one-third of the public funds, including Reconstruction Finance Corporation appropriations, spent by the local community or state. We began by paying one-third on the first quarter of 1933, that is, one-third of public expenditures in January, February, and March. The cost to the Federal Relief Administration for the first quarter was \$67,000,000. There is a chance that we will be unable to make four payments out of \$250,000,000.

There is nothing in this law which says anything about one-third going back to local communities. The law says that one-third shall go to the state. That decision must be made by the state commissions. They must decide whether or not they shall pay rent, or just how it is to be spent. I have no notion as to what the bill is going to be. If we keep on as we are going now, the bill is going to be well over \$1,000,000,000. How long is \$500,000,000 going to last if we keep on paying 80 per cent? It will be gone before Congress meets again.

There is no question in my mind but that a lot of the states are completely lying down on this job. Many of the states have plenty of money, or they could have sold bonds. The only reason for their not doing so was that they thought they could get money out of Washington. We do not intend to be bluffed by any state. We are not going to help rich states that can afford to put up local money. I am glad to see that Michigan has created a fund of \$12,000,000 for unemployment relief. There are other states that should take this lesson to heart. Getting down to the local community, I know of one very large city in the United States that is not putting up a dime for relief work. It takes great pride in this fact. I have told the state administration that they are not going to get a nickel of our money for that city. So far as we are concerned in Washington, we will make

any state in the Union a reasonable offer. We will meet any state more than halfway, and I assume that state commissions will deal in the same manner with local communities.

Regarding transients.—The bill says we shall take care of transients. Our general policy on transients is this: Any state, or group of states, that wishes to present a plan for the care of transients can submit such proposal to us, and, if approved, we will finance it 100 per cent, on the condition that the money will be used exclusively for transients. It cannot be diverted to any other purpose. We propose to do something about this transient business. I know of only two or three states that have done a serious job in caring for transients. I don't know exactly what we are going to do, but we are going to set aside \$15,000,000 or \$20,000,000 to use for the care of transients.

We are going to put some money into self-help and barter. We propose to take perhaps a half-dozen of these schemes which are approved by state unemployment commissions. We intend to experiment at once with four or five schemes in various parts of the United States. We are going to get a group of people who know something about it to advise us, and we hope to do something right away.

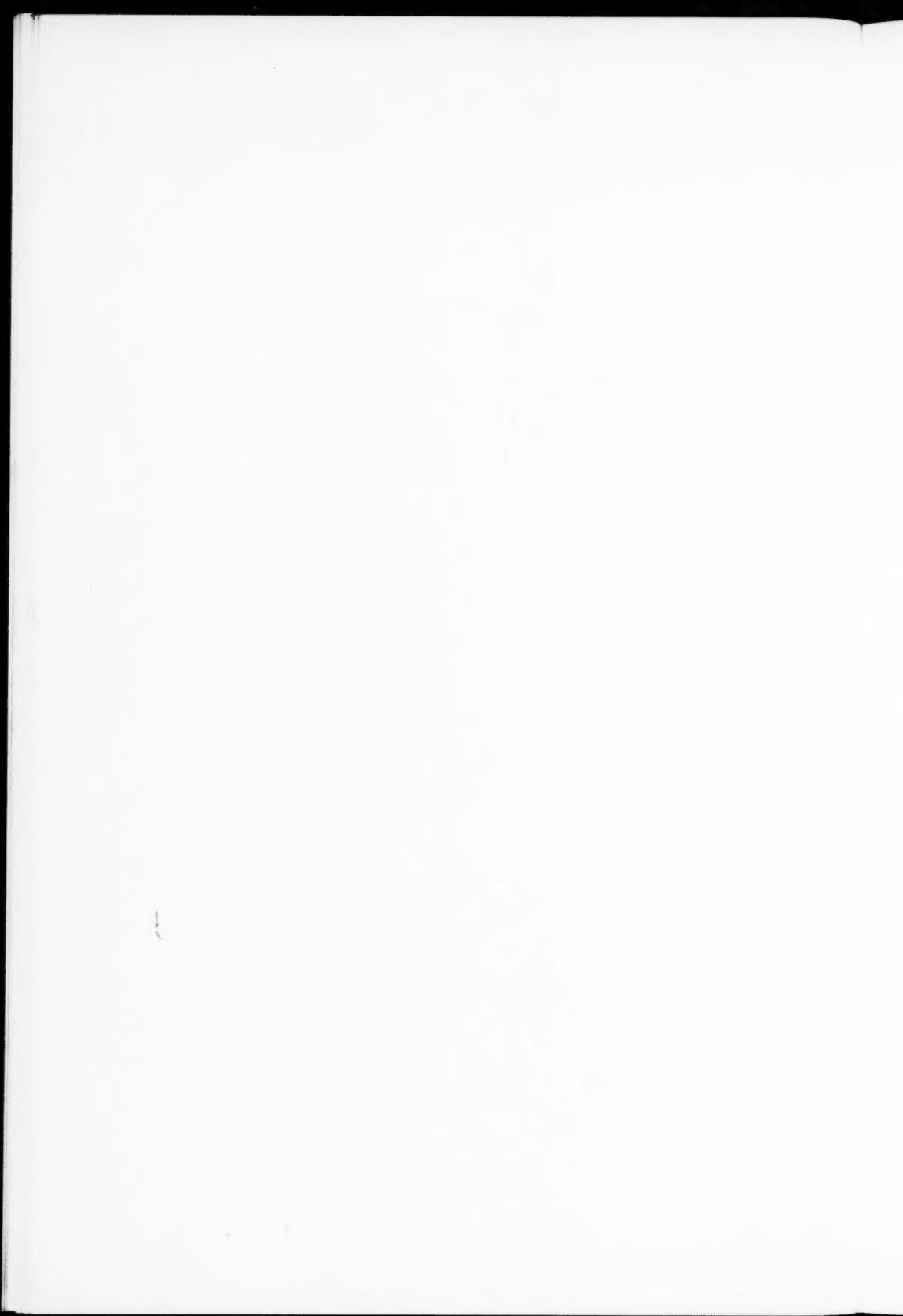
The whole business of experimentation in this bill is very broad. I am tired of reading unemployment reports which repeat over and over again the terrible situation in this and that place, about miners in various counties who will probably never earn a living again. Here is the chance of a lifetime to do something about some of these things if we have any brains at all. I am for experimenting with this fund in various parts of the country, trying out schemes which are supported by reasonable people and see if they work. If they do not work, the world will not come to an end. However well this thing is administered, this enormous relief business can never be anything more than a makeshift. We had all the power and all the money that we needed in New York. We could hire all the social workers we wanted, and we had some terrible unemployment-relief admin-

istrations in New York. But I do not get too upset about it. We propose to see that the unemployed get some relief. Fortunately we do not have to go through this battle alone. The picture has changed, and, whether you believe it or not, the new deal is here. Two acts have been passed; the Industrial Recovery Bill and the Public Works Bill. Nobody knows how the Trade Recovery Act will work out, but my guess is that between now and October 1 at least two million men are going to be put to work through this section of the act. The Public Works Bill certainly should put one million men to work between now and October 1—perhaps a million and a half. If anybody thinks there is going to be a long delay with this business, he is greatly mistaken. The amount of \$400,000,000 is to be spent on public roads—twice as much as last year. Through this we can wipe out relief loads in whole counties in some states. We are not going to put public works and roads near centers of unemployment merely for the sake of putting them there, but the great cities should get their share of the jobs no matter how far we have to move them to put them there. The public works on roads, I should judge, will get under way within thirty days; it should have reached its peak by October. I have great hopes of this trade-recovery and public-works business.

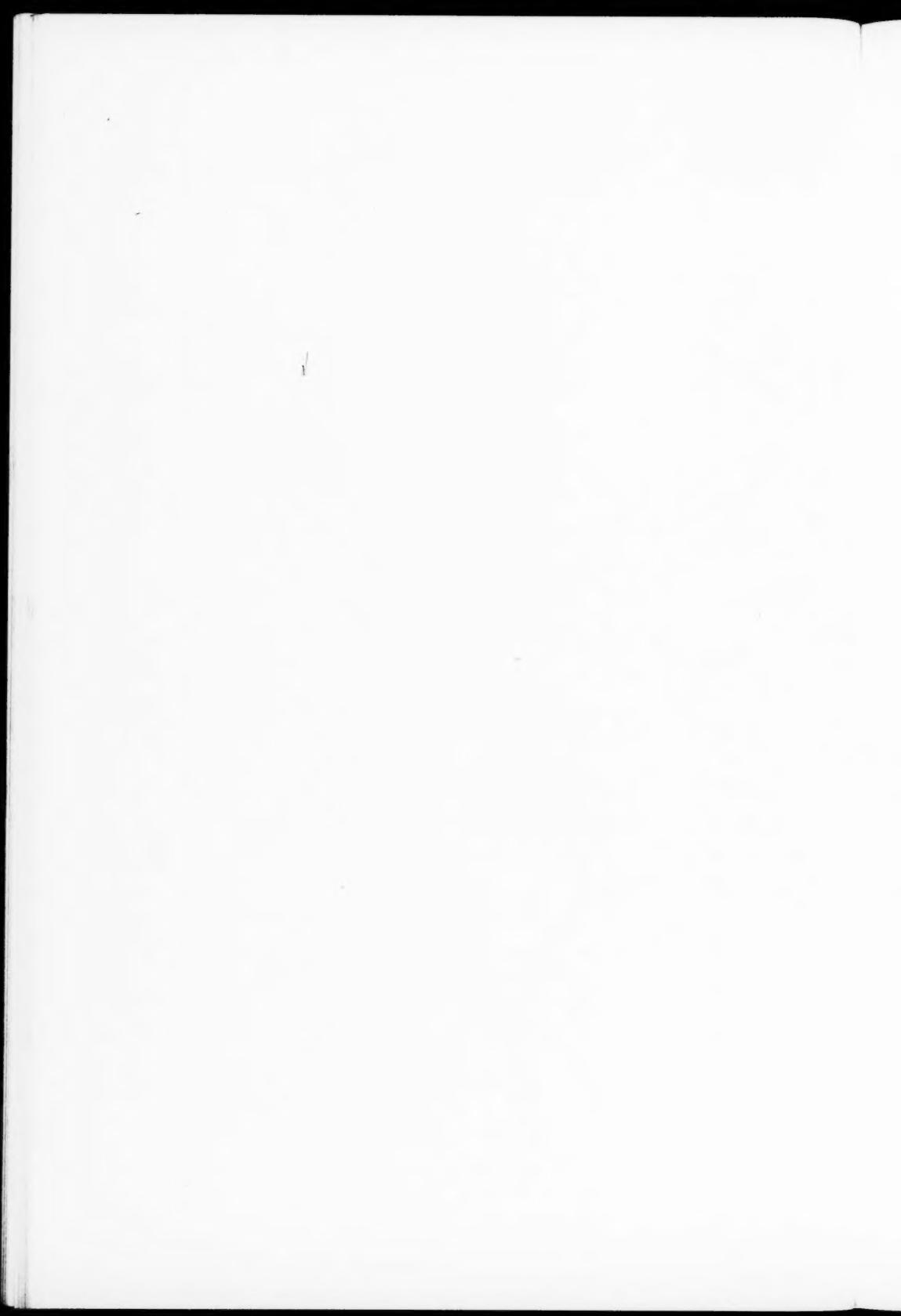
We have these great armies of government—trade recovery, public-works relief, United States employment service—all marching hand in hand under the direction of the President. Anybody tied up in Washington is part and parcel of the administration. In a unified attack under the President's direction we are doing the work. I believe firmly that we are going to win. That is why I am not too worried about relief. Surely we cannot go on having four million families being handed grocery orders and tickets for clothing. Three hundred people in a city in the United States worked full time and averaged \$3.50 per week during the last week in May, and every one of them received relief. The Federal Relief Administration does not intend to subsidize miserably low wages. We do not intend to permit any-

body to use relief funds to reduce the standard of living lower than it is now. We are not going to allow relief agencies to starve people slowly to death with our money.

I think we are in a winning fight. We want to do a good job. Our job is to see that the unemployed get relief, not to develop a great social-work organization throughout the United States. Our business is to see that the people who need relief get it, and we intend to do it.



DIVISION MEETINGS



CERTAIN PHILOSOPHICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHILDREN'S CASE WORK

*J. Prentice Murphy, Seybert Institution and Children's
Bureau of Philadelphia*

WHEN men smile and agree, progress weeps." No one can fairly accuse large numbers of social workers of either of these things in so far as they are concerned with the underlying philosophy of social work, which deals with human beings in all their countless relationships, from birth to death. Even death may not interfere with influences which often remain as determining factors through succeeding generations.

André Maurois in his *Aspects of Biography* says:

We have together been in pursuit of a shadow which has been flying before us—the shadow which is the truth about a man. Every time we thought to lay a hand upon the ghostly shoulder of the phantom, it split into two others which fled by different paths in opposite directions. On one side there ran the acts and the outward life of the man duly embodied in documents and evidence; one knew that he had travelled, that he had met such and such a woman, that he had delivered such and such a speech. On the other hand there was his inner life, and it was this particularly which vanished just as we thought we had a hold upon it.

Albert Bigelow Paine, who wrote the best life of Mark Twain, lived with his subject during his last four years. After completing the biography he said:

Every life is a drama—a play in all its particulars; comedy, farce, tragedy, all the elements are there. To examine in detail any life however conspicuous or obscure is to become amazed not only at the inevitable sequence of events, but at the interlinking of details, often far removed, into a marvelously intricate pattern which no art can hope to reproduce and can only feebly imitate. The biographer may reconstruct an episode, present a picture, or reflect a mood. . . . At best his labor will be pathetically incomplete, . . . mainly . . . an outward expression, behind which was the mighty grasp and tumult of unwritten thought, the overwhelming proportions of any life, which no other human soul can ever really know."

In the literature of social work are many contributions concerning the social worker's understanding and treatment of human personality and his interest in the social and economic factors which affect each of us. In their most vital aspects they add to the stream of philosophical thought which has flowed through the ages. The mystery of personality is not a new discovery.

Some kinds of social case work may ultimately prove to be the millstone about the neck of social work. For many years one of the handicaps of social work was a certain intellectualism on the part of some members of our budding profession expressed in their attitude toward this very important method used by social workers. Personally I would like to see the term become less of a derisive password among ourselves and people on the outside. We have never been able to give it the color in the eyes of people so that it will quickly appear to be what it is in the hands of the skilled and competent social worker.

It was once a moral affair, then social, then economic, and now it is being urged as a matter largely of psychological interest with a varying amount of displacement of the other factors. We all operate in accordance with certain rules, certain ideas—some call it a philosophy. Nothing ever stays put—not even philosophy—certain great principles carry over; this is certainly true of social work.

We developed the atmosphere of case work in which most of us were trained, with no sounding of the slogan of adequacy of relief, we gave friendship in place of bread; we separated mothers and children; people did not need alms—they needed friends. We became specialists in organizing love for the needy—they did not like it very much and the bystanders were frequently humorous, often cynical—some went beyond this. The profession was sweetened in spirit and saved more times than its leaders realized, because the rules were violated by great numbers of workers. They were able to overcome the rigidities, thus revealing that humanity which is in all of us. Then just when changes and protests could no longer be checked, we entered

into the eventful years of the war and beyond. Wars are not supposed to bring many blessings. But the World War did a lot to give shape and depth to modern social work. Suddenly, with national war-chest drives, home-service relief, the beginnings of the whole financial chest movement, we had money enough to do things for people, to get things for people—to fix up their teeth, to introduce new baby carriages into neighborhoods where they had never been seen before. The whole nation had a kind of release from repressions; anybody who wanted a job could get one; everybody had money; married women could get work. Under the influence of a supposed surplus we rediscovered personality as a profession and as a people, first in terms of so-called shell-shocked soldiers and then everybody else. We began to play more, and more of us began to live in better houses. Everybody had a personality—babies, prisoners, old people. We likewise discovered health. A lot of things our pioneering social-work fathers recommended began to come to pass. We discovered new opportunities through education. On a large scale there seemed to be a lot of agreement with the Elizabethan thought, "Private vices are public benefits." We elected to reverse ourselves on this in the Prohibition Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and now we are in reverse again.

When you study people you are likely to range into the cosmos and then back again, just as great souls have always done, but new tools came to us, touched with science and art, and the result was a great flowering of thought in regard to personality in all its power. We revealed its ugliness, its strength, but until recently not very much of its beauty.

All during this period when social work expanded like every other activity, there continued certain fundamental interests in the economic aspects of human welfare along with certain general and specialized social work. We are in the fourth year of a great war—it is a more terrible war than the other war to which we have referred. The earlier war had a lot to do in causing this second affair. We are faced with unprecedented demands for relief in terms of food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. In

the midst of our difficulties a great many members of the profession see greater values in the direction of a further penetration and study of personality. Changing environments playing with economic forces have less appeal than that which at the hands of some has become a highly involved psychic phenomenon.

What has all this to do with children, with their parents, with everybody? It has a lot to do because certain pretty fundamental social-work considerations are at stake. Is social work to be an exclusive or an inclusive field of action? On this twelfth of June there are pretty close to half-a-million dependent children in these United States—children who are being cared for apart from their own parents. During the next ten years this one group may reach totals as high as three or four millions. When we add other hundreds of thousands who present problems of neglect and delinquency and the children born to unmarried parents, the interest of the children in the stake which is social work becomes oppressive with its weight.

In 1931 Dr. Cabot, in his presidential address at Minneapolis, largely rejected Miss Richmond's *Social Diagnosis* as a part of present-day effective social-work literature. In his judgment it was outmoded. He felt that social case work had been warped by medical analogies. He took issue with Dr. Stearns who, at the 1930 Conference, said: "A hypothesis has been set up, mainly, that the proper way to handle the problems of human beings is first of all to find out what is the matter with them."

Dr. Cabot challenged this. He thought treatment often should precede study; that a very helpful job might be done without knowing anything about the client; that in many situations we got our "firsts" somewhat mixed up; that social work should find a substitute term for diagnosis; that often the client, if given a chance, could get along very well without any help; that the securing of factual information frequently destroyed the relationship essential to any plan of help; that when medicine and psychoanalysis were looking for causes, they were harmful; and, finally, that no real assistance could come from any mechanistic philosophy of social work.

A number of these criticisms were not new. Some of us felt that he was not seeing the whole field; that while emphasizing some phases of a newer social-case-work program, he was also critical of what might be called conservative positions. Some of his statements confused us. His strong emphasis on relationships has been construed as a discarding of much that is thought to be fundamental in social work. On the other hand, I think there is general agreement with much that he said.

Cause and effect remain among the oldest of philosophical and scientific considerations. The quest for beginnings is eternal. There are many "causes," both social and economic, which clients would not resent if and when we discovered and discussed them. Social work at its best is beyond some of Dr. Cabot's implications. We are clearly aware of the restrictions which the creative side of our profession must always place on rules and regulations. There is much of the amateur in the first long years of individual service.

Social work means different things to different people. Not all of the confusion is found outside of the profession. While people always have been the center of our thoughts and actions, these have varied and never have been above criticism. Certain recent contributions to philosophy have reawakened and illuminated the interest of increasing numbers of men and women in the study of personality. But we must not forget that the dim past offers rare and profound interpretations of human relationships.

Is social work just case work? Is case work all of social work? Antoinette Cannon defines social case work to be the application of a certain method in its appropriate field of operation. The distinguishing characteristic of case method is that it proceeds by particularizing individual instances of the problem of the profession, whatever the profession may be. In other words, it is but a part of social work—essential, to be sure, but not the whole sum.

A year before Dr. Cabot's address Miss Robinson's notable book, *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work*, was pub-

lished. In it she presents a powerful argument for the understanding of personality and "the concept of relationship as a basis for interpretation." These interpretations are to be arrived at by mutual interplay between social worker and client, evolving treatment the roots of which go back to first contacts. This book, taken in conjunction with Miss Robinson's distinguished paper on "Psychoanalytic Contributions to Social Case Work Treatment," presented in 1931, may be said to give one of the fullest and most clearly defined pictures we have of the significance of psychoanalytic thought and practice on the meaning and methods of present-day social case work. Therefore I am addressing myself to some of the points which have been stressed in these contributions from two of our leaders.

We are told to give our faith to a generalized instead of a specialized social case work. Specialization is thought to be superficial, but perhaps inevitable, as a practical and administrative matter.

In *A Changing Psychology*, special stress is placed "on the experience relationship in case work" in terms of a hypothesis, namely, Rank's concept of the analytic situation as a dynamic situation in which the patient works out his own "will," his conscious desires, and his unconscious strivings against the attitude of the analyst.

Two conditions seem to stand out as characteristic of this situation as utilized by Rank. The first may be described as the analyst's acceptance and understanding of the patient's attitude as they emerge as an expression of the patient's real self. This attitude of acceptance releases the patient to use the analyst simultaneously, as an identical self and glorified object, and so permits a unique sense of union with the other. . . . A second equally striking and essential characteristic of the analytic situation is secured by the patient's acceptance of this experience as a separation experience in that he must leave it daily and in the end finally.

Further highlights in the book emphasize that knowledge alone does not guarantee our capacity to accept individual differences in clients; that it is essential to be aware of what is taking place in our contacts and in our own identifications; and that we stress a discarding of old securities for new ones through

"contacts where the client's reality" and not our own is the important thing. Personal and social histories are interesting but have little value in treatment, although there is no escaping the fact that histories are essential in the training of students. It is the present, in terms of the client's relationships to those factors in his environment which affect him emotionally, that has value. History should not be needed to bolster up uncertainty or to serve as a substitute for our lack of knowledge of the immediate situation. It should issue from the client naturally and spontaneously. We are to evaluate the offerings of history by the client as an escape, an excuse, a defense, a release, a means for securing attention, or a sound effort to think through to the meaning of the unity of one's own life. Our chief concern through all this is as to the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of this concept.

The worker and the client must have a regard "for the integrity and individuality of each other." The worker must have security sufficient to enable her to leave it "and enter the reality of another individual's feelings." This must be "a living through the other's attitudes and experiences in their essential meaning." We must accept differences. The author is skeptical of human nature in the face of such a job.

The reactions to psychoanalysis and to psychoanalytic case work as the chief approach—by implication—to practically the whole social-case-work field have been deep and searching. Is the central objective of social work to be a study of personality in terms of relationships between workers and clients, stressing the present with much exclusion of the past? Consciousness of changing psychology gives no promise that the new will be permanent.

A social-case-work approach through "the concept of relationship as a basis for interpretation," with all of the accompanying recommendations made in connection with such a proposal, connotes a new school of social case work. Those who resist or actively oppose some or all of the new points of view find themselves deeply involved in the current literature dealing with

psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis. Salmon made it clear to us that the psychiatrist considered mental hygiene to be as much a part of social work as of preventive medicine. Therefore it is inevitable that social workers, thoroughly prepared, who place the greater weight on a specialized link with personalities will enter very far into the field of psychoanalysis.

Freud in one of his recent statements declares that more and more people favor psychoanalysis "as a therapeutic procedure." Its principal successes are, however, with "the milder neuroses -- hysteria, phobias and obsessional states." It is impressive to have him say:

In every instance the treatment makes heavy claims upon the physician and the patient; the former requires a special training and must devote a long period of time to exploring the mind of each patient while the latter must make considerable sacrifice, both material and mental. . . . Psychoanalysis does not act as a convenient panacea upon all psychological disorders. On the contrary, its application has been instrumental in making clear . . . , the difficulties and limitations in the treatment of such affections.

Zweig, in a very remarkable tribute to the genius of Freud, says in speaking of psychoanalysis:

The method requires such a delicacy of feeling in those who practice it, needs such purity and understanding of vision, and so lavish an expenditure of precious spiritual substances, that only one with inborn gifts can be successful in this field. . . . Psychoanalysis should always remain a mission.

He speaks of psychoanalysis as "an inquisitorial process."

We have clearly in mind the different schools of psychiatry and psychology. The contributions of Freud, Jung, Adler, Rank, Watson, Thomas, and others are generally known. Each has his followers. However, the underlying and original contributions of Freud to this whole field of thought make it inevitable that psychoanalysis, even when diluted, be evaluated in large part on the basis of his premises.

Strecker and Appel point out the difference between the different schools, holding nevertheless that analysis "or other effective psychotherapy" are of real value in diagnosis and treatment. Havelock Ellis, one of Freud's friends and his first English interpreter, says:

Freud's activities are, above all, plastic and creative, and we cannot understand him unless we regard him, above all, an artist. . . . He is an artist who arose in science and to a large extent remains within that sphere, with disconcerting results alike to himself and his followers when he, or they, attempt to treat his work as a body of objectively demonstrable scientific propositions.

Mitchell calls attention to the pessimism which seemed to surround one of Freud's best-known essays, "Beyond the Pleasure Principle." This pessimism seemed to be an outcome of his belief "in a mechanistic theory of life." To him there is a possibility that Freud's whole approach may ultimately be swept aside through a destruction of his "assumption that all the phenomena of life and mind can be interpreted in terms of the physical sciences."

I cite these particular references—many more might be included—to give support to the position that we are in a debatable area. Social case work has been a very contentious subject among social workers and others. It bids fair to continue to be so. We cannot have widely dissenting schools on such an important phase of social work. Let us hope that it will be possible to say in regard to divisions or schools of social-case-work thinking what Gardiner Murphy said concerning the various psychological schools: "The more they will see that their tasks are similar, are definite, and are finite, and with adequate biological and social foundations much can be done toward the solution of their problems."

What types are suitable for effective analysis or social-case-work relationship interpretations and experiences? Why is it not possible to analyze superior men and women in prison? Why are we not more mindful that reality is never easy and often very hard to face—in fact, it usually takes a high quality of courage to face it. If an analyst is limited to from eight to ten complete analyses a year, and that even for the person giving short therapeutic analysis the total maximum for a year is quite limited, how large a volume of social-case-work problems can be handled through an intensified psychoanalytic form of case work? Are we ready with our answers as to whether the

major values of social work are to come through such specialization and concentration?

We are all guilty at times of easy assumptions, and we all lack at least a certain amount of historical perspective. When we urge a generalized social case work, how can we forget the fact that modern social work developed from generalized social work? The latter was rejected because of its limitations and inadequacies. It was able to see so little of the underlying problems. "Sanity in mental hygiene" becomes no idle quest. There is no royal road in psychiatry to a knowledge of humanity. To it we are indebted for an enrichment of our terminology. We now know what are the psychological processes which occur in given situations. Motives, urges, drives, complexes, transference, projections, inhibitions, identification, reversion, represent aspects of personality which have always been in evidence. As Bond has stated, men have always wanted to do something here and now. They have always had perceptions and a developing ethical self.

As we advance the investigation of the subconscious in psychoanalytic case work as a process of treatment to be performed by social workers and others, to what extent have we given weight to the therapy of the confessional? To what extent are we aware of the values which come through this service of the church? To what extent does it succeed in building up independence of character? To what extent is the fervor of the psychoanalytic advocate similar in some of its emotional aspects to the emotional expressions of certain religious adherents?

The obligation for the broadest possible concept of the job of understanding was never better expressed than by Bond in his speech of acceptance of the Philadelphia Award:

I turned first to the study of mental diseases and then I found a much more interesting thing—the mental patient. I found some of these persons were too logical for this practical world of ours. Others regarded outward success as inner failure; some were so simple that they reminded me of children, and the more I turned to a study of children, the more I saw the likeness between mental patients and children . . . the more I saw of mental patients the more I saw they were like myself; their virtues and their vices were mine, but theirs

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were written more large, and then as at one time I had the chance to see genius in action, I found that those men and women were really closer to mental patients than they were to me. . . . We were all in the same boat—mental patients, children, myself, and other ordinary people, gifted people, geniuses.

Psychiatry carries with it much of the flavor and atmosphere of the laboratory. It is highly institutionalized in much of its thinking. There are many evidences of this in psychoanalytic philosophy; some of it appears as it touches social case work. The memorable address by Dr. Frankwood E. Williams in 1932 might be said to mark a bold advance by psychiatry into the field of those social and economic factors which make or destroy mental health. Where men work, how they work, what wages they receive, where and how they live, were questions which he felt we were not answering with sufficient honesty to get results. In other words, here was a psychiatrist seeing people not only on the basis of what they might reveal in an office or a laboratory, but also the relationship which does exist between personality and an environment which is something more than a portrayal of present conditions.

An enormous service has been performed by those who have clarified our thinking in regard to what goes on in the interplay of the personalities of the client and of the worker who represents not only herself, but the vague and generally ill-defined organization of which she is a part. The great overwhelming portion of social work of every kind in these United States is concerned with underprivileged people many of whom feel inferior to or are in revolt against the forces about them. This is true even for a large proportion of those who come to us as a result of unemployment. The longer the depression continues and they remain in a state of dependence, they will likewise take on the habits of thinking and the attitude characteristic of all underprivileged people. The fear of charity is age-old. In the study of *Middletown* it was quite clear that with scarcely an exception the clients of social agencies came from working-class families. The character and personality effects of economic in-

security were evident and widespread. With what penetration Arnold Bennett said, "If you've ever really been poor you remain poor at heart all your life."

Clients are often in search of a savior. With many of them it is a philosophy that in this life no problems ever are solved. It takes a long while to overcome their reticence. There are differences in people in a community like unto the differences between national types. Living in the sort of society prevailing today, the majority of people have developed a sustained practicality thought to be necessary in overcoming the materialistic atmosphere which surrounds them. They cannot be bothered by too many anxieties of an ethical nature. Often we have to deal with clients whose intimate personal lives must be viewed against the backgrounds of an industry or of a neighborhood, the poor ethical standards of which tend to make one indifferent to every ethical appeal. Moreover, the transfer of activities and interests from the family to outside groups tends to place all of its members under an additional strain in their daily contacts with each other. While the great mass of people live in the present, there is a larger consciousness of the past than we realize. This never is revealed through short or casual associations or attachments, and these are the people who, as parents and neighbors, create or affect social institutions which in turn become parts of the environment for future generations.

How long does it take a client to relax to a worker, to an agency? What kind of office atmosphere is most conducive in bringing this about? To what extent are our offices so forbidding, so unlovely, that the mere surroundings depress the spirit? What of the personality of the agency? Let us read again Harvey Cushing's *The Spirit of the Hospital*. Truly we must enter into the reality of the client's feelings, and this will involve an understanding of what it means to be an applicant to a social welfare agency. It will help some social workers to understand why other social workers do not want to have social work done for them.

It is one thing to approach the expert on that plane of equality

always assured when one is able to pay for the services sought. It is another thing for a client whose life is an economic or social tragedy to seek free help, fully aware that one should not take without giving something in return, the puzzle being what to give. For all of us relationships are ever rising and falling on ever changing tides. There is an element of constant change in all human relationships. We are never the same personality or entity from day to day. Events act upon us. We act upon events. We are always trying to appraise people on a part of themselves. It is not until they are dead that we have the whole picture.

When some talk about the desirability of treatment with little factual information, little personal history, when they seem to commend summary treatment, we must remember that great volume of sordid, casual, and uninformed work which for generations has characterized our institutions for prisoners and the courts of law. The major task in the prison field is to get enough of social, personal, and other history and data to prevent ignorant punishments.

Social work must have a broad basis of factual information. This information must come through consideration and sympathy, often lacking in an earlier day, and still hindering much of it today. It is inescapable that public social work, relief, hospital, health, courts, reformatories, prisons, and other agencies must operate on the basis of much history-taking, much factual information, and relatively short and infrequent contacts between clients and workers; but it is also imperative that these services be stripped of that harshness of spirit which has been so common.

We seem to be "gun-shy" when anyone talks about causes. We must not be too nebulous, too mystical. There are social and economic conditions operating outside each life, and their effects on our personality may be very definite. The influence of pathological conditions on personality has been the subject of widespread scientific study. The greatest strides in preventive medicine have been concerned with certain social and economic

factors affecting health conditions. If we belittle or neglect these factors, we are very near to dangerous ground. Mankind always has sought a miraculous escape through magic, delusions, and religion. The reasons for this are clear. A study of child welfare over the last fifty years reveals the personal and social consequences of the disregard of factual information. If we are to test results through research we must have data upon which to go. Diagnosis for social treatment must, in part at least, follow the Freudian method.

We have always liked to see things happen without too many questions. Perhaps this accounts for the development of some of the hard and ritualistic programs in the name of social case work. We face many dilemmas. Tennyson solved it in a very modern way. You recall the story of Queen Guinevere. She has been discovered in her love for Lancelot, and flees from the palace to a nunnery. She asked the sisters to give her sanctuary, but to make no inquiries until she was ready to speak. "Her beauty, grace and power wrought as a charm upon them." We are further told she lived there for many a week not giving her name, but wrapped solely in her grief. If one desired to be critical, one might say that the Queen suffered from no inferiority because she came from a privileged class.

Here and now I wish to pay tribute to Miss Richmond for her fundamental stress on the importance of a broad factual foundation for social work. Nothing yet said in criticism of *Social Diagnosis* has weakened the essential strength of her position. Those chapters of her book which deal with the nature and use of social evidence may well be regarded as a part of classical social-work literature. If for no other reason than to provide "developmental histories," for students in training it is desirable to have this book re-written and brought up to the level of present thinking. Her great qualities as a teacher were handicapped by that seemingly insurmountable difficulty which faces so many teachers in the field of social work, whether in schools or agencies, the fact that the teacher almost never practices the art she is teaching. She becomes more and more remote from

the lives of people. As we become more professional we have the ever present danger of a remote relationship to the sweat and grime of life.

Miss Richmond's chapter on "The Underlying Philosophy" is a piece of great writing, general in its sweep, to be sure, but this is the quality of all great philosophy. I am glad she said in her concluding chapter:

It will still be necessary to study the social relations of people in order to find a remedy for the ills that will continue to beset them . . . it may also be projected that the forms of organization now responsible for case work will change, that its scope and skill will advance far beyond the present day practice described in this study, . . . methods and processes . . . will subordinate themselves to a larger whole. It is only through devotion to that whole—not through any narrow insistence upon technique alone—that we can submit ourselves in the right spirit to the task of analyzing individual situations. . . .

We all appear to be obsessed with the idea that talking things out always gives relief. Is this really so for a great many people? Are there not many things which we cannot talk about? Some doors of the mind do not open—should they open? There are some things which honor will keep us from telling. Did someone speak the truth when he said "There is a luxury in self-reproach" and again "Silence never betrays you"? Carlyle gives us this great sentence, "Silence is the element in which great things fashion themselves together." Henry Adams in his *Education* tells us, "Of all characteristics in human nature, this [silence] has been one of the most abiding. Mere superficial gleanings of what, in the long history of human expression, has been said by the fool or left unsaid by the wise shows that, for once, no difference of opinion has ever existed on this." "Even a fool," said the wisest of men, "when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise." The wisest of men, when he spoke the highest wisdom, has been counted a fool. They agreed only on the merits of silence in others.

Many years ago Dorothy Canfield Fisher wrote a story under the title of "The Gift of Oblivion." It was about a man who had been mentally ill for a long period of time. He fled from his

family to become a simple laborer for a florist. Long years afterward he broke the shell of his reserve, telling a medical friend that what he sought was the oblivion which came to him through his work with flowers. Mrs. Fisher makes it a story of great significance. "The gift of oblivion"—what a phrase! How sure are we that many of those who come to us desire to be brought back from an oblivion to which they have fled, or desire our services in the termination of what is for them a healing experience?

STATUS OF CHILDREN'S WORK IN THE UNITED STATES

C. W. Areson, Cleveland Humane Society

AN AMAZING situation exists in the children's field in this country. In spite of our wealth and our traditional devotion to childhood there is widespread child neglect and relatively little public concern about it.

After the World War this country flamed with determination that the horrors of war should no longer be visited on children. Our citizens by the thousands poured into Europe a golden flood of succor to save the future citizens of other lands. Our government appropriated millions. In our own country the Federal Children's Bureau led a great movement to save our underprivileged children from neglect. There was a second White House Conference, and three years ago a third. It seemed that we were committed to real opportunity as the birthright of every child, at least within our borders.

But in the darkness of the depression years we seem to have lost sight of this goal. Our efforts are confused. For example, it is tragic that even today, in the fourth depression year, we do not know the extent of need among neglected and potentially dependent children. Every one of the many correspondents who contributed to this paper stated that need outruns services. And yet not one gave any hint that his community had devised a way to learn the full effect of the disaster upon the children. Concern for children must again be raised above the threshold of public consciousness.

At the National Conference in Providence in 1922, when we were emerging from a milder depression, Miss Grace Abbott said: "We all know that the problem of unemployment is in its last analysis a child welfare problem. In the past and at present

a large burden of unemployment has fallen, not on industry and not on the community, but on the backs of little children. These children, passing through any particular stage of life, lose forever those benefits, which come from having enough to eat and a happy home, free from that harrowing anxiety of not knowing how food and clothes are to be secured. No child should suffer this anxiety in the United States." That these words are again applicable is little short of a national disgrace. Has not the time come to lift from children the horrors of the depression?

One fact alone seems to me to mitigate the situation. There is the Federal Children's Bureau, and in a great many of the states there are state departments or bureaus whose business it is to know about children and to develop services for them. To the extent that these departments are efficient and continue to be supported they can be spokesmen for the children. It is therefore of the utmost importance that they continue at the top of their efficiency and that all social forces combine to guard their services from the raids of false economy.

To a certain degree it would appear that services to children are in somewhat the position that the services to families were a few years ago. I refer to those days, now so remote, when officialdom, big business, and the leaders we were then expected to heed were telling us that unemployment-relief need was not as great as we thought, that there were yet local resources to be tapped, that charitable people would come forward in the American manner to support their stricken neighbors—in a word, that the situation need not be squarely faced for the major disaster that it is. In the family-relief field this stage is history, the need is acknowledged, and no responsible official or leader of opinion is using the discredited phrases current less than three years ago.

In the greater complexity of the children's field, not a few communities are still in the stage of uncertainty as to whether child need too must be faced as something unprecedented, or instead as something that does not require for its solution the strong forces of government, but may be left to the responsibil-

ity of community chests, churches, groups, localities of voters, etc.

All available data show a tremendous rise in foster-home care, more particularly in boarding-homes; static or even declining populations in institutions; and these trends seem to hold generally for the various sections of the country represented in the statistics. That foster-home care should have been capable of such great expansion as the depression demands rose higher and higher is an interesting commentary on the flexibility of community provisions already existing, and also an indorsement of the practicability of the program as well as of its appeal to thousands of families whose personal participation in it alone make it possible. If reasonable standards may be maintained to safeguard both the foster-families and the children placed with them, there should result from this experience a wider understanding both of the numbers of children who have to be cared for and of their essential likeness to all other children. The "orphan" of other days ought to be even less a representative symbol.

At the same time there is some evidence of makeshift procedure, highly dangerous to the children and devoid of almost any consideration of their personal fortunes. For example, a member of the Child Welfare League of America reports the following: "The county authorities have been doing more child-placing themselves, either boarding children in needy families in lieu of relief orders, placing them through an agency outside the county which makes free home placements, or placing them in boarding-homes of their own selection so as to feel free to remove them to free homes if any become available."

One hopes that this may be an isolated instance, yet it does not stand entirely alone. In one large city, family-agency workers have felt obliged by the restrictions on intake in the children's agencies to place neglected children from relief families informally with other relief families or with relatives receiving relief. In this instance the family agency is protesting that its workers should not be forced to these unsatisfactory measures.

From another large city comes a guarded statement that there seemed to be some tendency in that city for family agencies "to enter fields which have hitherto been regarded as the jurisdiction of child-care agencies."

Over against this should be set evidence that children's agencies in some communities have expanded their functions to undertake giving relief to families whose children they are supervising either in the absence of adequate relief service or by agreement with such agencies. In several places family agencies are giving relief in the homes of children under the supervision of children's agencies while the latter continue to carry case-work responsibility. In one city the Welfare Department pays board for children for whom it asks the services of the children's agency.

Undoubtedly the availability of funds for one particular type of work or another greatly influences arrangements in some places, with the restriction of federal aid almost exclusively to family relief playing a prominent part. Probably the following statement or some variant of it would describe the situation in a great many places: "Demand on private family agencies has absorbed private funds, and ability of children's agency to accept children for care is limited. Need for food and shelter has diverted municipal funds from child care." In quite another manner finance is hampering normal work for children in a county where "more families have been referred to us for clothing because of increases in applications but decrease in service of Poor Board"; or in a midwestern city where an institution finds "we are handling cases which in normal times would be cared for by a family agency"; or where, family service being inadequate, "more families are applying for care of children where lack of income is the major difficulty."

Confusion of function is thus aggravated not only by pre-existing status of one or another type of service, but also, more evidently, by the adequacy or inadequacy of general relief programs. The rôle of the relief program is well illustrated in two large eastern states adjacent to each other, in one of which a

very efficient relief program was organized early in the depression while in the other the organization was much delayed and the program has not yet become adequate.

Conditions in the first state are described as follows: "While calls for assistance have increased, the development of home relief under the state relief administration, on a much more adequate scale than home relief has heretofore been granted, has held the number of children requiring care away from their own homes to a minimum, so that there is no great increase in the number of dependent children cared for outside of their family homes." Compare with this a statement from the second state: "Speaking generally, both in the home office and in the county branches we are at the present moment on a *status quo* basis—that is, we are attempting to hold the number of children in care at a level point. Normally some children are passed from care and these we are replacing by taking in new ones."

The agency in the first state finds that boarding rates generally have not been reduced, and in some instances desirable foster-families have been given special financial assistance; salaries of workers have been cut 10 per cent in about one-half of the counties; nowhere has the work been curtailed; the support of the work and the children is largely on public funds and payments have been made promptly. In the second state the situation is far different. Public authorities in one county are in arrears over two months in board payments; in another, almost as long; in a third, the agency's branch is having to use private funds "to pay board for children in foster-homes, because certain of the township poor districts in that county that had agreed to pay the board for their legal wards are bankrupt."

In the first state there is general employment of qualified social workers; in the second, the struggle still goes on to replace the often wasteful poor boards. In the first, a long-standing county organization program for child care paved the way for relief organization, at the same time commending skilled service; in the second, only a modicum of county organization had been achieved. From the first state comes word that "the

bank holiday had no material effect upon children's work in the State"; from the second comes word of serious embarrassments from impounding of funds in closed banks.

This illustration is given in some detail to show how the competence of the relief program bears directly upon the character, soundness, and stability of the children's work program, whether protective or child care or both. Children's work, at the moment, is the second line of defense.

Curious and unfortunate attacks upon state welfare departments have been reported from a few states in different sections of the country, with no apparent trend save the general disposition to cut off expenditure. In one state the department was loaded by the administration with many political job-holders, and therefore was particularly vulnerable; in another, as the director of the state department did not see how to reduce institution expenses, he concluded to retrench on the staff and child clients of the Children's Division; the American Legion came to the rescue of a certain fledgling department, and defeated one of the most callous political groups in the country. Meanwhile, national leaders seem to anticipate that federal organization for relief must depend greatly upon state departments.

Children's services, other than simple care for children, are undoubtedly suffering. Probably most of us have heard a board member, or public official, or budget committee suggest that protective and preventive work should or must give way in favor of payment for the board of children. A state-wide protective agency has noted an appreciable increase in calls in each of several years past. Set over against the impossibility of increasing staff, this has produced unreasonably large case loads. Perhaps the opinion of the executive of this organization might express the experience of many in this aspect of child care. He says, "While unemployment might be expected to increase dependency it should not necessarily increase neglect. However, our agencies have noted that family tensions have developed or been intensified by reason of unemployment of husbands and

fathers, with consequent breakdown in family morale, and abuse and neglect of children. In fact, the depression has very evidently increased our work. We have noted, also, that minimum standards of family life and child care have fallen during this period. Public opinion, as expressed through the judiciary, is somewhat tolerant toward neglectful parents who plead unemployment and lack of family resources." Similarly, comes a report from an eastern state that public services for early delinquents are curtailed, and probation and visiting-teacher services are reduced. In a large midwestern city cases are going more rapidly to the juvenile court, school clinic and visiting-teacher services are abolished, and it is known that a large number of children, although certainly in great need, are not being reached at all by the agencies. Probably no one could estimate the amount of need for service to children in such family situations.

In the May 15 *News Letter* of the Child Welfare League of America it is stated that about one-third of the one hundred member agencies answering a questionnaire indicated lessened or inadequate community services for children in various special groupings. Among the correspondents who assisted with information for this paper a considerable number referred to decreased intake, smaller numbers accepted for care, and cuts in service because of decreased income. Such reports would seem to contradict the large increase in the number of children in care shown by the statistics of the Federal Children's Bureau. In certain urban communities, however, the contradiction is more apparent than real. A great number of agencies are leaving children in doubtful homes from which they would have been removed in more settled times. Where this is accompanied by adequate service it may not in the end be entirely unfortunate.

But there is evidence, on many hands, that service is not available and that in many places something not far short of abandonment is taking place. Of the one hundred agencies referred to, eleven reported complete closing of intake and forty-six a partial closing, for rather long periods of time. The condition is frequently complicated, too, by the necessity of providing

care for older children for much longer periods than hitherto. Work and free-home opportunities are increasingly hard to find. Older boys, older girls, children long since ready for discharge, are remaining in the care of agencies in every part of the country, to their own distress and the barring-out of new children who should be received. Free, wage, relatives', and adoptive homes are breaking in large numbers under the strain, thus throwing many children back on agency support. In two and a half years one agency had to finance three hundred children that had previously been in care without financial support from the agency. Thus numbers in care may rise while acceptances for care fall.

From a recent report of the Duke Endowment, which subsidizes and standardizes institutions in the Carolinas, the following quotation, from the bulletin of one of the institutions aided, shows a point of view full of promise for the future:

The distress that comes because of the small receipts these days has driven us to more intense study of methods and plans. We are continually raising the question as to what could be changed to make things better. . . . It is apparent that we are doing our very best work at present in studying individual cases under the guidance of a trained social worker. Effort is now being made to give systematic study to the situation of the close relatives of the children, for in so many cases it is possible to secure the return of a child to relatives under fairly satisfactory conditions, and in every such case, room is made for reception of another child. . . . The work that is now being enlarged would not be undertaken at all without the assistance of trained social workers. . . . It would be a great deal better to stay out of the field than to try to cultivate it with folk who are unqualified. . . . It has been a grief and a mortification all these years to answer so many requests for service by simply stating the Orphanage was full and that we could not do anything more. With the present outlook it is to be hoped that we may be able to give attention with reasonable promptness to every call, even though we do not promise to work out every problem and meet every difficulty.

For contrast with this vigorous and constructive policy one might cite experience from one of our larger cities.

During a recent two-year period sectarian institutions in this city increased their numbers by only thirty-one children, had about two hundred vacancies, and at the same time turned away many applicants. Case-work service was available to one-

half only of the institutions. One institution placed many children without such service. Other institutions in the same city used their full capacities, decreased six in total numbers and turned away fewer applicants. These institutions, having case-work service, have been less seriously blocked by a decrease in discharges in the early years of the depression.

It is likely that under the leadership of various state departments of welfare and of national agencies such as the Child Welfare League of America there will be brought home to institution managements generally a realization that to get the utmost service out of their plants there must be social planning for their children through case-work service.

Adoptions seem not to be affected to any discernible extent except in scattered localities. Many applications to board children are inspired by desire to replace income reduced to a dangerous extent. The Child Welfare League of America finds that three-fourths of the member agencies replying to their questionnaire have reduced boarding rates in different amounts, but that these reductions had not seemed to affect the care given the children. One wonders whether these rates will be raised with the rising costs that seem likely to follow inflation. Dental and medical work have been curtailed in some places. One executive expressed his belief that child care may be forced to follow relief in providing subsistence alone and that auxiliary services—psychological, vocational guidance and the like—must be abandoned for the time being.

From only a small minority of communities comes any evidence of systematic community evaluations. From one such, however, the picture is very dark. In 1932, as compared with 1930, applications had increased $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent while limitations on acceptances have been the general rule without alternative provisions having been set up. Institutions were keeping children in care 20 per cent longer in 1932; parents were surrendering children whom they cannot support; those children accepted by agencies and institutions were showing noticeably worse physical conditions; wage homes had often become a

means of exploitation—"Children are being exploited as in the old days of indenture placement" is the statement.

But black is not the only color. For example, exceptionally well-trained and vigorous leadership in the sectarian work in a certain large city is shown in a 20 per cent increase of children at board; only a small reduction in salaries and boarding rates; a perceptible increase in medical and psychiatric service; and a determined effort to work out a method of caring for all of the older children who are in need. A state-wide agency reports that community-chest failures and other similar happenings have furthered the merging of its case-work service with institutional programs to the advantage of several smaller cities.

Redistribution of services upon a planned basis is going forward. In one or two cities children's services are being separated from their former family-agency connections to become self-contained children's aid services. In one of them this includes the merging of certain institutional facilities that had hitherto remained more or less unconnected with the case-work program of the community—a much-improved arrangement. In certain states where governors or state departments of welfare, or both, have been alert, social work is being implanted in areas heretofore barren of such services. It would seem probable that the new administration of federal aid would definitely accelerate this development.

Perhaps these illustrations, taken in conjunction with material from national sources of information, will suffice to describe in a rough manner developments and happenings in the field.

There remain several general considerations. Public funds are widely used for children and the use of federal funds for children is now proposed by some. The administration of public funds in this field has many unique difficulties. No one would wish to have federal funds support all children's work. But when one considers the actuality of need, the helplessness of the children, and that the return of employment will not restore to many of them lost families, mothers who have died and fathers gone insane, it is very apparent that no one can be content with any-

thing less than the soundest and most far-reaching plans for long-continued service. It is a first charge on public as well as private funds.

This undoubtedly means the use of public funds in increasing measure in the establishment of public services and by the granting of emergency subsidies to private organizations. It does not appear to me possible that in the midst of this emergency there should be created overnight in every community public departments, sound as the principle is that public moneys should be expended by public agencies. The load cannot be shifted too rapidly.

In the first place, the need outruns the capacity of possible public units in a great many places, and, in the second place, it is not to be expected that quickly assembled organizations could function with enough efficiency to take over at once from private hands this great volume of service and maintain it for years to come. However, beginnings should certainly be made where there is none, but subsidy to private agencies out of public funds will have to be resorted to even though recognized for the make-shift that it is. Fortunately, there are certain safeguards that can be set up as requirements for agencies receiving subsidies. State child welfare departments may set up definite requirements of personnel and standards. Funds may be matched where state departments recommend; reports and inspection are already established in this field. Too rapid a shift to public agencies, also, if introduced in blanket fashion, would wither those personal values that have made social work effective throughout our history, by cutting off the flow of interest from citizens who feel personal responsibility, would injure the private agencies as pacemakers in progress, and inculcate an attitude of dependency on the state which, however sound theoretically, we are not yet sufficiently educated to use without abuse. Wholesale commitment of children as public dependents would not only outrage case-work principles but would produce such a weight of expenditure as this country has not seen. It must be understood

that child care is often a long-time responsibility, and longest of all when undertaken by the average public department.

Of course, subsidy should not be a permanent policy. That would merely insure lack of responsibility on the part of the spending agency, and at the same time dry up the sources that now finance our private work. It would be a temporary measure at best, to be replaced by a program properly including public care as speedily as reasonable organization development may permit.

Throughout the gathering of this material as well as in the material made available by the Child Welfare League of America there has appeared little indication of replanning of services based on changes in or discoveries of new technical methods of dealing with children's difficulties. This is, to my mind, neither surprising nor discreditable, and is of the greatest practical significance. It emphasizes that the depression has not created new types of children's cases comparable to the new unemployment cases in the family field. There is not in this field the possibility of organizing services of partial scope, yet adequate to some portion of the needs among children. There should be no hesitation in campaigning for financial provisions flexible enough to meet increases in child care as they develop. Many communities which have agreed that the relief agencies must meet demands as they come have not, as yet, applied this common-sense principle to children. Somehow they seem to assume that children can wait. Neither logic nor economy justifies such an attitude. Humanity condemns it. Children, above all others, cannot wait. Determined effort is required to implant this fact in the public mind, but logic and fairness support us.

Where replanning is going on, it is to secure clearer lines of responsibility; to eliminate outworn services; to make way for new developments in public service; to bring into community participation institutions that have stood more or less aloof.

No one doubts that the children's field has before it a further time of stress. It is heartening, in the face of this, to realize how widely work for children is already present in public welfare

programs of the states, a more advantageous connection than is found in any other case-work field. The Federal Children's Bureau, state children's bureaus and departments, state institutions, mothers' aid legislation, juvenile courts, children's code commissions in thirty-five states, should make it much easier to secure state and national recognition of needs, even though they are complex. All this momentum reinforces our efforts.

I have attempted to point out that we are facing something of a collapse in public concern for children, sharply at variance with our national traditions; that no reliable method of ascertaining their need exists, while at the same time there is widespread evidence of tremendous unmet needs. Through the federal and state departments and the national agencies we ought, however, to be able to make a successful drive to return attention to children. Care must be exercised neither to destroy private initiative nor to make private agencies mere parasites on public money. Organization must be sound, both for the protection of the children and because child care is a long-time program. Partial services, public or private or both, cannot be satisfactory, but there is real opportunity to formulate co-ordinated programs.

DIVISION ON DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Jane M. Hoey, New York City

IN THE sessions of the Division on Delinquents and Correction an effort was made to secure agreement, as of 1933, upon the functions of the five pieces of machinery established in communities to care for delinquents, namely, police, courts, probation, correctional institutions, and parole. The speaker for each session gave not only his own opinion but, in so far as it was possible, a composite opinion of a representative group of persons in the particular field of service involved. The following questions were submitted to each group for answer:

1. What do you believe to be the functions of the police or courts, etc., in a community social welfare program?
2. Do the institutions in your community fulfil these functions?
3. If not, what are the obstacles within these institutions or on the outside which prevent them from fulfilling the functions which you consider desirable? If the institutions are fulfilling the functions which you approve, state the steps which were taken to secure these results.
4. By what criteria do you judge the effectiveness of these institutions?
5. What machinery has been set up in your community or in your state for evaluating the work of these institutions and what methods have been found effective? If no machinery has been established, what would you like to see developed and how could this be accomplished?
6. What further co-operation or assistance on the part of other agencies, public or private, local, state or national, would you advocate to make these institutions more effective in this field?"

There was a sufficient amount of similarity in the replies to the foregoing questions and in the material presented at the conference to make it possible to summarize the discussion briefly. What Commissioner Watkins said concerning the work of a police department might apply equally to any or all of the other institutions. "A police department in a modern city has such an important part in the social life of the community that its activities and its attitude necessarily and inevitably affect, very directly, any social welfare program." Assuming this to be true, the speakers pointed out that if these institutions are to be effective it is essential that the following points be seriously considered:

1. Their personnels should have a social viewpoint or the ability to acquire one, special training for the work to which they are assigned, a broad conception of the field of work of their organization, and a willingness to co-operate with other agencies in the community so that the largest measure of service may be rendered to individuals and the community.
2. Standards of work must be maintained on a high level and some plan for continuously evaluating results must be devised.
3. The organization must be kept flexible so that it may be adapted to meet changing social conditions, and, when necessary, special divisions within a department should be established to do intensive work on a particular project or with special groups.
4. Work with delinquents must be integrated with other types of social work in the community so that it may receive its appropriate share of community interest and support.

It was generally agreed by all the speakers that important obstacles in the way of progress in this field of social work would include the following:

1. Lack of clear definition as to function.
2. Limited vision as to possibilities of work on part of staff and community, including other types of social agencies.
3. Inadequate personnel and improper method of selection.
4. Difficulties of maintaining high morale of staff when there is no security in tenure of office; wages are low; there is no systematic method of promotion;

there is political interference; the necessary tools for doing good work are lacking, and funds cannot be secured for necessary work.

5. Impossibility of attracting to the service and keeping a high grade of personnel in the light of the difficulties stated above.
6. Lack of co-ordination between various departments within the field of delinquency and between this field and other forms of social work.
7. Lack of yardsticks for measuring the effectiveness of work in this field.
8. Insistence of autonomy on the part of local units of work and therefore inadequate supervisory machinery on a state or federal basis.
9. Lack of organized and sustained community interest and support.

In the discussion the objectives of the work were more or less clearly defined and the obstacles in the way of progress were forcefully presented by the speakers; the practical methods of overcoming these obstacles were not very specifically suggested. Perhaps this might be the program for another conference.

THE FUNCTION OF A POLICE DEPARTMENT IN A COMMUNITY SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM

James K. Watkins, Police Commissioner, Detroit

APOLICE department in a modern city has such an important part in the social life of the community that its activities and its attitude necessarily and inevitably affect, very directly, any social welfare program. Many times every day the police department comes into direct contact with problems of social welfare, and the attitude of the members of the department toward those problems is certainly an important factor in their solution.

In general, it may be said that the duties of a police department are the preservation of the public peace and safety, the prevention and detection of crime, and the apprehension of the offender. Unfortunately, as it seems to me, from time to time other duties have been imposed on the police which could be done just as well and at less cost by other agencies, but nevertheless the main functions of the police are as stated above. Until quite recently, the detection of crime and the apprehension of offenders, together with the preservation of the public peace and safety, have been almost the sole endeavors of the police—the prevention of crime has been merely incidental. Even though the police regard the prevention of crime as incidental, they still must be worked into any efficient social service program. They must, for example, have some contact with child-caring agencies, with psychiatric clinics, with health departments, and so on. But if a police department interests itself more actively and more directly in preventive and protective work, then that contact will be much more frequent and the co-ordination between the police and the other social agencies must be perfected, the relationships must be clearly understood,

and the work to be expected of the police must be rather definitely defined.

My questionnaire was sent to about twenty persons, mainly heads of police departments, but including one or two others who might be presumed to have views on the subject. Ten replies were received—a good percentage considering that the requests went out only on May 29. The replies were interesting and varied. I shall not attempt to discuss them in detail, but I shall in the course of this paper give you the gist of the views.

The first question—"What do you believe should be the function of a police department in the social welfare program of a community?"—received a variety of answers, ranging from the view that the police should have nothing to do with a social welfare program, that they have plenty of other work to keep them busy, to the other extreme—that the police should not only be interested in the protection of the people, but should undertake the treatment of the individual with a view to bringing about physical or social adjustments. Does not the proper function of the police lie between these two extremes? It seems to me that in a social welfare program the police department should:

1. In the selection of its personnel have standards sufficiently high so that it may reasonably be expected that its members will have some social viewpoint or at least be capable of acquiring one.
2. In its training develop a social viewpoint, teach all its members some proper conceptions of citizenship and public service, and give them high standards of police work, not merely as thief-catchers but as guardians of the general public welfare.
3. Develop in its organization special departments for crime prevention, working, however, within rather definite limits.

If I am correct as to items 1 and 2, the general run of policemen would soon be co-operating actively with various social agencies. They would be asking for help from organizations dealing with boys; they would be calling to the attention of the proper agency the special needs of a particular location, and otherwise actively participating in a social welfare program; assuming, of course, that the higher officials in the department were in sympathy with such an attitude for the police. As to

item 3, there is room for much difference of opinion as to the organization and scope of crime-prevention bureaus. In our local department we have two divisions which do this work, the Juvenile Division and the Women's Division. The first works with boys and young men; the second with children, girls, and women. How far should these organizations attempt to go? To begin with, it must always be kept in mind that they are police agencies—policemen and policewomen—and not psychiatric workers, probation officers, or the like. To say this may be merely begging the question, but I do not think so. As police officers their duties are primarily to serve the public, and they are interested in the individual, in general, only as the individual affects the public, or, at least, other individuals. If this be so, then in dealing with an individual they should not be expected to attempt his treatment, but only put him in the way of receiving treatment. To put it in another way, the police officer cannot be a case worker, but he can be a feeder to case workers and he likewise can be instrumental in bringing to the attention of proper agencies conditions and situations which need attention.

In our Women's Division, for example, we have a director, two sergeants, and thirty-three policewomen. Last year they came into contact with over nine thousand women and girls. Obviously that staff cannot give care and treatment to any such numbers. They can, however, if they are of the right kind and have proper training and supervision, diagnose the case and direct it into the proper channels, whether it be the juvenile court, the general criminal court, the Girls' Protective League, the Young Women's Christian Association, or otherwise. They can also find the sore spots in the city, or some of them, and initiate the steps for improving the conditions. In the same way, the Juvenile Division can do similar work.

Just what the organization should be, whether there should be one division or two, how large the staff should be, whether they should work from a central bureau or from the precincts, are matters of detail. But the general principles outlined above

seem to me sound, and also unless the police do take a definite place in the social welfare program of a community, neither the police nor the other agencies will work to the best advantage.

As to question 2—"Does the police department in your community fulfil these functions?" the answers varied. One or two officials were quite sure that their departments fulfilled the functions, and perhaps they did, as the officials viewed the functions. In one case where apparently a broad view of the subject is taken, the answer indicated that to a very large extent the functions are fulfilled; but the conditions in this particular instance are rather unique. In the main, the answers were that they did not, except to a limited degree; and certainly that is true in Detroit.

Let us consider question 3—"If not, what are the obstacles within or outside of this department which prevent it from fulfilling the functions which you consider desirable? If the department *is* fulfilling the functions which you approve, state the steps which were taken to secure these results." In those cities in which the functions were being fulfilled, in whole or in part, the steps taken were numerous:

- a) Active participation of the chief of police and other police officers in the Council of Social Agencies.
- b) Creation of a crime-prevention bureau, or similar division, with definite aims, purposes, and standards—in brief, to do police work with a social viewpoint.
- c) In one instance, organization of a crime-prevention association and a criminal justice association, both citizens' groups.

As to the obstacles within or without the department, they are many in number. There may be mentioned (though the list is not inclusive):

1. Politics—the curse of the police departments of the country.
2. The frequent changes in the head of the department, resulting usually in change of policy.
3. Lack of interest, or even active opposition, on the part of many police officials, which, of course, is a most serious obstacle.

4. Lack of funds, resulting in inability to put the program into effective operation. For example, in Detroit, we should have at least double the number of policewomen and our Juvenile Division should be at least four times its present size. An increase in personnel would permit distribution of the division in details in the precincts, which would increase greatly their efficiency. This lack of funds also results in an inability on the part of the officers to study conditions, their time being too much occupied with individual police cases.

5. Lack of opportunity properly to study the material, the records, and the conditions.

6. In many instances, an unfortunate attitude on the part of other agencies, or their workers.

- a) Sometimes a failure to appreciate what the police can and will do.
- b) Or at times a superior "high-hat" attitude toward the policeman or the policewoman—quite naturally resented.
- c) Or a tendency to use the police merely as errand boys, guards, or subordinates and not as co-workers on a problem.

7. The attitude of the public toward the police, an antipolice feeling, which makes it very difficult for the police to do constructive work.

8. Lack of appreciation on the part of the public, and even of some professional social workers, that the police can and will do preventive or protective work. Many people turn to the police only for discipline or punishment. They frequently, as a last resort, appeal to the police to frighten a child into being good, and they resent any attempt on the part of the police to try to find the reason for the trouble and so suggest a cure.

9. Social workers frequently overlook the fact that the police have to deal with an immediate problem, and for that reason cannot always use the best scientific methods of approach. For example, if a man is under arrest on a charge of having committed a crime against a young girl, the police may have to go

at the matter in issue quite directly, rather than employ the indirect method of the psychiatrist, which may be better for the girl, but takes longer and might result in the offender's being released on a writ of habeas corpus for lack of evidence.

10. A serious and practical problem arises in those cases in which members of the public—parents, social workers, doctors, or others—know that a crime has been committed but do not report it to the police. Present court procedure in dealing with immorality cases leaves much to be desired, but most distressing results have frequently followed the failure to report these cases to the police.

Perhaps the obstacles would generally fall under three heads: (a) lack of interest on the part of the public and the police; (b) lack of funds; (c) lack of co-ordination, understanding, and co-operation.

Question 4 was: "By what criteria do you judge the effectiveness of the social welfare work of the police department?" Among the answers were:

1. Has the work resulted in the reduction of crime? It is, of course, difficult to answer this conclusively. If a reduction in crime appears from the records, no one can say to what it is due. But it is fair to give some credit to the work of a crime-prevention bureau, if the results happen where such a bureau is working, and also if the attitude of the people with whom the police workers have made contact changes from an antisocial to a social one, whether those people be the young people or their parents.

2. If there is a decrease in the number of repeaters, if first offenders do not appear a second time, then the protective work is bearing fruit.

3. The opinion of other social workers and their answer to the question, "Would you approve of the discontinuance of the social service program of the police?"

4. The feelings of those actually engaged in the work, who, if they have the proper conception of their task, can judge whether they are getting results.

It seems to me rather too soon to expect any great results from this work as yet, at least, in most cities, as the efforts to date have been largely experimental. It will take many years to develop methods and also to secure the co-operation of police, public and other social agencies. As results appear, however, it will not be difficult to evaluate them.

Question 5 was: "What machinery has been set up in your community or in your state for evaluating the work of the police department and what methods have been found effective? If no machinery has been established, what would you like to see developed and how could this be accomplished?"

The answers to this question included police records, a state mental hygiene survey, which made favorable comment on the social welfare work of the police, and a Criminal Justice Association. It seems to me that an organization, supported, which will interest itself on a strictly non-political, non-partisan basis in all questions connected with crime, criminal procedure, and the administration of criminal justice, would furnish the proper machinery not only for evaluating the work of the police department, but also for constructive criticism and assistance. Such an organization is becoming more necessary every day in our great cities.

Question 6 was: "What further co-operation or assistance on the part of other agencies, public or private, local, state, or national, would you advocate to make a police department more effective in this field?"

Suggestions were:

- a) Membership by the police department in local, state, and national welfare organizations.
- b) Social-work bulletins and magazines should include articles dealing with the work.
- c) Students in social-work training schools should have opportunity for theoretical training relative to police welfare work, and I should add, to police work generally and also opportunity for supervised field work.
- d) Exchange of information between police departments concerning boys going from one city to another.
- e) Organization of a council of the various agencies dealing with the various angles of the problem.

It seems to me rather obvious that, given a police department doing the kind of preventive and protective work we have been discussing, a council of all agencies engaged in the work is essential if real efficiency is to be attained. Such a council, with representatives of the police, the courts, probation and parole departments, child-caring agencies, girls' protective agencies,

settlements, school authorities, playground groups, and the like, should produce co-operation and co-ordination of activities, promote mutual understanding and respect, and generally get results.

In closing, let me confess that I have received quite a number of new ideas while preparing this paper and I realize its inadequacy. But I also want to impress on you that police departments are moving ahead—and they are improving. Much remains to be done. How rapidly and surely the improvements come lies almost entirely with the public. For many years we, as citizens, have paid little or no attention to the police. Only occasionally, when a scandal was uncovered, did the general public take any interest in the police department. It was apparently assumed that the police department must be in politics—part of the political organization. Today this attitude still remains the same in large measure, but it is gradually changing. Interest in all public matters is increasing and the police departments are sharing in that interest. Politics is no necessary part of police administration, and a police department need have no more scandals than any other organization of similar size. But citizens must take an active interest in these public questions. Is it not fair to assume that if the police departments take their proper place in a community social welfare program, one of the results will be an ever increasing interest on the part of the community in the police department and a public demand for constantly improving police work? If the public want better police departments and demand them, the police departments will respond.

THE FUNCTION OF COURTS IN A COMMUNITY SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM

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THE word "community" and the word "social" each suggests a cross-sectional view of the community and the title suggests unified action for a large objective. This series of symposiums is designed to indicate the importance of each one of the various public agencies in a unified community program. Our great difficulty, however, is in getting the necessary larger point of view to make possible the projecting of such a program or of working it out. We often hear the expression that "one is unable to see the forest because of the trees." This is true not merely because of ignorance of the existence of the forest, but also because of a state of mind which results from a provincial attitude and from a lack of wide experience.

Provincialism may result not merely from living in the province and being unacquainted with what is going on in the home country, but also from living in the home country and being unaware of the provinces, and in this field of work not infrequently we find the highest degree of provincialism in the minds of those whose experience is limited to that of one well-organized community department and who are unfamiliar with what is going on in the rest of the country.

Difficulty in securing the larger point of view results also from the development of a degree of expertness in one's own work which results in irritation and exasperation at the inefficiency of others less expert, which inefficiency is highly characteristic of our democratic government; and, finally, it results from selfishness upon the part of the expert and his desire not to be bothered by those who may be equally expert but who happen to be working in other groups.

The result of this narrow thinking may be to persuade a person to do his own work and to resist the efforts of all others to come into his field. We have seen this in our discussions, manifested in the unwillingness of the juvenile court and probation officials to concede the possibility or the desirability of intelligent and effective work being done with juveniles by police-department officials, and we have seen it revealed also in the attitude of a former police commissioner, who stated that 99 per cent of the policeman's work is non-social in character.

Another attitude which grows out of narrow thinking is that of the person who becomes cynical and futilitarian in his attitude toward the world and who says, "Oh, what's the use of bothering with all these folks?" And then there is the attitude common among my academic colleagues, which seeks to escape the hard practical world and looks over across the morass toward the mountains of Utopia. Of course, such a person becomes practically useless in a program which must deal with present-day people and present-day problems.

In order to develop the subject from the point of view of the courts and of their relation to other agencies in the community, a questionnaire of eight questions was sent out to a mailing list consisting of the directors of the American Judicature Society, which consists of two members from each state. This list was selected because those who are concerned with the work of that society have been dealing for a number of years with the problem of better court organization. The questionnaire was also sent out to the mailing list of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations. Most of the replies which came in are from lawyers and judges. I shall give the results of the replies in a summary fashion and in connection with each of the questions which appeared in the questionnaire.

1. What is the function of the courts in any community social welfare program?

Four of the replies indicated no knowledge upon the subject whatever. Of course, this is a shameful revelation of ignorance

and indifference upon the part of men who are members of the bench and bar in their various communities, but it is a graphic illustration of the state of mind which actually prevails upon the part of large numbers of the members of that profession which is charged with the administration of the work of our courts.

A few of the replies revealed not merely ignorance but antagonism, and consequently an unwillingness to know anything about the problem. Some revealed an antagonism based upon an unfortunate attitude toward sociologists and social workers which is, of course, an evidence of the lack of co-operation which causes the present poor functioning of community social welfare programs.

A few of the replies indicated a willingness that courts should co-operate but only by means of the exercise of the judicial function; that is, by determining controversies between particular individuals or between the state and defendants in criminal cases. A few of the replies indicated a slight acquaintance with juvenile courts, probation, non-support cases, adoptions, and domestic relations court work, and such replies indicated a friendly attitude toward co-operation of courts with regard to such matters. One reply suggested the value of using big brothers and religious workers in supplementing probation work. One spoke of the value of the court in adjudicating social welfare problems of the children and the homes. One said that the courts should act "to make effective the requirements of organized social agencies, or when such agencies are unable to solve specific problems."

Another group of replies warmly advocated large-scale co-operation:

Walter A. Lybrand of Oklahoma, chairman of the American Bar Association Committee on Selection of Judges, said: "From experience I believe that in the average community a judge who is fearless, intelligent, and informed can do as much on the social side as public opinion and politics will permit."

Walter L. Flory, former president of the Cleveland Bar Asso-

ciation, said in his reply: "To co-operate in both letter and spirit in the fullest measure permitted by the law, and when the law does not recognize the requirements of such a program to adopt and submit to the legislature the amendments necessary to permit the court to function with such co-operation."

Judge J. Hugo Grimm of St. Louis, Missouri, who participated in the Missouri Crime Survey of about eight years ago, made the following statement: "The courts should be interested and, in so far as possible, participate in any community social welfare program. The law is one of the social sciences, and courts are constituted that justice in its widest sense may be done. In addition to merely deciding controverted questions of law and fact, there is room for a great deal of constructive work for courts."

Robert P. Shick of Philadelphia, secretary of the Comparative Law Bureau of the American Bar Association, said: "Courts in any community should be responsive to an enlightened public opinion in social welfare work, and mold the machinery as well as administration of the law by courts correspondingly."

Newton D. Baker, who has been active for many years in the Cleveland situation, both in connection with the Cleveland Crime Survey, the work of the Cleveland Bar Association and of the Cleveland Association for Criminal Justice, as well as in his official capacities as an officeholder in that city, made the following strong recommendations: "Juvenile and probate courts, in my opinion, should be closely allied to the whole social welfare program of any community. Criminal courts should function in the light of all the information which social agencies gather as to background and family conditions."

D. A. Cheney, judge of the Juvenile Court, Orange County, Orlando, Florida, speaking out of his experience as a juvenile-court judge, made the following specification of functions:

1. To afford effective legal machinery and procedure in cases which, in addition to social investigation and treatment, need or require the authority of government.
2. To co-operate with social and legal agencies.

3. To support constructive and preventive community programs.

Clarence M. Lewis, chairman of the Committee on the Domestic Relations Court of the New York Lawyers Association, answered the question succinctly in two words, "Thorough co-operation."

It is interesting to notice that each one of these men has had a wider experience than that of the ordinary practitioner; and it is undoubtedly as a result of the thinking which they have done in connection with their work as presidents, chairmen, and secretaries of bar associations, of comparative law bureaus, etc., that they have realized the necessity for a wider point of view and a purposeful, constructive attitude toward the use of the courts in a community program.

2. The second question was: *Do the courts in your community fulfil these functions?*

Only a few of the replies indicated that the courts were functioning well. A few were willing to say that the courts were doing indifferently well and accomplishing some slight results. Mr. Lybrand put his finger on one essential point when he said, "In this state some judges function excellently and other judges do not. It is largely a personal matter." Mr. Flory revealed a situation in his community, which frequently exists, when he said, "As to the juvenile and domestic relations courts, yes; and as to the criminal courts, no."

A similar analysis of local conditions which reveals the unevenness of judicial functioning appears in the following statement from Judge Grimm: "The juvenile court here has, from the beginning, co-operated with and had the co-operation of the various social agencies. The courts of domestic relations have, in a much smaller measure, undertaken constructive social work, and the criminal courts have done very little in the line of social welfare work, although there is a wonderful opportunity for them."

3. The third question was: *What are the obstacles in the way of the effective functioning of courts in a social welfare program?*

A considerable number of the replies indicated that the main difficulty is a lack of a social point of view and training upon the part of judges and court attachés. A second specification was that of a lack of social service facilities and personnel in courts, and a corresponding lack of knowledge on the part of social workers of the functions and methods of operation of courts. Closely related to this appeared the ignorance on the part of the public and of those officials who provide funds of the importance of such service in connection with the courts. A number spoke of political influences, referring particularly to the appointment of unqualified persons, of short terms, of small pay, and of uncertain tenure of office.

Frank W. Grinnell of Massachusetts preferred to refer to professional, legislative, and community "caution," instead of ignorance, as a great obstacle. Newton Baker stated that the chief difficulty lies in the fact that the courts are already terribly congested with cases, which seems to require the speedy determination of disputes and which discourages a judge from taking the time necessary to secure the information and assistance which social workers might give.

Some other replies indicated that the greatest difficulty lies in the limited jurisdiction of courts as specified in statutes and constitutions.

4. The next question asked was: *What were the means used to accomplish the participation of the courts in your community in social welfare programs?*

Of course, many replied that no such programs had been projected or carried out. Credit was given by others to particular individuals; to intelligent trained personnel generally, sometimes to judges, and in one case Dean Clark of the Yale Law School reported "the best thing locally is a woman assistant city prosecutor." It is interesting to notice that in this case the inspiration for an improved functioning of the courts has

come from an officer from whom ordinarily no intelligence concerning community welfare programs could be expected. It is well for us to observe that we should look for intelligent assistance wherever we find it, and from whatever office it may come, rather than insist that it must come from the probation department, or the juvenile judge, or the police department, as special interest in the particular case might suggest.

In one reply to this question it was said that the means used was the enlightenment of the community by education; in another, by the more effective organization of the work of the courts; in several it was said that enlightened legislation extending the jurisdiction of the courts was responsible for the improvement; and in others, legislation creating new courts, reference being made generally to juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations.

Newton Baker stated that in Cleveland a community program was actually worked out. He said, "The judges of our local courts have joined citizen committees created by bar associations and other agencies and have worked out methods of co-operation which are constantly being improved and developed."

5. The next question was: *What machinery has been set up in your community or in your state for evaluating or checking the work of the courts?*

A large number replied that no such machinery had been set up. In other replies various agencies were named, including judicial councils, bar-association committees, crime commissions, presiding executive or administrative judges, an incorporated bar, a society for criminal justice, a state commission on administration of justice, a county juvenile board, a legislative council, and a chief justice of the Supreme Court. In two states credit for improvement was given to legislative investigation of the courts.

6. The next question, referring to the preceding one concerning machinery which had been set up in the community, was: *Has the machinery proved effective?*

As may be surmised from the answers previously given, the answers to this question varied considerably from a direct negative to a direct affirmative, with such shadings in between as "slightly" and "moderately." Charles A. Boston, reporting for New York, made an observation which, in my opinion, is more or less true as to the courts of every community, to a greater or less degree. He said, "There is no effective oversight by any organization. In minor courts, where the only administrative supervision is provided, the body of work is so overwhelming as to pass imagination (e.g., 839,000 cases in one year in the municipal court of New York City). There can be no effective regulation of this mountain."

7. The next question was: *If no such machinery has been established, what would you like to see developed and how would you suggest that this be accomplished?*

The answers were reminiscent of the answers to the preceding question concerning what agencies or machinery had already been set up. Suggestions were made for a judicial council, an incorporated bar, a social welfare council, a bar-association committee, boards of state and county public welfare, and for social service bureaus in all courts. One suggestion was that judges should be appointed for life. Another was that a sentencing board should be set up which would consist of a judge, a psychiatrist, and a social worker, which board should deal with all felony cases. Two opinions from lawyers, which reflect different experiences and different understanding of the problem, which came in in response to this question, are set up here by way of contrast, as follows:

R. ALLEN STEPHENS [Chicago]: I do not believe such machinery is necessary in this county, as there are only two courts dealing with criminal matters and they are working along the same lines.

NEWTON D. BAKER [Cleveland]: Bar Association committees with the co-operation of judges are the best agencies to use. The establishment of a co-operative relationship will easily lead to machinery adapted to local conditions.

8. The last question asked was: *What further co-operation or assistance of courts should be given in community welfare programs?*

Again the answers reflected the varying points of view already indicated. Some said that the courts should play no part in community welfare programs at all. Andrew R. Sherriff, of Chicago, explained that his opposition to such participation was based upon the inability of the courts, as at present constituted, properly to perform their judicial functions alone. He said, "I am not prepared to advocate the employment of the courts—of the judiciary—for this purpose. It is too badly cluttered and confused now to perform its natural functions, within its proper sphere, effectively. We ought to know better the qualifications and capacities of our machine before proposing to give it a super-load. I am for unremitting efforts to improve the machine before giving it more work to do." One reply stated that more machinery would merely complicate the present problem. Another said that a definite plan for supervision is needed. Another said we should develop "natural co-operation." Further suggestions were:

- a) Educational work to convince judges and probation officers of the importance of the work.
- b) Local councils of social agencies and workers tied in with state and national groups working in close co-operation with the courts.
- c) Courses on courts and administration of justice in schools for social workers.
- d) Increased activity toward this end on the part of local, state, and American Bar associations.
- e) Dean Charles E. Clark made the challenging statement: "Unless there is more real interest on the part of the public, starting with the upper crust of the legal profession, the chance of change is hopeless."

In conclusion it is probably necessary to do no more than to emphasize a few of the most striking points which have appeared in the responses to the questionnaire. The problem of determining the proper function of courts in a community social welfare program, and of putting those courts to work on such a program, is one which is difficult largely because of its complexities. Each state has a court system of its own. Within each

state there is considerable independence as between different courts, the judges frequently being selected entirely without reference one to the other, and usually without responsibility to anyone in the community except the people or to the governor. In the second place, the courts are terribly harassed with the work which crowds down upon them and which is primarily work involving the determination of issues of guilt or innocence, of disposition of juveniles, of granting or refusing adoption, awards of custody, property disposition, divorces, etc. The lawyers who man these courts, both as judges and as lawyers acting in an advisory capacity, are men who have been trained largely from the point of view of the common-law "single issue." They think in terms of excluding extraneous issues and of avoiding knowledge of background, environment, and of community problems which may have contributed to the particular case rather than in making use of such information. Many of them have been so poorly educated, from the point of view of sociology, economics, and government, that they resent any suggestion for the participation of courts in a community program as being something quite apart.

That the problem is an important one is inescapable. The courts hold the key position in the community so far as the social structure is concerned; the decisions of such courts are vital in the disposition of cases which affect the social activity of the community. Such decisions, if properly made, may expedite readjustment and effective growth, and if improperly made may be devastating in their effect, in the way of family disintegration and the demoralization of individuals.

The key position of the courts and the importance of the law which is administered in these courts, so far as the social program in the community is concerned, are so great that the possibility of accomplishment, by a wider and wiser development of the use of courts in community programs, is challenging. The courts might easily become not merely interpreters of a barren, sterile law, but interpreters and administrators of a law designed to accomplish great projects of social engineering.

The problem comes down essentially to two important points: One is the selection of personnel, for the immediate future, of men and women who are aware of the social implications of the work of the courts, and who are willing and able to use such powers as the courts now possess to make them effective participants in community social welfare programs. The second problem is that of the training of personnel for the future. This involves high-school, college, and a new type of law-school education for lawyers and for the judges who are selected from the lawyer group. It means a widening of the scope of education of social workers, particularly with regard to the interrelation of courts in the community program, and of ways in which the work of the social worker may contribute thereto. It involves, further, the education of the public generally and of legislative and administrative officials to make proper provision for courts, for social work, for clinics, and for the other agencies which have been mentioned earlier in this discussion. Herein lie our opportunities. To the extent that two or three persons, who see what is involved, are willing to get together and to plan, either for the immediate or for the long-time objective, to that extent will it be possible to secure results.

THE FUNCTION OF THE COURTS IN A COMMUNITY SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM

DISCUSSION OF JUSTIN MILLER'S PAPER

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IF COURTS are to be static factors rather than dynamic forces, then they have no function in a community social welfare program. Acceptance of either of these concepts depends upon what we hold to be the duties and responsibilities of judges. The old concept was that judges learned in the law and experienced in legal routine were to administer the law; that and nothing more was required of them. Judges were not even trusted to pass on issues of fact. The community reserved to itself, through the jury system, the right to decide upon the truth of the facts; the judge merely instructed the jury as to the law. What is more—in criminal cases the community decreed that there was to be no appeal from a verdict of "not guilty" rendered by twelve good men and true. Even in cases of a Scotch verdict ("not guilty, but don't do it again") the prosecution was permitted no appeal. This is still the law.

This reservation of the right to pass on the facts was doubtless due to the belief that the butcher, the baker, and the candle-stick-maker were better fitted to understand the everyday problems of human beings than were those whose training was necessarily legalistic.

Relegated by the community solely to the interpretation of the law, those on the bench "took a back seat" in regard to the problems of human relations. The only exception to the almost automatic function of the judge was his right to set aside a jury verdict which in the opinion of the court was unconscionable and clearly against the weight of evidence. No discretion

was given the judge in the imposition of sentence. Under the old concept of criminal-law administration the community fixed the penalties. The death penalty was meted out freely—even for petty larceny.

Under this static system the judge was no more important to the community in working out a social welfare program than was the village blacksmith. The job of the court was definitely prescribed and limited. It called for neither social planning nor social vision.

But strong-minded judges were restive under these restrictions and soon found a way of wriggling out of their confining limitations. There developed a group of judicial Houdinis. They realized that the often cold pronouncements of legislatures did not enable the court to dispense justice. They began to use their power of shaping law through judicial interpretation. As Mr. Justice Holmes has said, "Judges are not the mere automata of established rules of law, but are lawmakers, whether they would be or not, and so must accept responsibilities for the kind of law they make." Mr. Justice Brandeis blazed the trail for the correlation of social change and judicial action.

Then social workers began to plan and obtain legislative sanction for a more progressive administration of the law. Children's courts were established. The problem of juvenile delinquency was defined and methods were devised for its social treatment. Courts of domestic relations were set up to deal with family problems along socialized lines. Laws with relation to probation, parole, indeterminate sentence, social investigations, physical and mental examinations, and even psychiatry were put in the tool kit available to courts for the better handling of human beings and human problems. Laws were enacted requiring judges to visit the institutions to which they had the power to commit. The purpose of this was to carry the judge's interest beyond the mere imposition of sentence.

The new kit of social tools placed in the hands of judges is used, abused, or not used, depending upon the social vision and interest of the judge. When these new social service implements

were created, they were obviously intended to be used, but no provision was made for training judges in their use. The people who created and made available these implements for human betterment have a right to demand that they be used sympathetically and with discrimination. To permit them to rust from disuse is a breach of faith.

In order to render a just and intelligent decision, all the facts pertinent to the case in question must be before the judge. To this end judges should be permitted to ask probation officers to conduct investigations either before or after conviction, as they see fit. An investigation before decision might bring to light facts which would change the entire complexion of a case. It might save an innocent person from being found guilty and a guilty person from being found not guilty. At present, investigations are made after the final decision has been reached. The cart is put before the horse. This inversion of logical procedure was realized by those who constituted the children's court, where investigation is used as a basis for decision instead of as a basis for sentence. The concept of justice which gives judges in the children's court the advantage of definite data on which to base their decisions, applies with equal logic to courts handling adults. There is no logic to this chronological distinction.

The people have a right to demand understanding co-operation between judges and other governmental agencies which have been set up at public expense to evolve new and better ways of handling the age-old problems of human adjustment. History records that old methods have failed. Mechanical and brutalized law never curbed brutes. In old England, pickpockets were publicly hanged as an object lesson to others with light-fingered tendencies. What was the result? The foot of the scaffold, where the crowds assembled to see the hanging, was the favorite spot for the operations of pickpockets.

Progress will never be made in finding new cures for old ailments except through experimentation and the intelligent application of new treatments. Surgeons and dentists have invented efficient modern instruments and have discovered the

best methods of applying them. There is no reason why judges should not do the same.

Pioneering social scientists who have created new social treatments cannot be content with the mere establishment of new agencies. They owe it to themselves and they owe it to the community to see that the new thoughts are given a fair trial. This would be assured if socially minded people took greater interest in the selection of judges and demanded their proper training for the new requirements of the office. The only alternative to this is to deprive the court entirely of the right to use the new implements and relegate the judiciary to its old position of interpreter of the law.

In a community social welfare program, probation is one field that requires special training and co-operation on the part of the judge. But probation is no part of the law-school curriculum. The lowest-paid probation officer in New York City, receiving a salary of \$1,640 a year, obtains his position only after he has passed a civil service examination showing his knowledge of probation. A knowledge of the purpose and technique of probation (which he may use daily) is not a prerequisite qualification of a judge in the criminal branch. It is not even a requirement of the law that the judge study the subject of probation after he ascends the bench, although, fortunately for the community, many judges take a genuine interest in it. Nevertheless, those who brought probation into the law left it in the control of the judge to prescribe the terms of probation as well as to decide when the subject no longer needs supervision, without qualifying the judge for this new and important function.

I have often heard it said that probation is a failure, when in truth it has never been given a fair trial. I have known judges who have placed on probation cases that the probation officer well knew, but did not dare tell him, were not proper subjects for probation. The relationship between the judge and the probation officer is very often like that of the devout Hindu to his Buddha. The probation officer enters the temple of justice, bows, receives the order of probation, and leaves to carry it out

as best he can. I have seen cases of inveterate drunkards and narcotic users placed on probation. These types of cases were never intended for probation. They are problems for the physician. A case came to my attention in which a judge placed on probation a Chinaman found guilty of running a bawdy-house. Every time the probation officer wanted to talk to the Chinaman it cost the city of New York five dollars for an interpreter who in the last analysis was the only party deriving any real benefit from this order of probation.

Laws are no stronger, and probation service is no better, than the type and character of those enforcing them.

If the judges are to continue to have the right to use the new social science tools like probation, they must either learn their use or avail themselves of the services of those who are fitted for the job. Bearing in mind that the law student without social vision becomes the attorney and judge without social vision, we should see to it that he is trained to deal with social problems connected with the administration of law while yet in law school.

The judge should not merely be a referee to insure the observance of the rules of the game and to declare the winner. Litigation is not a game. The judge should be interested solely in dispensing justice and in that interest should welcome co-operation from socially minded groups on the other side of the bench.

The community ought to be deeply concerned with the administration of law because it has so much at stake. If a man cannot get justice in court he will resort to the primitive expedient of taking the law into his own hands. In such a contingency society will be the sufferer.

Lawyers represent clients. They are, therefore, partisan. They are interested chiefly in winning their cases. Successful lawyers are busy lawyers, and they have no time to work out ways of improving the administration of the law. Judges have but one client—the public. How can they best serve their client? By merely interpreting established law? Of course not. They must solve the problems of today by means of the methods of today, and thus forestall the problems of tomorrow.

President Harno, of the Association of American Law Schools,

recently stated, "The law, if it is to do more than to rattle dead bones, if it is to become a vital, useful, social fact, must assimilate new truths and new thought; the law, since it is society's agency of authority, must interrelate the knowledge of the specialties into a thoroughly wrought and operating device for social service. This is the challenge given to the law."

The courts to function adequately and render real service to society must be sensitive to social and economic change. This is the day of the new deal, but a new deal is not enough. A new deal does not change the worn and marked cards. In addition to a new deal we need a new deck.

We of the bench must adopt the dynamic concept of the court and its relation to a community social welfare program. In a practical world, co-operation between all the parties concerned is necessary to translate thought into action. A working program requires co-ordination between police, probation, courts, correctional institutions, parole, criminal medical clinics, social and religious agencies. President Harno has pertinently remarked, "The law is now the warp of the social fabric and again the woof. The problem is one of co-ordination. We have the parts, but they are of no use unless assembled into a working machine." The social worker should not be analogous to the church bell that calls all to church but itself remains outside. The social worker must carry on right into the courts.

Social workers too often offer excuses for their failure to work with the courts. "We have never been asked. We have a distinct feeling we would not be welcome," they say. These excuses do not excuse. When settlements were first established in interstitial areas (slums), no invitation was awaited from the tenement dwellers nor was a referendum submitted to them to determine whether or not the effort was welcome or wanted. The need for the job to be done was reason enough for tackling it. The will found a way.

Another so-called argument against the fuller use of social service in connection with courts is that it is considered an unnecessary luxury which an economy budget (pressed with calls for direct relief) cannot encompass. But man cannot live by

bread alone. Human service costs little and yields much in the long run. Social neglect brings in its wake crime and disease with their attendant costliness in money and misery. There must be no moratorium on character-building and concerted social effort.

Through the pressure of public opinion the new tools of social science have been brought into use, and public opinion is powerful enough to make social-mindedness popular with otherwise unconvinced members of the judiciary. The social worker is duty bound to mold public opinion along these lines.

Social service must be sold to the court through personal contact, not by mail order. To make the sale the salesman must be thoroughly familiar with courts and their procedure. Just as I have pointed out that the new road to community service should begin in the law schools, so it is necessary that court and the administration of law be made subjects for study in schools for social service. It is inconceivable that a social worker can function efficiently without a knowledge of so integral and vital a part of our daily lives as courts and law administration. It is inexcusable, but none the less true, that at the present time these subjects are not a part of the curriculum in the New York School for Social Work, nor is it a part of the course in the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work. In New York City, the Fordham University School of Sociology alone gives a course in the legal aspects of social work.

Very few law schools in the country give lectures on the social aspects and potentialities of the law. Most of them limit their courses to what the law is, and pay little attention to what the law should be. It follows, that we of the bench and you in social service must get our knowledge of each other's aims, purposes, and techniques by working together. The schools should provide law students (the judges of tomorrow) with a social service interest and you social workers with a knowledge of the fundamentals of law and the procedure of courts. We are mutually dependent upon each other, if social justice is our aim.

The judges of this country are not deaf to the cries for social

justice. They want to mete out social justice not alone for the sake of their own consciences, but for the sake of the general welfare. The judge needs training which will enable him to make decisions in the terms of the law influenced by a social conscience.

Social workers often stand in awe of black robes and bifocal glasses. The judge, I assure you, is a human being who will not bite your head off if you seek him out and tactfully help him to a social point of view. If you have coached yourself in the legal aspects of social work and can talk his language, so much the better for you and your chances to win him to a social viewpoint if he does not have one already.

Just as the social worker is sometimes scared to death of the judge, so the judge, in turn, may be scared to death of the social worker. This is due to the fact that the judge is often not familiar with the social worker's "patter" and is afraid to ask for definitions for fear of showing his ignorance. I suggest that both judges and social workers modify their technical language in the interest of better mutual understanding and co-operation.

Close co-operation between courts and social agencies, predicated upon a knowledge of what each has to contribute and a common desire to serve society by administering justice as well as the law, will bring us nearer the goal of social justice. I have presided in courts in New York which were just a stone's throw from social centers and settlements, and yet the workers of these institutions never visited the court.

Social service is as important in the civil as in the criminal courts. The civil courts handle problems of divorce, separation, orders of alimony, custody of children, and adoption—all without the aid of social investigation. In these types of cases rendering justice (as distinguished from merely rendering a decision) is as impossible under the present system as building without tools.

It is a common occurrence for well-meaning law-abiding citizens to be victims of the routine execution of judgments which

if handled on a social plane would have been more beneficial to both plaintiff and defendant. Let me cite a typical case.

Many people of modest means own and drive automobiles. Sometimes they cannot afford or for some other reason fail to carry liability insurance. (In these days, even the insurance company may be in the hands of a receiver.) Mr. R., a teller in a bank, married, and the father of three minor children, lived in the suburbs. He owned his own home. Out of his savings he had cleared all but the first mortgage. He had about \$1,000 saved up in the bank for the proverbial "rainy day." An unexpected storm broke. While riding in the family Ford one Sunday morning, his machine struck a child on the road. He and the members of his family told me that the accident had been unavoidable and clearly the child's fault. The bank teller was sued. The injured youngster and a witness swore that the accident had happened at the crossroad and that Mr. R. had been driving on the wrong side of the road. The jury, after hearing the facts, rendered a verdict awarding \$3,500 to the child.

The issuance of execution on the judgment in this case meant loss of savings, loss of home, and loss of position to the defendant. The bank in which Mr. R. was employed had an ironclad rule that it would not employ persons against whom there was an unpaid judgment outstanding. The law provided no way of giving R. an opportunity to pay as much of the judgment as he could at the time, and to pay the balance out of his future earnings, secured by an injunction restraining him from disposing or impairing his property without the court's sanction.

The law in its routine was prepared to ruin R. and his family — his all was in the hands of the lawyer for the child; there was no social conscience to intervene in his behalf. Neither the law nor the mandates of justice had any influence over the attorney for the plaintiff. Only a loan at a more than legal rate saved Mr. R. and his family from complete ruin. The judgment was paid. The law was satisfied.

Without social service facilities and power the courts unnecessarily hurt too many and help too few. This typical case demon-

strates the need of the court for new vision, power, and humanizing influences—even in the handling of money matters.

Even money judgments should not be mechanically enforced according to a fixed pattern and expected to fit all cases. Judgments in favor of and against human beings often require individual attention. To give intelligent attention social service check-up and investigation are needed in cases involving dollars as well as in cases involving personal liberty. It should be the social worker's contribution to the administration of justice to see that Mr. R. does not become merely case No. 641 on the court calendar and that he, as a human being, is not lost sight of when reduced to the common denominator, "defendant."

Each defendant is a human, with his own problems, his particular background, tradition, family relationships, and economic status. All of these factors together constitute the real person. The most willing judge, unaided by other agencies, can do but little more than interpret the law. He has no means of knowing the real character of the defendant or the social remedy best adapted to deal with and influence his future behavior. Such knowledge is essential not only to the just measurement of an offense but also to the reclamation of the offender.

If social workers and the law had planned and worked in union twenty years ago, we would have been spared the revelations of recent court investigations, and what is more important, the human beings passing through the courts might have been spared many injustices. Let us profit by the mistakes of the past. Let us resolve here and now to create a closer union between social service and the law. Conferences like this—working, thinking, and planning together, always keeping in view the goal of "the greatest good for the greatest number"—will enable the courts to assume their proper place in a community social welfare program, and to be a constructive force in a "world in the making."

What in effect I am pleading for is a partnership of judge, social worker, religious leader, and psychiatrist, in striving for justice and human aid.

PROBATION IN A COMMUNITY SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM

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THIS paper will deal with probation as an agency and a method whose primary purpose is the diagnosis of individual offenders before the courts and their social and reformative treatment. In such understanding and individual treatment, the probation worker finds the key, not only for wise treatment, but for prevention of one of the greatest social evils—crime.

Probation, together with its co-partner, parole, is the application of the methods of social case work to delinquent people, delinquent families, and delinquent situations. It is the most important branch of corrective treatment from the point of view of the social worker. The police, the courts, prisons, and reformatories operate on a different principle, if the truth is told. They seek to protect society through the apprehension, prosecution, and punishment of offenders. Probation, broadly conceived, is the substitution of individualized treatment for mass punishment, whether it is applied in the court, by the police, or through an institution. More strictly, probation substitutes social investigation and treatment by a community agency attached to the court for the earlier repressive methods of handling crime prescribed by penal law. In considering probation in a community social welfare program we are not dealing with an outside agency but with one of the integral factors in any well-rounded community welfare program today.

The questionnaire on which this study is based was sent to seventy-two persons, representing every state in the Union. Thirty-nine, more than half, responded, many with carefully prepared answers. There were replies from eight probation offi-

cers, seven state supervisors of probation, four judges, four heads of state welfare departments, five professors of sociology, one executive of a crime commission, one executive of a community chest, one former prosecuting attorney, two professors of law, one executive of a civic federation, one secretary of a state children's aid society, one secretary of a juvenile protective association, one superintendent of a state industrial school, one state supervisor of vocational education, and one supervisor of compulsory education. A number of writers state that they have consulted a representative group in formulating their answers. Twenty-eight states were represented. These people were not selected primarily as representing agencies, but as leaders in progressive thought and interested in probation development. Many of them have had experience in other fields of social welfare. Many answers are frank, discriminating, and well thought out. Every type of local development in probation machinery or the almost entire lack of it is represented. The results, in my opinion, were unusually successful.

I shall now take up each of the questions, endeavoring to express the consensus of opinion, quoting some of the more representative and interesting statements.

I. What should be the functions of a probation department in any community?

This calls for a statement of ideals and principles. Naturally there is a marked contrast between the answers to this question of *what should be*, and the next one which asks, for each community represented, whether the ideals stated have in fact been fulfilled.

The most common answer is that probation departments should do a good piece of work for the court, should make careful social investigations to assist in determining the best treatment for as many cases coming into the court as possible, and should carefully and constructively supervise those placed on probation. But very few would stop there. Most of these representative people seem to have great faith in the broad possibilities of this work. They believe, most of them, that the proba-

tion department, properly equipped, could and should educate the community toward a social and scientific attitude to delinquency and its causes and should play a definite rôle in preventive work. They seem to believe that the probation worker is in the strategic position for this broader community task. He is in daily contact with the problem; he can speak with authority; he works with all community agencies. Here are a few representative statements:

Probation departments should: (1) Handle cases through the court as provided by law to the end that children should receive protection and adjustment, and that adult probationers be carefully selected and assisted toward rehabilitation. (2) Take leadership in the field of prevention of delinquency by (*a*) arousing community responsibility toward early adjustment of behavior problems; (*b*) co-ordinating local facilities, bringing together for united action the individuals, agencies, and institutions interested in the prevention of delinquency.

I might add that to my knowledge this ambitious program is being rather effectively carried out by the probation administration who contributed this platform.

Another, who speaks from the point of view of the juvenile court, believes that the chief function of the probation department should be to do "preventive work with children" and to "establish in the community a consciousness of juvenile problems so that it will come to accept its proper share of the responsibility."

Another, who directs the work of a children's aid society, says: "I believe the function of a probation department in any community is to do preventive work so that there will be less need for correction work." Still another says: "To prevent correction work and lessen the number of criminals."

On the other side a well-informed critic of probation says: "Care should be taken not to emphasize probation or any other one thing as the cure-all for delinquency and crime."

Finally, we give this inclusive statement from a supervisor of adults:

The probation department should:

1. Do a good job for the court through investigation, analysis, advice, and supervision of probationers.

2. By maintaining co-operative relations with public and private agencies, influence removal of causative factors of delinquency.
3. By proper publicity, win public approval to the cause of the new social jurisprudence.

II. To what extent do probation departments fulfil these functions?

Here is where the conflict between ideals and practice is shown. Thirteen of the thirty-eight who made depositions stated that their departments were on the whole fulfilling the functions that they approved. Seven others thought they were doing so to something like 50 per cent achievement. Others who spoke for entire states thought that only a few departments were equipped to make good, and some thought that none reached the mark. One "would hate to say." Another says: "In this state about six courts are fulfilling these functions reasonably well. A larger number less well and a still greater number are generally inadequate." Another, speaking for a rural state, says that probation is almost a farce, only two or three cities doing any real probation work. Another from a large city says: "Juvenile probation in our community has fulfilled these functions to a certain extent but still suffers from lack of adequate funds and organization of community forces. Adult probation I consider almost a complete failure, due chiefly to an untrained personnel and lack of community interest in the department." Another says: "Probation departments are complying with the laws but are in many ways passing up the opportunity for community leadership."

And not too paint the picture too darkly, one judge of long experience writes: "Our juvenile probation department is functioning better than it has in any of the years past."

Another judge from a southern city whose standards are of the highest writes in concrete terms:

Between 97 per cent and 98 per cent of our juvenile delinquents are dealt with without commitment to institutions. The amount of serious crime in the community has in the fourteen years since the probation department was established been reduced by half. Less than 2 per cent of white juvenile delinquents and less than 5 per cent of colored dealt with on probation have subsequently had any criminal record in the community as adults.

On the whole, however, the showing is an unfavorable one, and now let us ask the causes.

III. What are the obstacles within and outside the probation departments which prevent their proper functioning?

Here the answers are monotonously similar: "lack of funds," "too small a staff," "inadequate salaries," "lack of trained personnel," "too little co-operation with other agencies," "lack of public understanding," and one adds "lack of time—a well-organized probation program cannot be built up over night!"

One blames "the ignorance and indifference of the general public"; another, "the unwillingness of tax-spending bodies, even in normal times, adequately to finance the work"; another, "appointment of probation officers on a strictly political basis with no reference to experience or training"; and another, "lack of understanding or appreciation on the part of courts and the general public. . . . ; no state-wide supervision with education and improvement of personnel." Still another cites "the lack of a well co-ordinated community plan for taking care of trivial cases."

A professor of law says:

Some of the hindrances are the uninformed conditions of the community upon the purposes and accomplishments of probation work. This condition is responsible in a large part for an unappreciative and sometimes hostile attitude upon the part of a considerable portion of the older members of the state bar. This condition is, in a large measure, responsible for the inadequate financing of the service.

From an eastern state:

There is no state-wide set up. A district plan is needed. Money is lacking in the smaller communities. Political appointment of judges, and in turn probation officer, works against securing proper results.

Lack of public understanding is explained by one writer as due to "the belief on the part of not a few, including some judges that probation is largely a 'fad' to keep some offenders from being punished for their misdeeds."

Concerning adult probation, the secretary of a crime commission criticizes "The granting of probation in a large number of

cases in which no preliminary investigation has been made and the overloading of the probation officers with poor material."

And one professor sums it all up by stating: "Hardly anyone cares a damn."

One blames for the low standards "the people who do not want to see the present chief probation officer displaced."

On the other hand, the question was also asked:

IV. If the departments are in the main fulfilling the functions which you approve, state the steps which were taken to secure this result.

One who finds his department functioning satisfactorily explains it thus: "Such results as have been secured have been obtained by doing intensive work with each individual, with frequent contact and close follow-up with each case, obtaining all the help and co-operation possible."

A chief probation officer says: "Great strides have been made by securing some trained workers, by increased salaries, and by securing the co-operation of certain groups in the community."

From a state with a well-organized state probation bureau: "Results have been secured by employing an experienced case work supervisor who in one month is able to visit all courts in the state, to check up on the number of investigations, records home visiting, case loads, etc."

V. By what criteria is probation judged?

To this question the usual answer is: "By the number of successful cases." Others feel that it is the type of work being done, judged by a study of cases, that determines whether the department is doing successful work or not.

One correspondent writes: "The work in the future is going to be judged by the type of work done in our failures rather than in our successes."

A number state that no effective criteria have been developed to enable fair judgment to be passed on the success of probation work. The absence of a further criminal record is obviously an inadequate standard and may or may not indicate a successful adjustment on probation. It is pointed out that a probation

officer need not necessarily feel that he has failed if, after every effort, a probationer must be sent to an institution. Probation is a diagnostic or sifting process, as well as a form of treatment, and the recognition of an offender through probation as a social menace and the sending of him away to an institution for defectives or delinquents is a successful achievement.

A chief probation officer would judge the effectiveness of her work by "carefully analyzing the needs of the probationer from the standpoint of his personal, economic, and social life, and thereafter recording the specific results of methods adapted to fit or correct those needs or remove character defects."

The following are listed by a thoughtful writer as criteria for judging the success of a probation case:

- a) Was the agency right in accepting the case for adjustment, either at the beginning or at a later date? Would the case have been better off had the agency not accepted it?
- b) Should the case have been closed sooner?
- c) Was there quality and promptness in investigation, diagnosis, and plan of treatment?
- d) Was there effective co-operation with other agencies?
- e) Were the rules of probation well carried out?
- f) Was the adjustment achieved?

A professor who has made many court studies would judge probation by "the social records of the court, the size of case loads per officer, the number of contacts in follow-up work, and the reduction of the recidivist rate."

Another by "higher regard on the part of the community for the 'treatment' of the offender; recognition of different classes among offenders as to their condition and the circumstances of their offending." Still another states that we must also judge probation by "the effectiveness with which it utilizes existing agencies and the progress made in the community toward preventing crime."

In general, no uniform criteria have yet been established, but the importance of the service in a community social welfare program is evident from these statements of what is expected of it.

VI. What machinery has been set up in various communities or in states for evaluating probation and how does it work?

Representatives of twelve states report a state department or bureau which evaluates probation within the state to some extent, through collection of statistics and supervisory work. Several report the work inadequate because the state bureau lacks power or fails to use the power it has.

Other agencies are reported as helping in the evaluating process, namely:

1. Research departments of universities
2. A committee appointed by a state bar association
3. The National Probation Association through its field surveys
4. The Federal Children's Bureau
5. Community councils
6. A crime commission
7. Probation departments themselves

VII. If no such machinery is established, what is desirable and how can it be secured?

Most of those questioned state that as yet there is no real evaluation done. Many urge a state probation organization with adequate supervisory power to enforce standards. A few recommend entirely state-controlled and state-supported probation. Special research studies of after-results of probation are recommended. One suggests the need of "advisory court groups always on the job." Another proposes "a yearly auditing committee composed of a judge, a lawyer, a psychiatrist, a business man, and a social worker to analyze and check on work done in cases surrendered. A critical analysis might determine whether better work could be done. It seems as unfair to judge probation by its failures as it would be to judge a religion in a similar manner. The above method would lay the emphasis on the quality of the work done and treatment given. Such a plan would, as a by-product, enable the head of a probation department to grade his officers."

Several believe that every court should evaluate its own work by studying results after the discharge of cases from probation. "The only hope," one says, "for permanent effectiveness lies in

an intelligent, trained, and objective-minded personnel. Where this exists, there will be a continuous process of self-criticism."

VIII. What further assistance on the part of other agencies would you advocate to make probation departments more effective?

Many urge more adequate public support and control; state and national aid; closer co-operation with the courts by social agencies, especially family and child-welfare agencies, by civic organizations, by the public schools and colleges, the institutions, bar associations, and the police. More clinics are urged, more preventive work, also better publicity, more education of lawyers, judges, and the public by state and national associations, better national statistics, and the setting-up of national standards.

One correspondent laments that all state agencies which should aid probation "have fallen down. It looks as though we would have to rely on God!"

Summing up, probation is the social worker's most important direct attack upon the problem of crime and delinquency. Not only should it furnish the court with social diagnosis and individual treatment, but it should take an active part in educating the courts and the public to a social and scientific attitude toward delinquency, and it should co-operate and often lead in preventive measures.

As yet a large majority of probation departments fall far short of accomplishing these objectives; very few embrace the opportunity for public education and preventive work.

The reasons enumerated for failure and shortcoming are many but may be summed up in the statement that the public as yet does not appreciate the importance and economy (using the term in its broadest sense) of well-equipped probation service for all courts and so has failed to establish and support it. Added to this is the inertia of the judicial establishment and its local control and the dangers of American politics. However, none of these handicaps is insuperable. Some departments are func-

tioning successfully and others are making progress. The securing of a trained personnel is the *sine qua non* of probation today.

Probation work must stand or fall on the results it obtains, but these are difficult to measure. There is need to develop criteria of judgment based on research and case studies.

Adequate machinery for evaluating probation work is lacking, but hopeful beginnings have been made by state bureaus, by universities, through research studies, by local and state committees, and by national organizations.

Probation departments must become self-critical, must analyze their own results. There is need for greater co-operation from social agencies and from other services whose interests are related to those of the probation worker. And, finally, the need is indicated for increased supervision, to improve personnel and develop standards, and for financial assistance from the state and national government. With the attainment of these objectives, probation service will increasingly take its important place in the community social welfare program.

THE PURPOSE AND VALUE OF REFORMATORIES AND PRISONS

*Edward R. Cass, Secretary, American Prison
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IN RECENT years, perhaps more than ever before, the effectiveness of our so-called correctional institutions has been questioned. The word "prison" is frequently used to denote any kind of institution for the incarceration of those charged with or convicted of violation of the law. However, for the purpose of this discussion we shall confine ourselves to those state institutions known as reformatories and prisons, the latter being referred to in some states as penitentiaries.

It should be noted that in our country we lack a complete and uniform type of institutional system and housing, as well as a system of central control and administration. Nationally speaking, the federal penal and correctional institutions, administered by the United States Department of Justice, are the only ones operated on the plan of centralized administration and control. While many of the states have a degree of central control for the institutions within their boundaries, the weakness of this arrangement is that each state administers its institutions according to its traditions, ideas, and policy. Thus there exists a situation of each state going its own way, which gives us an abundance of variety, with good and bad here and there.

It is of first importance that we have some knowledge of the criminal histories of those committed to reformatories and prisons and the problem they present because of their frequent experience in crime. I therefore bring to your notice a report on *Prisoners: Their Crimes and Sentences*, by the New York State Legislative Commission To Investigate Prison Administration and Construction. It was my pleasure to serve as chairman of the Committee of the Commission that directed the study of the

records of 3,415 persons committed during the calendar year 1931. I quote some of the items contained in the summary of the report.¹

The five counties of Bronx, Kings, New York, Queens, and Richmond, constituting Greater New York, contributed 58.5 per cent of all the persons received by court order in the state prisons and Elmira Reformatory.

The remaining 41.5 per cent of the persons committed by court order to the state correctional institutions were scattered among the other 57 counties in the state.

The crimes for which men were sentenced to the Elmira Reformatory or given indeterminate or definite sentences to state prison did not differ.

Twenty-seven hundred and three of the 3,475 men received in the penal institutions of the State had previous criminal records. These 2,703 men had been arrested 10,766 times or an average of four arrests per person.

Of the 2,703 individuals with previous criminal records, 1,786 had been previously confined in institutions.

Individuals committed to state correctional institutions with known criminal records are from one to two years younger than those without criminal records. The median age of offenders sent to the Elmira Reformatory without previous criminal records was 20 years, and with previous criminal records, 19 years.

Approximately one-third of all persons sentenced to state correctional institutions were committed to the Elmira Reformatory.

54.6² per cent of these were convicted of robbery or attempted robbery of various degrees.

78.6 per cent of these had previous criminal records and, 42.4 per cent had been in other correctional institutions.

It is therefore evident that there has been no success in reserving Elmira Reformatory for youthful "real first offenders." Out of 395 "real first offenders," 25 years of age and under, committed to state institutions, only 213 were sent to the Elmira Reformatory, and 182 were committed to state prisons.

Only 712, or approximately 20 per cent of the 3,415 men, were actual first offenders with no known previous criminal records.

The "real first offender" is not only a person never before convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment, but has never before been arrested.

Among the older group of "real first offenders" are found the "accidental" criminals who have embezzled funds. Here, too, are offenders convicted of homicide and manslaughter, crimes caused by automobile accidents.

One-third of these "real first offenders" were between 16 and 21 years of age. Among this younger group is found the amateur "stick-up" man.

¹ To the New York State Legislature, February, 1933.

² A marked increase in the number of commitments to Elmira Reformatory for burglary and robbery was noted soon after the enactment of the increased penalties for these crimes, suggesting that the judges avoided the severity of the new penalties by resorting to the Elmira law.

It is clear from the start that so far as Elmira Reformatory, New York, the first reformatory of its kind in the world, and the New York state prisons are concerned, and the same is true throughout the country, the number of those received acquainted with criminal activity for the first time is negligible. Those who go to our institutions are familiar with crime, and many of them have run the full range of preventive, court, probation, and institutional treatment before commitment to state reformatories and prisons. The United States Bureau of Census, in its 1929 and 1930 report on *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories*, shows that during the years 1926-30 the percentage of recidivism among male prison commitments increased from 45.1 to 55.5 per cent and among female commitments from 31.8 to 32.7 per cent. It is also shown that while 40.8 per cent of those committed to men's prisons were designated as first offenders—that is, having no previous known sentence to any penal institution, state or local—only 14.9 per cent of the commitments of males to reformatories was so reported. The comment is properly made in the report that this would seem to be entirely at variance with the purpose for which reformatories were originally established, namely, to provide proper facilities for the care and retraining of young offenders.³

The frequent reference to the previous criminal history of those received in reformatories and prisons is not intended as a criticism of preventive activities, court procedure, probation, and juvenile institutions, but instead to remind those who are quick to criticize the administration of reformatories and prisons that the admissions to these institutions are in too many instances long-known problem cases, representing to a large degree the failure of previous efforts.

To obtain an opinion of the purpose and value of reformatories and prisons a questionnaire was sent to business men, lawyers, professors, heads of state departments, and wardens and superintendents in various parts of the country.

The first question—"What do you believe should be the

³ P. 29.

functions of correctional institutions, prisons, and reformatories in any community?"—revealed practically a unanimous concept that the first purpose of imprisonment is to protect society from the immediate presence of the lawbreaker, that to be followed by some effort toward the individual's rehabilitation or reformation.

The second question—"Do the correctional institutions in your community fulfil these functions?"—brought forth some interesting replies. It was agreed that with the offender in custody, society is at least temporarily protected. It was further agreed that regardless of the saying that prison life is being made too attractive, prisoners nevertheless prefer liberty to imprisonment, and the attempts that are made to prevent offenders from going to prison or to effect their release clearly show that imprisonment is to be avoided if possible, and that after all freedom is something that every person wants. Therefore, it is reasonable to suspect that the danger of imprisonment is a deterrent to crime. However, as to the effectiveness of imprisonment from the standpoint of rehabilitation and reformation, there was generally expressed the opinion that we are not meeting with the success desired. Pope Clement XI, in 1704, said, "It is not enough to restrain the wicked by punishment, if you do not make them good by education." By that he undoubtedly meant education in the broad sense, through which offenders shall be taught to live as law-abiding citizens. The following, in part a reply to the second question, is of particular significance.

With reference to the function [discipline and education], a much more difficult problem is presented, and we have probably made less progress toward fulfillment. There is something fundamentally inconsistent about trying to make men uncomfortable by depriving them of their liberty and their privileges, and at the same time make them better men when they emerge from this experience. But even in spite of the inherent difficulty of this function, it is my belief that many of our prisons are succeeding remarkably well. Thousands of illiterate persons have been taught to read. Hundreds of boys and young men have been given the benefits of vocational trade training. Great numbers of convicts have been encouraged and permitted to read books that they never would have come in contact with outside. Practically all of them have had free medical and prophylactic service.

With the exception of the county jails and perhaps a few state penitentia-

ries I think it is safe to say that, physically speaking, men do go out of prison better than when they went in. Mentally and morally this may not always be true. It is hard to provide enough beneficent and improving influences to offset the moral and mental deterioration that inevitably follows the abnormal environment of the prison. There may be cases where men are worse as a result of these deteriorating influences, morally speaking, when they go out than when they come in, but I think it can be demonstrated that increasing numbers of prison inmates go out with increased mental powers and perhaps with a stronger moral purpose than when they went in. This is generally admitted to be true with reference to women's institutions, and to a considerable extent with reformatories for boys and young men.

When we analyze the whole question, therefore, we find that prisons have restrained people; they have deterred them; and in many instances they have improved them. The failure of the prison to fulfil its full task has been concentrated in the difficult, if not almost impossible, job of altering the moral or mental character of adult offenders, or of at least offsetting the inevitable deterioration that comes from confinement.

The third question relates to obstacles within or outside the institutions which prevent them from fulfilling the functions considered desirable. The following replies give a partial insight of the difficulties under which those who are charged with a serious public responsibility are obliged to labor:

I

a) Unsuitable buildings.—Most of our prisons were built 100 to 125 years ago when the idea of trade training and classification was unthought of. Our newer institutions must give permanent place to the idea that even prisoners differ in their individual personalities.

b) Untrained personnel.—If the first and second functions of the prison are all we desire, we do not, as indeed we have not, concern ourselves with the intelligence of the guards. If we are to succeed in improving the character of prison inmates, we must provide as teachers or mentors men and women of superior mentality and irreproachable character.

c) Lack of appropriation for scientific service.—We must frankly realize that stone and steel cannot work a reformation, that medical, surgical and dental care, psychiatric examinations, intelligent social investigation, wisely directed recreation effort and educational and vocational guidance must be supplied if the third object is to be accomplished.

d) Lack of labor opportunities.—We must not let the selfishness of prison contractors or outside employers deter us from insistence upon the need for constructive labor among prisoners as a matter of general welfare.

II

Most important among the outside obstacles is the antiquated view of punishment held by public opinion which often prevents the trying out of new

schemes of treatment. This has a definitely retarding effect upon the legislation of progressive penal measures, and a tightening effect upon the strings of the public purse. Inside the institutions we often encounter narrow policies, imbedded in traditional ideas, no longer justifiable. Such policies are sometimes due to a single person occupying an important administrative position. Sometimes they are, simply because they have been, and the inertia of the administration and the personnel prevents any progress. Sometimes what is vaunted as progressive penology consists of mere gestures, as the setting up of elaborate educational programs and expensive equipment with very little functional value.

III

As to the obstacles within or without these institutions, I would say that there are chiefly two: first, the extent to which the idea of public punishment still prevails, which may be better than private vengeance, but certainly far more archaic than social treatment; and, second, that the entire organization for the administration of criminal law, from the issuing of the warrant to the detention of the prisoner, is highly political. There is no point at which one can claim freedom from partisan political influence. This is no particular charge against any administration, for it has been characteristic of the entire law-enforcing, judicial, and penal system, since the beginning of the century, at least.

The replies received indicate innumerable handicaps, some of which are shown by the foregoing quotations, to the bringing-about of the rehabilitation or reformation of the offender. Strangely, comparatively nothing was said of the criminal careers of many of the offenders prior to their commitment to a reformatory or prison. This alone certainly adds to the difficulty of bringing about a reasonably permanent change in the conduct of the offender.

The fourth question—"By what criteria do you judge the effectiveness of the correctional institutions?"—discloses a divergence of opinion, although there seemed to be a general opinion that the final test was whether or not the offender, subsequent to release, again reverted to criminal ways. In this connection the following is typical:

It seems to me that the ultimate criterion by which the effectiveness of correctional institutions must be judged is the frequency with which those who have been confined to these institutions do not repeat their criminal activities after release, because of the sort of treatment they have received while in the institutions.

However, a more complete and well-rounded statement of criteria reads as follows:

In respect to the custodial functions of the institutions the effectiveness is judged primarily by the number of runaways and escapes, though in regard to the open type of institutions we do not take runaways quite so seriously as we do from the institutions for maximum security. Other criteria are:

1. Evidence that the individuals who make up the institutional community are leading as wholesome a life as possible, have confidence in the institutional staff and believe that the institution is interested in both their present and future welfare. This may be summed up under the words "morale and attitude of the persons confined."

2. Our per capita costs as compared with per capita costs in other communities where there is similarity of program.

3. Quality of certain services (the more standardized ones) as compared with demonstrations of similar services in the community. For example, we measure the effectiveness of institutional hospital work by comparison with competent hospital work in the community. The same may be said for medical services and academic education.

4. Our system of prison industries is judged primarily by the following criteria:

- a) Extent to which we keep all prisoners occupied;
- b) Extent to which we supply the necessary number of different skilled levels in our occupations;
- c) Extent to which industries are organized to provide training;
- d) Extent to which we meet the legitimate demands of state institutions and agencies in regard to products marketed;
- e) Extent to which we avoid competition offensive to outside labor.

5. Interest and enthusiasm of members of staff in their work.

The fifth question was to determine what machinery had been set up in the communities to evaluate the work of prisons and reformatories, and what methods had been found effective. It was stated:

In the Federal Prison system we have for two years been giving earnest attention to the manner in which the effectiveness of our new programs may be evaluated. We realize that this is a very difficult and protracted process. One cannot judge the effectiveness of a program, such as probation and vocational training, or solitary confinement, unless one makes due allowance for the character of the individuals operated on, their health and environment. We realize that our work probably cannot be evaluated until some time well in the future, but we are immediately proceeding with the plan to so record the facts with reference to a selected number of inmates in our institutions, and to gather these facts not only with reference to the type of program used but the character of the individuals, so that some future investigator may have authorita-

tive data on which to work. It seems to me that this is the first thing to do, to provide for the recording of data from which in the future an attempt at evaluation may be made.

Practically all of the replies disclosed that there was no machinery, official or otherwise, at work or available to evaluate the work of correctional institutions. The lack of such machinery suggests that we have been engaging in outright guessing. In other words, we have been too often content with our own observations and opinions, and have not had the benefit of impartial and thorough examination. An exception to this, of course, is the study of five hundred criminal careers made by Dr. and Mrs. Glueck. Until we have more such studies, conducted as thoroughly and scientifically, we shall continue to guess.

The sixth question was an attempt to learn what further co-operation or assistance on the part of other agencies, public or private, was needed to make correctional institutions more effective. Again there was a wide variety of expression, and I think that the essentials of all the replies are embodied in the one I am about to quote.

- a) That all judges sentencing criminals to institutions should be required to visit these institutions once a year.
- b) That a committee consisting of representatives of manufacturers, labor unions and prison managers be provided in order to obtain public backing for a wise prison labor program.
- c) That the local charitable and benevolent societies, particularly the family welfare societies, be more definitely linked up with the work of parole supervision and family rehabilitation.
- d) That prison schools and libraries come directly under the supervision of the state educational or library departments.
- e) That prison hospitals be visited by the local hospital committee and given the rating which they deserve by the medical society or the hospital association.
- f) While I would not advocate a general participation of benevolent citizens in the prison management, as is somewhat the custom in England today, I would urge that organizations like the Rotary Club, Chambers of Commerce, the Women's Clubs, etc., be permitted to visit occasionally for a general understanding of the objects and purposes of our institutions, and be given to feel that there is nothing secret or mysterious about the operation of prisons and reformatories.

- g) Naturally prisons will not fulfil their whole function until the newspapers portray them in their true colors to the public. In spite of occasional proof to the contrary I believe that the press of the present day, upon being given sufficient facts, is ready to be of material assistance to prison administrators in this endeavor.

There are, of course, numerous discouraging strains in the various replies, and yet it is well that we have them so that we do not continue blindly as to our weaknesses and the goals to be achieved. Some may ask in the light of the replies: Is it at all possible to register a higher score of success or reformation and public protection than heretofore? To them it must be said that the history of our nation is one of experimentation in government, in business, in social welfare, as well as in all other fields relating to the well-being of our people. Certainly it is true that no nation has satisfactorily solved the problem of crime treatment through either institutions or other methods. European systems, with longer experience, more rigid discipline, and central and uniform systems of administration and control, have riots and about as large a number of recidivists as we experience in this country. Therefore, the future, it seems, requires more experimentation, and of course under more favorable circumstances. New methods and better means must be permitted and furnished by an increasing attitude of public interest.

There was perhaps never a better time to face facts. American penology has been a succession of experimentations with varying degrees of progress and retrogression, giving the impression at times that little or no headway has been or is being made, yet a dispassionate study and comparison of the past with the present soon discloses that despite the various fluctuations for good and evil there has been a glacier-like forward movement, in the face of public indifference, hostility, ridicule, and other handicaps. Truly it can be said that while there is a wide lack of public interest in problems relating to reformatories and prisons, yet that is not so great as it was a few years ago, with the result that we find the average citizen, the legislator, and the fiscal authorities more willing to agree to a pro-

gram of crime prevention and penological reform embracing the following:

1. Reduction of the causes of crime through various forms of social betterment.
2. The betterment of our criminal law and our criminal procedure in order that crime may be quickly and justly dealt with in the courts.
3. The substitution, wherever proper, of probation for imprisonment; in other words, the utilization of conditional liberty under strict supervision of the prisoner convicted of crime when such conviction is the first one, or when circumstances warrant the judge in believing that the ends of justice and of society can be attained without imprisonment.
4. For the inmates of our correctional institutions a system of classification and separation based on scientific study, so as to allow for the treatment of inmates so far as practicable in accordance with their individual needs. Such a system would make for a gradation of institution population in accord with a scientific determination of the likelihood of success of reformative efforts.
5. The development of the principle of the indeterminate sentence whereby the fixed sentence will disappear, and whereby all sentences will be within limits which the prisoner through good conduct, industry, and change of attitude can set largely for himself.
6. The development of an industrial education within the prison, whereby each inmate may learn the habit of industry and receive training that will enable him, so far as his ability permits, to engage in a worth-while occupation subsequent to his release.
7. The development of a program which will embrace, in addition to the teaching of the three R's, education in the broadest sense, to wit, the teaching of inmates how to live usefully and happily among their fellow-men.
8. The development of a physical education which will help the man to attain and maintain physical and mental health, and

which will teach him the simple fundamental principles of personal and community hygiene.

9. The development of a moral education whereby those who have come to prison antisocial and down and out may be strengthened and given courage and light, so that they may become honest-minded and God-fearing.

10. The development of higher qualifications and working conditions for the personnel of the prison service, so that there may be brought into prison work more of the type of person who will be able to function in the administration of a prison system which has as its main objective the training and education of the lawbreaker for better living.

11. And, lastly, the development of the education of the public whereby those on the outside shall have a much clearer conception of what imprisonment is for, and what our duty is in the great and difficult task of making the prisoner over, and, upon his release, helping him to regain a foothold in the world.

PAROLE IN A COMMUNITY SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM

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THE fear of the criminal may be responsible for the fact that parole is not generally accepted by the public as a constructive method of treating offenders. For since the establishment of the first board of parole in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the efficacy of parole as a method of social control has been evaluated not upon the treatment given to a group of parolees under supervision, but upon a limited number of spectacular cases of released prisoners whose anti-social activities make good front-page stories in the press. Upon these occasional cases, parole is indicted, tried, and convicted by the press and the public. The apparent results of these attacks are that parole is caustically criticized, and it is baldly implied that members of boards of parole are selected for their stupidity and political affiliations rather than for their mental equipment, their special qualifications, and their integrity. At any time, if a board of parole releases one or five prisoners who later resume their criminal activities, the system is open to violent attacks upon the part of the press. The result may be the abolition of the board of parole or, at best, changes in its personnel and the curtailing of appropriations for investigation and supervision—fundamental necessities for effective work.

The sense of insecurity that comes from the knowledge that at any time uninformed individuals may attack the system has, without doubt, been responsible for parole workers following accepted and stereotyped methods of supervision and for the overemphasis of police methods of work.

During the past decade, articulate prisoners have flooded the

literary market with stories of prison life. From these autobiographies, which in numerous instances have been transferred to the films, the impression has been created that attached to all the prisons of the land are wardens, principal keepers, guards, and parole officials whose sadistic desires are satisfied by inflicting mental and physical tortures upon imaginative and helpless prisoners. That such conditions may exist in a limited number of state penal institutions no one who knows the facts is likely to question, but one has to be naïve to assume that this is the existing general condition.

It might be expected that a conflict would exist between prisoners and those responsible for the administration of the institutions in which they are confined. For the prison official naturally symbolizes to the prisoner the power of the state to withhold from him his liberty, the object upon which he places the highest value, at least while incarcerated.

The prison administrator and the members of a parole board may, and do, receive caustic criticism from prisoners and the press. It might, however, be expected that from the criminologists attached to our universities not only a fair, unemotional statement of the problems of prisoners would be presented, but also a statement of the equally complex problems that prisoners present to prison administrators and members of parole boards who are sincerely and honestly interested in progressive methods of understanding and treating prisoners. Unfortunately, the writings and the public utterances of a number of academic criminologists sound alarmingly similar to the published statements of prisoners.

It is overlooked, apparently, that the work of socially minded commissioners of correction, wardens, and parole boards is handicapped not by their lack of knowledge or plans for a constructive program, but by the failure of the proper fiscal authorities, owing to public apathy, to provide adequate funds for both trained personnel and for buildings that would make classification a reality and not a theory, and by obsolete sentencing laws that consider only the crime and not the offender.

Most practical prison administrators or members of parole boards have not, up to the present time, been active in attempting to educate the public regarding prisons and parole problems, but until they interpret their complex problems to the average citizen and, in addition, gain the confidence, support, and constructive criticisms of the press and criminologists, the general public will neither understand nor financially support modern programs of correctional care.

Parole has since its inception been a neglected part of the state program of correctional care, but it is now being accepted by parole boards and administrators that the functions of a parole department in a community should be the re-establishment of the released prisoner under conditions that will, through the help and co-operation of the parole officer, make it possible for him to live a law-abiding life and regain his lost status in the community. This objective, in most cases, is difficult to achieve not only because of lack of funds and trained personnel, but because of many divergent factors that make the administration of an effective parole system a herculean task.

The story of parole in the United States can be briefly told. The need was first officially enunciated in the Declaration of Principles promulgated at the Prison Congress held in Cincinnati in 1870, when it was stated, "More systematic and comprehensive methods should be adopted to save discharged prisoners by providing them with work, and encourage them to redeem their character and regain their lost position in society." The state, according to the Nestors of criminology responsible for the Declaration of Principles, has not discharged "its whole duty to the criminal when it has punished him, nor even when it has reformed him. Having raised him up, it has the further duty to aid in holding him up."

The establishment of the Elmira Reformatory in the last quarter of the nineteenth century marks not only the practical application of the idea that the objective of punishment is the protection of society and the reformation of the offender, but it also marks the beginning of the use of the indeterminate sen-

tence and parole. In theory but not in practice, the indeterminate sentence and parole are now generally accepted, for "today only three states provide neither for the indeterminate sentence nor parole."

The attitudes toward parole have not fundamentally changed in nearly a half-century, for there still exist today two distinct points of view regarding the functions of parole. The negative one is that parole is to be utilized merely as a means for shortening the sentence imposed upon an offender, while the positive point of view is that parole is the extramural control and training of the prisoner in the community after part of the sentence has been served in a penal or correctional institution, and that conditional release on parole and parole supervision are definite parts of a general program of the social readjustment and moral rehabilitation of prisoners. The positive point of view conceives parole supervision not as consisting of a certain number of stereotyped reports or miscellaneous advice, but as social case work, carried on by persons who have sympathetic and intelligent attitudes and who have developed a knowledge of the accepted norms of human life and relationships.

The duty of the parole officer, the social worker, is to determine the parolee's present condition with respect to his social maladjustment and the factors responsible for his antisocial conduct, and to analyze, diagnose, and plan treatment that will draw upon the parolee's resources, as well as upon those in the community, so that the existing problems may be counteracted or corrected. For the case-work approach is the acceptance and putting into practice of the principle of the individualization of treatment.

Few states have as yet accepted this positive point of view regarding parole. Dr. Claire Wilcox in his article, "The Open Door," appearing in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, paints rather a drab picture of the present status of parole in the United States. He says:

In twenty states, parole is treated as a form of executive clemency. In twelve other states it is treated as an incidental item of penal administration,

release being granted by state or institutional administrative boards. Only fourteen states have created agencies to deal specifically with parole. Six of these rely on part time or ex-officio boards, and three use a single official to select prisoners for release. Only five states and the federal government have full time salaried parole boards.

Methods of supervision are similarly inadequate. He reminds us:

In eighteen states attempts are made to keep in touch with parolees by correspondence alone. Printed rules are announced, but not enforced. Written reports are required, but there is nobody to check on the accuracy of the replies. In seven states attempts are made to supplement this paper control by requiring sponsors, employers, or first friends, to guarantee the parolee's good conduct . . . while other states have sheriffs, constables, and police officers, who are pressed into service.

Fourteen states have no parole officers; thirteen have but one, and six others have but two, three, or four each. Even where field agents are employed, the positions are often filled by men who are not adequately qualified for the task. Little if any training is provided. The parole officers are almost always underpaid and overloaded with work.

There are, however, some highlights to this drab picture, for in at least a few of our states parole administration has, during the last five years, been revolutionized. The states accepting the positive point of view regarding the objectives of parole assume that the function of a parole department is the readjustment of the delinquent or criminal to community life. And that not only the social problems presented by the parolee will be met, but that the unit in treatment must be the family.

The majority of parole officers are apparently of the opinion that the obstacles preventing the achievement of the objective of parole might be overcome by sufficient funds that would make possible the securing of a sufficient number of parole officers to make adequate pre-parole investigations and to give intensive supervision to those released on parole. It is, however, doubtful if staff alone will solve the difficult social and administrative problems involved in parole work. For even with a sufficient number of case workers, social work with parolees is distinctly different in many respects from any other field of social work.

While it is accepted that the problems and difficulties of parolees are the same as the problems of other people, they are

likely to be intensified. The period of incarceration in a reformatory or a prison may have caused an increased disability on the part of the parolee to function in a normal free life. In parole work there are problems which arise because of social opinion and at times because of social ostracism. While some members of the community may be critical of individuals who, through necessity, appeal to public or private social agencies for help in solving their problems of poverty, unemployment, old age, or mental and physical disabilities, nevertheless the sympathy and humanitarian interest of most members of society are aroused by the knowledge or sight of other human beings in trouble. But only a minority of citizens have sympathy or interest in individuals who have violated the laws and have been incarcerated in prison and then returned to the community on parole. Because of their past antisocial conduct, the average citizen is likely to assume that released prisoners are different from other human beings and are not likely to believe that they are desirable persons to have as friends or neighbors.

There are other essential differences in the social problems presented by the released prisoners to the parole worker and those presented by clients of public and private social agencies. One essential difference in case work with delinquents and criminals is that they become the clients of parole officers not through any voluntary action on their part, but by the decision of a state official or a state body.

In almost all other fields of social case work the client himself, or someone interested in him, requests the assistance of the social agency in the solution of a definite social problem. While the social worker may find other forms of maladjustment to exist alongside of or together with the condition that brought the client to the attention of the social agency, most of the interest and activity is centered about the situation that inspired the reference. In parole work the situation is vastly different; for the client, after a period of incarceration in a correctional institution, is released on parole but legally is still a prisoner in the custody of the warden of the institution from which he was re-

leased. He is assigned to the parole officer for supervision either for a fixed period of time or until the expiration of his maximum sentence. If any client of a private social agency refuses to co-operate with the social worker, the agency may, at any time, without the use of force terminate its contact with the individual. The parole officer has no such simple solution to this problem. Because of the provisions of law, he must continue to supervise the parolee either until a fixed date or until the termination of the period of parole. While he has the force or power to declare the parolee a delinquent and return him to prison or to a reformatory, when this action becomes necessary the parole officer knows that he has failed to deal effectively with the personality and social problems of the parolee.

Another contrast between parole case work and other forms of social service is that the parole case worker, while vitally interested in the rehabilitation of the client, must have as his first objective the protection of the community.

While service is stressed in most private or public social agencies, funds are available either for relief or to carry out the particular functions of the agency. But parole case work is entirely a service program, and few, if any, parole organizations supported by the state have funds to provide food, shelter, clothing, transportation, medical care, or to meet any other needs that the parolee or his family may require. The parole officer in order to obtain these utilities must depend upon the co-operation and good will of other social-work organizations.

The type of service required by the client and the correction of the condition that produced his maladjustments are of paramount importance to social workers in private agencies. The time necessary to affect these changes is not of paramount importance. For if the treatment given is helpful, the relations between the client and the agency may continue for an indefinite period. But in parole case work, by statutory decree, it is necessary to continue working with the parolee for a fixed or definite period of time, and the parole must be terminated at a specific date regardless of the unmet needs of the individual.

Family case work, for example, is continually confronted with the problems arising out of tendencies and forces whose general effect is to break down family life. In the main, these may be said to be incompatibility and inadequate social relationships. These same problems are encountered by the parole agent. Their form, however, is much more intensified. The parolee, if a husband, has not only brought disgrace upon his wife and children by his crime and imprisonment, but by his enforced separation during the period of incarceration he has compelled his wife to maintain herself and her children and to assume the rôle of head of the household. Because of this, fundamental changes in the routine of family life are likely to have occurred during the man's imprisonment. The wife and the children have made new friends, and in some instances the wife of the parolee may have developed extra-marital relationships during his incarceration.

These problems must be met in part before the release of the parolee and must be kept forever in the foreground in planning for the parolee's rehabilitation. Intensive case work is required on the part of the parole officer to readjust the family so that its normal relationships may be resumed.

An added problem arises in connection with the parolee who professes to be homeless and without any domestic ties or family relationships and those who are virtually in the same position because of the determined unwillingness of their families to accept them again as members of the household. The parole officer must be thoroughly familiar with the methods and technique of the worker with homeless men if his work is to be effective.

Unemployment and economic distress continually present baffling situations to all social workers. These problems are highly intensified during periods of general depression. The immediate concern is to secure suitable employment for the client. This is extremely difficult even as regards individuals without criminal records. It is much more difficult and complex for the worker who must find employment for a felon as the preliminary step in a program of adjustment.

There are other difficulties in addition to the prejudice of em-

ployers to people who have been in conflict with the law. These are the vocational handicaps. The parolee, if he is equipped with special occupational training, too frequently is unable to continue in such occupation while in prison or return to it when released on parole. Because of these handicaps, the providing of work which the individual can do and obtain satisfaction from doing is more difficult than the employment problem coming to the attention of the private social agencies. Large numbers of parolees have no particular training, and efforts at rehabilitation are hampered when a parolee is placed in a "blind alley" job or if his remuneration is not sufficient to maintain himself or to permit the members of his family to live with frugal decency.

The clients of private social agencies may lack proper recreational interests but the majority are not, nor have they been, members of social groups that follow destructive methods of disposing of their leisure time. The parolee frequently has been a member of such a group. The task of the parole officer is to establish recreational interests that are wholesome and that, at the same time, make an appeal to the released prisoner. The building of acceptable recreational outlets is one of the most important functions of parole. This task is as difficult a problem as the breaking-down of improper and undesirable recreational activities which have contributed to the offender's career of delinquency.

Religion has always been a vital force in the prevention of delinquency and in the reformation of those who have transgressed against the law. This implies much more than regularity of church attendance. The parole officer has the responsibility of attempting to develop the spiritual life of his client and of drawing upon the activities of organized religion which will help the parolee to carry over into his everyday existence ethical standards of conduct and obedience to law and social morals. It is accepted that religious privileges should include social contacts. However, the stigma of incarceration often handicaps the parolee from being freely accepted in the religious group of his choice.

The problems of the health of the parolee and the members of his family and the securing of educational opportunities which may make the parolee more self-dependent are not fundamentally different from those encountered by any social agency dealing with a disadvantaged group.

Social workers, like the general public, too frequently think of the released prisoner returned to the community on parole as an isolated unit. Apparently it is assumed that he has no family ties but that in "Topsy fashion" he just "grew." But parole administrators realize that because of the inability to do social case work with the families of the boys and men during their period of incarceration, owing to lack of staff, the social conditions existing in a prisoner's family when the offender is eligible for parole are frequently worse than when the man was removed from the community.

It may be unnecessary to stress the need for financial support that would make it possible for parole administrators to offer salaries that might attract well-trained social workers to the field of delinquency. But the fact should not be overlooked that even if by the rubbing of some Aladdin's lamp adequate appropriations were available for trained social workers with specialized knowledge of parole techniques, these workers could not be secured, for they do not exist and will not be available a decade from now, unless schools of social work adjust their training programs to provide opportunities for those who desire to specialize in work with delinquents and criminals.

Outside the field of case work there are numerous problems that handicap the development of effective parole work. One of these problems is the conflict between penal and sentencing laws and the programs of reformation and rehabilitation developed by official state agencies. The citizens of the state, through their official representatives in the legislature, designate the offenses to be known as crimes, and fix the punishment that must be imposed upon offenders convicted of these offenses. The present penal and sentencing laws of the majority of the states are based solely upon the idea of deterrence and retribu-

tion. The theories underlying modern devices for individualizing treatment and the re-education of the law-breakers are based solely upon the idea of re-educating the offender so that upon his return to the community he may fit in as a normal member of society. The conflict between these two diametrically opposed theories, both of which most states accept and put into operation, is responsible for the conflict which exists between the group that believe in the efficacy of punishment as a deterrent and those who accept the case-work point of view and believe that society can be protected only through the reformation of the offender.

In addition to this, parole workers face another conflict between theory and practice. In their efforts to adjust parolees to the community, the parole officers must carry on an educational campaign of tolerance and understanding on the part of the community for the released prisoners. Employers of labor are asked not to give preferential treatment to parolees when hiring employees. They are also requested not to discriminate against released prisoners in engaging workers. Yet the state, judging from the wording of parole laws, while vitally concerned with the rehabilitation of offenders and expending funds for this purpose, handicaps the parolees by depriving them of their citizenship and making definite provisions in civil service laws so that convicted felons may not become state employees. The present dubious situation exists that parole officers, official representatives of the state, request private citizens to employ parolees, while the state itself refuses to follow any such policy. Naturally, unless released prisoners swear to a falsehood, they are not eligible to join the army or navy. It is also interesting to note that while the federal government has a progressive system for treating convicted offenders, convicted felons were the only group that were branded by the government as unfit and undesirable for emergency work in the government program of reforestation.

While adequate staffs of parole officers may make parole supervision more effective, it certainly will not solve the prob-

lem of time sentences or the conflict between the divergent philosophies that states accept and put into operation. There is an outstanding need for clear thinking regarding the aim and objectives of probation, institutional treatment, and parole programs. Until this is done, there will be no uniformity in parole laws in the various states, no uniform methods regarding release of prisoners on parole, and small possibilities of parole bureaus or divisions of parole in the various states developing effective co-operative agreements regarding investigation and supervision based upon accepted standards of social case work.

During the past few years, in a few parole departments, some machinery has been established in an attempt to study and evaluate techniques that have been found to be effective in dealing with parolees. A limited number of parole departments now have the services of trained statisticians and research workers. It is the hope of parole officials that competent, well-trained, unbiased individuals will continue their scientific studies of the after-careers of men and women discharged from parole. But it is doubtful if parole, the infant of the case-work family, will for a decade develop any real measuring rod for evaluating the effectiveness of parole treatment in terms other than the number who violated the conditions of their parole and had to be returned to institutions. For until parole is generally accepted as a definite part of the correctional system of a state, leaders in the field must, of necessity, continue to stress the number of released prisoners who "make good" and maintain a decent reticence regarding the few whose antisocial conduct made their return to the institution necessary.

Parole is still an unchartered sea. It is exceedingly doubtful, because of limited experience, that even in the small number of states attempting to adhere to acceptable standards of case work, whether these bureaus or divisions have been in operation long enough to devise intelligently tentative methods of evaluation. The major concern of these newly created units must be in the practical problems of administration, the training of staff, and in compiling statistical data regarding the social

problems presented by parolees and their families. These data should, within a decade, play a major part in establishing minimum standards for parole and the creation of mechanical devices for measuring the effectiveness of case-work treatment with parolees.

The co-operation that parole officers receive from public and private social agencies must depend upon the training, personality, and knowledge that the officer has regarding community social resources. Co-operation in parole work in its present status of development too frequently consists of requesting specific services from other social agencies with little thought of the functions and objectives of the agency.

There is as yet little planning or agreement between parole workers and representatives of social agencies regarding the specialized services the parole officer may perform and the services that another social agency interested in the family may be equipped to give.

In the majority of large urban communities, councils of social agencies are now in operation, but these councils, because of their main interest in the local community and their major concern in the functioning of local social agencies, have overlooked the fact that representatives of the state are doing case work with a number of the clients of the local agencies.

National and state conferences of social work might give an impetus to the whole field of delinquency by granting more consideration to the needs of this field by means of an annual conference. For if states are to have a progressive program of correctional care, workers with delinquents must have the sympathy, understanding, and support of the group who believe in social case work.

PAROLE AND THE COMMUNITY

DISCUSSION OF FREDERICK MORAN'S PAPER

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FROM less than ten thousand in 1910 the number of men released on parole from United States penal institutions increased to thirty-five thousand in 1931. It is interesting to speculate on the assumptions that are made about these men by various groups who have been concerned with them and by the community. The group most directly concerned is the parole commission, or whatever else it may be called, that is responsible for the release of prisoners. Common sense leads us to suppose that the expectation of the parole commission is that there will be at least a fair chance for the former prisoner to effect a successful rehabilitation in the community. A parole board would hardly release men that were certain to return at once to criminal ways. To ask all save a few such boards what justification they have for their assumptions would be impertinent and perhaps embarrassing.

For at least a year preceding release the delinquent has been in the hands of a prison staff. What is the attitude of this group toward the released man? Theoretically, I suppose it is that the delinquent has had an opportunity to learn a trade, attend school, read good books, eat regularly, adjust to a particular type of social life, and plan his future behavior in the community. To be sure, there are certain activities that are denied a prisoner, but those only serve to teach him that society has values the learning of which was not a part of his earlier education. And now when the door is opened the prisoner ought to be reborn and ready to go out into the community sharing its life eagerly and honestly. Actually, however, the picture is somewhat different. During his incarceration the future pa-

rolee is usually regarded as another individual who has wilfully violated the best traditions of the community, and whose imprisonment is a just retribution. The average prison guard seems to feel that hanging would be best for most criminals, that a long imprisonment is the next choice, and that release on parole merely provides new opportunities for crime. I think it is still correct to say that most prison officials and guards behave as though their primary function was to keep dangerous men carefully confined and thoroughly browbeaten. When a man is released into the community he will behave, if he does, because he does not want to be browbeaten any more.

Of course, this attitude is no longer universal. There are instances, notably perhaps in New York, New Jersey, and in the federal system, where the prisons are conducted more nearly in line with the theoretical picture presented above, and where attempts are being made to select officers for their appreciation of the problems presented by delinquent personalities. But there are many obstacles. The attitude of the public toward concessions to prisoners, the expense of adequate programs, and the popular regard of the prison job as a good berth for a deserving political wheelhorse are of fundamental importance. Examples of prison reform are still so rare that they excite wide comment, and reveal by contrast the lag of most institutions behind methods of treatment which to the social worker and the social scientist are commonplace essentials.

The contact of the public with the prisoner is further removed, but its attitudes are nevertheless definite and important. It is probably quite reasonable to say that Mr. John Citizen regards the pre-parole period as a deserving punishment for ill-advised activity. Actually the public knows little about what happens after the steel doors have slammed behind the wayward individual, and apparently cares little provided the cost is not excessive. If it assumes anything, it is that justice has taken its course and that one more criminal has been treated according to his kind. That there will ever be a problem of release is probably farthest from his mind.

What have we as a result of these attitudes toward the delinquent who one day becomes a paroled man in our midst? What becomes of the thirty-five thousand men who are annually released on parole? The answer seems to be that at least half and probably three-fourths of them fail to become reputable citizens. The Gluecks found that 79 per cent partially or completely failed on parole. Burgess identified between 40 and 50 per cent as failures, but he had not the resources to trace the history of his men beyond the public records. The statements of parole officials show that from 10 to 30 per cent fail, but this usually means simply apprehension in a new crime or failure to report for some time. In few places is parole machinery adequate to keep good account of the behavior of the men with whom it is concerned. In my own experience I have known several men who have violated parole numerous times, beginning immediately after their release, but who have subsequently been discharged as successful. Of course, the activity of a parole officer is not limited to watching for violation.

In the words of Claire Wilcox:

Under a well-administered system of parole, the prisoner will not be released until the authorities have been assured that work will be provided him by a reputable employer. Subsequent to his release, he will be required to report periodically to a designated official, stating, in considerable detail, the work he has done, the money he has earned, the money he has spent, the money he has saved, and the manner in which his leisure hours have been occupied. Certain conditions will be imposed upon him. He will not be allowed to engage in certain types of activity, to associate with certain people or to visit certain areas. Numerous other restrictions will be placed upon his daily conduct. The state will see to it that he observes these conditions. An agent will visit his home and discover whether he is providing for his family. His employer may be interviewed to determine whether he is constantly on the job. Other contacts will be made in the community in order to get a line on his general behavior. The parolee will find himself continuously under the eye of the state. Society need not wait until he is convicted of another crime in order to lock him up again. The slightest deviation from the straight and narrow path will bring him back within the prison walls.

It must not be understood, however, that parole is merely a detective measure.¹

¹ "The Open Door," *Annals*, CLVII (September, 1931), 102-3.

But I wish to suggest that probably no parole system is well administered when judged by these standards. The reasons are partly interference of real obstacles and partly because of the views held by those charged with administering parole. Actually a great many parole officers are nothing more than amateur detectives. Drawing again on my own experience, and it has not been in isolated cases, I have had occasion to observe parole officers spying upon their clients, calling their homes at odd hours of the night and early morning, and subjecting them to severe grillings. In many instances this was unnecessary, for they were dealing with boys who were not committing new crimes or even likely to commit them. But these men were carrying out parole supervision according to the way they believed it should be carried out. They had never made friends with their charges or done anything to secure their confidence.

This raises what is to my mind the fundamental question, namely, the attitude toward parole and the parolee. It is the attitude of the police, the newspapers, and the public—when the public has an attitude. In the minds of these groups, who is the parolee and what should be his rôle in the community? I believe it is that he is a necessary evil. Where he is regarded at all—save by social workers, including a few parole officers—he is still seen in much the same light as before he was sent to prison. To the police he is a dangerous character, a potential if not a real criminal, a man to be watched, and a scapegoat to be apprehended in every dragnet campaign of arrests. It is expected that he will violate parole.

Nor are the newspapers essentially different in their attitude. For years the *Chicago Tribune* has reacted toward parole almost as though it were a miscarriage of justice. It has advocated longer sentences and more severe treatment and has seen in each movement in the opposite direction a tendency toward coddling the gangster. And, of course, this campaign proceeds in the face of a hundred years of failure of the prisons, and without the slightest knowledge of the nature of a delinquent personality and what effective treatment actually calls for. Within the

week Michigan newspapers have characterized the parole of twelve hundred men in their state as a jail delivery. And, moreover, it is of great significance in the consideration of parole that these twelve hundred men were released as an economy measure rather than on the basis of any expectation that they have been prepared for re-entry into law-abiding society. Recently I listened to a man who has had much to do with the operation of parole state that the fundamental consideration in turning men out of prison should be that those who remain feel that justice has been done. Apparently this man was interested in a smoothly operated prison or a reputation in the community as an impartial administrator. That the prisoner might be regarded as an individual with an ailment presenting a problem for the community seemed not to have entered his mind.

When these views are held by people who as administrators of the penal system enjoy the respect of the community, and by the newspapers, too, it is small wonder that the same opinions are shared by the public. Most people have never knowingly come into contact with a parolee. To them he is still a social phenomenon—a person with a past, branded with scarlet, an awful example to be avoided, and suffered to exist only at the pleasure of society. The question I should like to raise at this point is, "What are some of the results of these attitudes?"

The first one, I believe, is that few men are in a frame of mind to contribute to society when they are released from prison. Having topped off a series of contacts with law-enforcement officers by at least a year in an American prison, they do not possess the opinion that society is deeply concerned with their welfare. Instead of being prepared for parole, they are prepared to compensate society for the ill treatment they have suffered in prison. Many will doubtless say that they have learned a lesson, but few will admit that society has contributed anything to them as distorted personalities, by placing them in prison. Thus I believe that before parole can be successful, the nature of imprisonment will have to be changed in the direction

of which there are already some observable tendencies. The federal prison camps, the New Jersey farms, the medium security plan of the Detroit House of Correction, the Cayuhoga County Farm, and others are attempting to give prisoners more natural environments and to adapt their programs to the real needs of individuals.

If any criminal is to reform, it is a primary consideration that he must have a means of livelihood. Yet, one of the most difficult tasks of the parolee, just now at least, is to find and keep a job that will support a man and family. Many criminals have enjoyed a comparatively high standard of living, and unless prison has prepared them for a lower one, it is difficult to reconcile themselves to it—as we have all learned in the past months. Almost every state prohibits release until some one has promised to provide a job, yet until recently few states have made provision for an employment officer. In 1932 more men were released on parole than in any previous year. Did they get jobs? I think not. The parole papers were signed and certified, but not in good faith. Any job looks good when it is the last obstacle to release from prison, and many employers can be found who are easily persuaded to find a minor place for the relative of a friend. Similarly, the parole officer is under constant pressure to find places for men ready to be released, and is apparently willing to accept the offers of employment without too close investigation. This first job consequently does not last long, and either the parolee or the parole officer soon has the problem of finding another. What does the parole supervisor do about it? During one summer in the prosperous years that have now disappeared, I witnessed the consignment of twenty parolees to farms not far from a prison. In almost every case these boys were being sent into a strange community and under hard taskmasters interested in their work rather than in the boys. It was a matter of common knowledge that these men worked the boys hard with little compensation, and held over them the threat of return to prison. It was also known that

most of these boys left the farms without notice, preferring to take their chances as violators rather than as farm hands.

In some places men out of work are continually harassed by their parole officers with the threat that unless they go to work they will be returned to prison. Seldom does the parole officer find a job. In three years a parolee of my acquaintance found five different jobs which he held until his record was discovered or until depression discovered the job. With no help whatever from the parole officer—whom he had been taught to call his first friend—he made good for three and a half years and was finally killed trying to earn a living in a legitimate business controlled by criminals and politicians. There are still all too many employment applications, including those for state positions, which bear the condemning question, "Have you ever been convicted of a crime?" Until the community recognizes that the parolee is a member of it and often a capable one, and is willing to find a place for him where his position will not be exploited, it may regard new crimes as a part of the normal course of events.

Another provision of most parole agreements is that a parolee shall not be found with disreputable companions. Now it does not seem to be generally recognized that the only companions a parolee is likely to know are disreputable. They are the ones with whom he lived, worked, and committed crime before going to prison. They were his society, the group in which he found expression. When he returns to the community he is still a social animal, but he is denied the companionship of the only group he knows. Where is he to turn for new and acceptable friends? Suppose we should decide that we wanted to have as new friends and associates the residents of Park Avenue, New York, or the inner circle of Al Capone's gang—both reputed to live somewhat romantic lives—could we gain admission by telling them that we are at present social workers but that we are tired of our friends and, wanting new ones, we have turned to them? Similarly, the problem of the parolee is more than he can handle alone. It is a problem for the community. The parole

officer must find a place and the community must be ready to make the place. And, what is more, the community in making ready to receive the parolee must learn to regard him not as a confirmed criminal but as a human being who is a criminal only when circumstances are favorable to crime.

Now, of course, these considerations demand that parole officers be acquainted and sympathetic with the problems of delinquents. During recent years numerous investigating bodies have recommended expansion of facilities of one kind and another, and these recommendations have often been adopted and hailed as reforms. But in many cases the shouting has been premature. One state doubled the size of its parole board and then appointed to it twice as many people who could deliver their precincts on election day. The establishment of a training school for guards or police officers is still an outstanding event. Young men graduating from college trained in social work and sociology are advised by experienced prison men to consult their local representative in Congress for a job in the correction system. On the other hand, Illinois has recently appointed in the person of Mr. John Landesco an outstanding criminologist to its parole board.

Finally, I should like to say that it is perhaps not asking too much that parole boards, supervisors, and the community should take into account the conclusions arrived at in the many recent studies of parole and the parole situation. When it is discovered, as virtually every recent study has shown, that men who are released from prison at the end of one year are more likely to succeed than those who serve two, three, or more years, then it would seem reasonable either to shorten sentences or else to revise the prison program. And when it is found that certain types of jobs or particular community conditions are more conducive to failure than to success, then perhaps some effort should be made to avoid placing men in those situations.

In the same connection the attempts by Burgess, Glueck, Vold, and many others to develop a scientific basis for predict-

ing what types of men will succeed on parole appear most promising at the present time. A parole commission interested in its job ought to welcome any plan that will eliminate or reduce the alternative of guessing future conduct on the basis of past record and personal appearance. And if a parole commission fails to increase its efficiency when the means are available, then the community should demand it.

PAROLE IN A COMMUNITY SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM

DISCUSSION OF FREDERICK A. MORAN'S PAPER

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FUNDAMENTALLY there are two ways by which an offender can leave an institution. One of these is for an official to conduct him to the front door and say: "You have served your time. You have paid your price. The penalty exacted by society has been met. From now on we have no interest in you. This institution has done its best. If we have failed to make a man of you, that is your fault. We wish you well but, there being nothing further we can do, we wash our hands of the matter. Keep out of mischief—and here is ten dollars." The offender, with a suit of prison-made clothes on his back, walks off. He may or may not be met by friends. He may or may not have a job. Not infrequently the only thing he knows to do is to return to his old associates and to criminal ways.

The other way in which an offender may be released is for the official to say to him: "We have tried to make a man of you. If we have failed, we are sorry, but we have no intention of quitting the job now. We shall keep an interest in you. We shall do our level best to help you get on your feet and to live usefully within the law in your community. This means that you will be on parole. You will have a parole officer, who will be your friend. He will help you get a job. He will help to straighten out your family difficulties and be of assistance in all other ways possible. You are to feel free to call upon him, and he will often call upon you. You must observe the conditions of your parole, which have been explained to you. We may as well be frank

with you and tell you that we are doing this for two reasons: first, in order that we may help you; and, second, in order that we may bring you back to the institution if you disappoint us. We have no intention of letting you commit additional crimes. Our supervision of you will be close and, so long as you permit it, friendly. It will become unfriendly only when you show evidence of going wrong. Now, go ahead, keep out of trouble, and make a man of yourself."

These are essentially the two ways in which persons can leave prison. There is no question, it seems to me, which is more intelligent. In one case society is protected and the offender helped, and in the other case neither happens. If that is true, I think we can draw a general conclusion, namely, that no one should leave prison except on parole. There should be no other way of getting out of a correctional or penal institution. We are constantly hearing the questions asked: Who should be paroled? To what offenders should the method of release on parole be applied? If what I have said is true, the question becomes somewhat meaningless and the answer is: "Everyone who leaves a correctional institution should be paroled." I am not now discussing who should never be released from a correctional institution. Doubtless there are persons for whom permanent custodial care is necessary. The point I wish to make is that if an offender leaves a correctional institution, he ought to be paroled. In the interests of society he ought to come out under supervision rather than with no supervision.

This idea is not particularly novel. In 1916 Rev. William S. Beal, chaplain of the Maryland Penitentiary, told the American Prison Association: "I believe every man ought to serve a period of his sentence on the outside." In 1928 Sanford Bates, then commissioner of correction of Massachusetts, addressing the Massachusetts Legislature said: "We stand here today to make the statement that in the light of modern penology no man should ever be turned from prison directly into the community without the help, the safeguard, and the protection of parole supervision."

What difference does it make what crime the offender has committed or what his record in the institution has been so long as he is coming out? If he is to be released, he ought to be released on parole. The important point for consideration is the time at which he should come out. Should he come out now or later? Has the institution done all that it can for him or has it not? Is there a suitable environment on the outside for him to go to? These are the important questions in determining whether offenders should be released—and not whether he should be released by the method of parole. Emphasis should be shifted from the question as to who should be paroled to the question as to at what time the offender should be paroled.

Of course there is a historical reason for the idea that parole should be applied only to selected individuals. Parole has been regarded in the past as a form of leniency, clemency, giving the offender a break, letting him off easy, shortening his sentence. As administered in many jurisdictions this interpretation has been justified. Emphasis was all on release and not on the supervision to which the offender was subjected in the community. Indeed, there was practically no supervision worthy of the name. With the emphasis shifting to supervision, and with parole agencies engaging in a constructive form of social case work, the matter is quite different. Parole is a period of transition from the extraordinary and artificial life of an institution to the resumption of normal life in the community. It is a continuation of the process of treatment begun in the institution or earlier. It is an integral part of the whole plan of re-education for each offender devised by the state. As such, it is not a measure to be applied to selected individuals, but should be applied to every offender leaving a correctional or a penal institution. No one should be permitted to come out except on parole.

If this is true, it seems to me that several things follow:

1. There should no longer be any such thing as release at the end of a definite sentence, or at the expiration of a maximum, without continuing supervision.
2. Consideration of a prisoner's fitness for parole should arise

automatically while he is a prisoner. Parole should be regarded from the moment he enters the institution as the logical way in which he will go out. It should be a purpose of his institutional treatment to fit him for parole. Deliberation concerning his fitness for parole should be as automatic as considering changing him from one occupation to another, or deciding how much intramural schooling he needs. The practice followed today in some jurisdictions of requiring prisoners to file "applications" for parole, and of considering releasing them on parole only when they have filed such applications, should be abolished. Parole consideration should arise on the initiative of the institutional staff or parole authority and not on the initiative of a prisoner, his lawyer, or his friends.

3. Time spent on parole should be long enough to give an actual test of the offender's fitness to make a satisfactory social adjustment in the community and to lead a law-abiding life. Today the practice in some places is to hold an offender on parole for a year or some other exact period of time. The period should be more indefinite than that. Of course there is the legal question of how long an offender may be held on parole, and today probably the best practice is to consider that he is on parole until the expiration of his maximum sentence. This is satisfactory when the interval between his release and the expiration of his maximum is fairly long, but it is not satisfactory when that interval is quite short.

These are some of the principles now being followed in good parole jurisdictions. Let us not suppose that they are everywhere adhered to. Recently I attended a meeting of the board of parole in the state prison of a middle western state. The board of parole was the board of managers of the institution. Once a month the board met at the prison to transact business and other matters for which it was responsible. At such times it sat also as a parole board. At the session attended by me it made decisions in the cases of ninety-six prisoners eligible for parole in four hours. Allowing for the time it took these ninety-six prisoners to enter the room and leave it, and for minor inter-

ruptions, this meant an average of approximately two minutes for each case. These two minutes covered the interview with the prisoner, the consideration of whatever written or documentary data were placed before the board, and the coming to a conclusion by the board.

A number of spectators were present, including newspaper reporters. When a prisoner entered the room to stand at the head of the table and be interviewed by the board, he faced an audience of twenty-four persons. The next day's papers carried stories of the proceedings. The name of the prisoner, details of his crime, home town, address of his parents or other family to which he was going—all were printed. He went back to his home town with plenty of advance publicity. This was not the most intelligent way to prepare him to make good.

From this I think another principle may be deduced: The interview between a prisoner and a paroling authority should be private and confidential. The deliberations of the paroling authority should be private. There should be no spectators or newspaper reporters. Neither friends nor attorneys should be permitted to make pleas for the offender. The hearing or interview should be a personal, private consultation between the offender and those who are interested in his welfare and should follow the general policies and lines of a private consultation between a social-case-work agency and its client.

There is undoubtedly a tendency in this country to establish state-wide, centralized boards of parole. The duty of such boards is to go from one institution to another and to pass upon the fitness for parole of prisoners at these different institutions. In some states this board also has charge of the supervision of prisoners after they are paroled.

While this is the approved form of paroling authority in a number of states, I wish to ask whether a better form may not be devised. These centralized boards, moving from institution to institution, do not know very well the offenders whom they are considering. They are an improvement over some other forms, but they have their own limitations. I wish to ask

whether a group decision by the institution staff itself is not the best decision concerning an offender's fitness for parole that can be reached. This is substantially the kind of decision that is reached in New Jersey, which I represent, and in a few other places. When the decision is reached in this way, it is reached by those who have the most intimate acquaintance with the offender under consideration. My guess is that as institutions improve it will be found that this is the best manner in which to reach a decision concerning fitness for parole.

I wish to indorse heartily what Mr. Moran said in regard to evaluating the success of a parole agency or finding a yardstick for measuring its competence. May I add just this: Parole supervision is a process of re-education. If that is true, what method is logical for measuring the success of this method of re-education? Is it reasonable to ask that a parole process be required to meet just the same test of efficiency as other educational agencies or processes?

People have been asking whether it would be possible for parole authorities to have some device by which they could predict the probable success or failure of an offender released on parole. Obviously such a device would appeal to many persons. Consequently, in the last four or five years a number of efforts have been made to discover such a device. Students have first tried to isolate, or discover, factors that have the most important bearing on the success or failure of a person on parole. Among such factors are previous criminal record, family relationships of offender, kind of neighborhood in which offender grew up, his pre-institutional work habits, mentality, disciplinary record in the institution, etc. The theory is that having discovered the factors bearing the most important relation to success and failure on parole, it is then possible to construct tables of predictability, somewhat in the nature of longevity or mortality tables used by insurance companies. If you are confronted by a particular offender, all you have to do is to determine the offender's rating or score in relation to these tables of predictability, and then you will be able to state his chances of success.

or failure in terms of percentages. You can say, for example, whether he has nine and one-half chances in ten to succeed or only two chances in ten. One of the outstanding studies of this sort has been made by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck in their book, *500 Criminal Careers*.

The precise usefulness of these devices is not clear. If they assist in determining the time at which an offender should be released, they will be useful; but the position of those who have worked them out seems to be that they are to be used in selecting certain persons as suitable for release by parole and rejecting certain others. There is a difference in emphasis here which at present makes the matter somewhat confusing. It is one thing to say that Prisoner A shall be released by the method of parole and that Prisoner B shall not be so released; it is another thing to say that both Prisoner A and Prisoner B shall be released by the method of parole and that the important question is the time at which they shall be released.

Another consideration is that many of the factors used in these tables are factors relating to the pre-institutional life of the offender. These are all constants, and cannot be changed by anything happening to him in the institution or later. In so far as these factors affect the decision as to whether he shall be paroled, their answer is always the same. The only factors of value in determining the time at which he shall be paroled are those relating to his present and future. It appears, therefore, as if some of the studies were not based upon the type of information shedding light upon the real question: When is the offender most ready for parole?

It is suggested, also, that these devices may be of use to parole boards in determining whether a prisoner should be paroled for an indefinite period or for a short time. But the best test of that question is his behavior on parole. Devices of the kind we have been considering seem to give chief promise of usefulness where there is a choice of dispositions, as, for example, in the hands of a judge deciding whether to place an offender on probation, send him to a reformatory, to a prison, or prescribe other treatment.

TRENDS AND PROBLEMS IN MEDICAL CARE

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UNCARED-FOR illness, uncertain and uneven costs of care, high costs in some cases, shortage of doctors and hospitals in rural areas, overspecialization in the cities, unsatisfactory incomes of many physicians, nurses, and hospitals are problems which have long been recognized by many physicians and laymen.

Economic conditions have accentuated the pressure for the solution of these problems; but long before 1929 there had been evoked complaints, discussions, study, and action. Changes in medical service and in methods of paying for it are not merely under discussion, nor are they merely impending. They are occurring. The country is full of significant trends and experiments.

A mass of evidence has demonstrated that the costs of caring for sickness cause suffering and complaint not because they average high (for the average is only 4 per cent of annual income) but because they fall unevenly and cannot be planned in advance. Sickness we do not choose; it chooses us. It comes unpredictably, and when it comes it brings compulsion to the pocketbook. The costs of a single illness may vary from a few dollars to a thousand or more, and no given sum can be set aside by a family in ordinary circumstances which will assure that family that it can meet the costs of illness during a coming year any more than the average householder could (without fire insurance) safeguard himself against financial disaster if a serious fire occurred.

Physicians are also victims of the situation. The average physician, even before the depression, was not getting rich out of the practice of medicine. His gross income in 1929 was found

to average about \$9,000, but his net income was only about \$5,300, since the professional expenses of private practice require on the average about 40 per cent of gross income. It has been shown that this percentage can be largely reduced, perhaps halved, through professional organization. The incomes of many physicians are certainly inadequate. In 1929, 40,000 of the 70,000 general practitioners were earning a net income of \$2,500 or less. Nurses suffer even in prosperous times from great unemployment and low incomes. The financial support of many hospitals is precarious. An increasing amount of unpaid medical service has burdened physicians heavily and enhanced the burden upon patients who can pay.

In February of this year, the American Hospital Association indorsed the principle of periodic payment for hospital care. This is the plan frequently called "group hospitalization." About 60 hospitals in 20 cities have such plans already in operation along lines recommended in the recent publications of the American Hospital Association, and plans are under discussion or in process of introduction in other places. For from six to twelve dollars a year, varying with the general cost levels of the locality and the scope and character of services offered, persons may secure hospital service usually up to three weeks' stay in any one year. The plans, as recommended by the American Hospital Association, cover hospital charges only, not the professional fees of the physician or surgeon.

It is significant that an organization of hospitals should be the first national professional agency to set forth some constructive program in this field. For a generation, hospitals in the United States have been advancing from mere emergency stations, caring for the sick poor, to a more and more significant place in the general scheme of medical service. Hospitals have become not merely the home of surgery and the place in which a large proportion of babies are brought into the world, but the center of educational opportunities for physicians and of facilities for the diagnosis of large numbers of ill people who never occupy a bed in the institution. Two-thirds of all the practicing physicians of

the country are now associated with hospitals and clinics, and a thousand hospitals have already taken the significant step of supplying quarters wherein local physicians may carry on private office practice. This is one of the significant recent trends in hospital work, representing an economic use of capital investment, a recognition of the hospital's place as a medical center, and an important incentive to co-ordinated work among physicians.

In the best hospitals and clinics, such co-ordinated work is systematically organized. The evils of specialization are counteracted by an organization which makes a single physician personally responsible for each patient, pooling and co-ordinating the findings of laboratories and specialists, and acting as the patient's personal physician throughout.

Are essential personal values between physician and patient lost through organized or "group" practice? Let every patient who has consulted a round of independent specialists ask, on the other hand, whether essential personal values have not been lost already. Let every thoughtful physician ask whether the general practitioner (however fine his initial medical education) can keep up to date with the advance of medicine, unless he has a continuous and organized association with other physicians and with the laboratories and educational facilities of a hospital and clinic.

Providing medical care is the physician's problem; paying for it, the public's. In paying for medical care, the major trend has been to distribute the uneven and unpredictable costs of sickness so that they do not fall upon a family at the moment illness occurs, but are spread over a group of people and over a period of time. Four methods of group payment have been developed: the fine and ancient custom of charity, the very modern device of the sliding scale, taxation, and insurance. Private charity contributed about one hundred million dollars annually out of three and one-half billions of current expense for the care of sickness. The unpaid services of physicians, if estimated at a money value, would be much larger.

The sliding scale of medical charges is a device of good intentions. It seems to have given rise to more complaint from both physicians and patients than any other single element in the present scheme of medical service. The Committee's survey of 9,000 families over a twelve-month period showed that while the need for medical care is approximately the same irrespective of economic status, only one in seven people among the well-to-do went without some medical attention during the year, whereas the proportion was one in four among the middle class, and one in two among the poor. The happy assumption was shattered that the sliding scale of charges succeeds in apportioning the services rendered according to the need for them. Moreover, the unevenness and inadequacy of many physicians' incomes, even before the depression, appear to be due in part to the same system of payment.

The American people have used taxation as a means of distributing certain illness costs. Almost all of the care of mental disease is now supported by taxation, as well as most of the care of tuberculosis and the major part of preventive work. General hospital care is provided in a large number of city and county hospitals and in a few state institutions. The tax-supported hospital in many of the newer communities may be the only hospital available, and is utilized by all classes. In sparsely settled rural sections of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, our Canadian brothers have brought physicians to their communities by paying salaries out of tax funds to medical men who care for everybody in the area—a plan which seems to be satisfactory to all concerned.

Of wider application, as a method of group payment for medical care, is the principle of insurance. Sickness insurance is now in force on a small scale in many parts of the country, and in one or two states seems to be approaching a state of large-scale application. In a few industries, such as mining and lumbering, and in many western railroads, employees secure most or all of their medical care through fixed weekly or monthly payments which build up a common fund from the ill and well together,

out of which the expenses of medical services are met. Sometimes the payments of employees are supplemented by the employer. In a relatively few instances, the whole cost is directly borne by the employer, but this policy is neither practicable nor commendable for general application.

Over ten years ago, in the town of Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, five mills and their employees set up a hospital and a plan of medical service headed by a physician of high standing in the locality. This service has come to include about 8,000 of the 12,000 people of Roanoke Rapids and has been paid for by a fixed fee of twenty-five cents a week from each employee and about an equal amount from the employers. In 1931, when the mills found it no longer possible to continue their payments, the employees voluntarily doubled their weekly amounts so that the service could continue without interruption.

In Los Angeles, organized groups of employees, beginning with those of the county itself, have made arrangements with the Roos-Loos Clinic, a well-established private group organization of about twenty-five physicians, owning their own building, to furnish medical service on an annual-payment basis. In three years the number of subscribers has grown steadily, now covering over 9,000 persons, who for two dollars per month secure medical service at home, clinic, or hospital, complete except for nursing and dentistry. Their dependents must pay cost prices for hospitalization and medicine, but receive other service without charge. This is only one of a number of organized groups of physicians in the Central and Far West, with which annual-payment plans have been arranged by organized groups of people.

Well-established insurance companies have long offered policies to individuals, providing specified cash payments in time of illness, which may be used to meet expenses of medical care. These individual policies, however, cost too much to be useful to the mass of the population. Group sickness insurance, so called, is within the financial reach of many wage-workers, is furnished by several important companies, and is said to cover two million

employees. But this provides only a cash benefit while the wage-earner is ill, in an amount which is necessarily less than wages and which must generally be used to meet the ordinary living expenses, not those of medical care. The most promising and most economical experiments in voluntary sickness insurance are co-operative arrangements between consumers and producers of medical service, without a commercial middleman. Such an intermediary adds substantially to costs, and opens the door to exploitation of physicians and of patients.

Change does not merely happen. Some changes follow the sweep of general social trends. Apartment-house living increases the number of people who go to hospitals during sickness. Other changes spring from new scientific discoveries. The practical wiping-out in many communities of typhoid fever and malaria has substantially altered the kind of practice on which local doctors depend. Still other changes result from the conscious effort of individuals or organized groups.

Recently I met, by request, with a committee of a county medical society in a large southern city to discuss their plan of action, which was tentatively to offer medical care to people of modest income in their community at a fixed annual fee; in other words, a plan of sickness insurance. "We want to make our medical society which appointed us feel," said the chairman of this committee, himself a distinguished surgeon and former president of the American Medical Association, "that changes in medical practice are taking place all over the country and that physicians ought to take leadership in guiding them."

In California the state medical society has given evidence of such leadership. Last February they published a bulletin approving a plan of voluntary sickness insurance to be offered by county medical societies. For an agreed annual fee, paid into a central organization, formed not for profit but as a mutual-benefit agency, subscribers would receive medical care from any member of the county medical society whom they selected as their physician. California presents in fact as well as on paper other significant trends. In its railroads and other large indus-

tries, employees quite generally secure medical care on an annual-payment basis. The idea of sickness insurance has become widespread enough among the people on the Pacific Coast to make it generally salable. The energetic business promoter has not failed to grasp the opportunity. Some small insurance companies and some specially organized "medical service" or "hospital associations" are selling sickness insurance to individuals or groups, and hiring doctors to furnish care. The liberal promises which are made at the time of the sale are not usually borne out by the actual contract, which the prospective patient is too likely to sign before reading the fine print.

In New York the state medical society, at its annual meeting in April, adopted a committee report which indorsed two of the plans which had been recommended by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care: first, more adequate medical care of the unemployed and indigent, and the payment of physicians for such service; and, second, group hospitalization—paying for hospital care by an annual fee.

During the depression, taxation or charity has had to provide medical care for thousands of persons who in prosperous days were able to pay for themselves. Insufficient service even in our wealthiest cities is now frequent, and public policy has in most places continued to expect physicians to serve "poor persons" without remuneration, even though the income of most physicians has been greatly reduced. New York State has set an example to the country during the depression by setting up a plan under the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration whereby physicians are recompensed from relief funds for authorized care given to home-relief clients sick at home.

While lowered income has increased demands for free service and brought many physicians to seek change in the present system of medical service, there has been severe criticism from the officials of the American Medical Association to the major recommendations of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, and a resistance from some county medical societies to local de-

velopments in voluntary sickness insurance or group practice. On the other side must be placed the progressive action by state medical societies in California, New York, Michigan, and elsewhere, and the participation of many local medical societies in group hospitalization and other programs. Social workers are familiar with the fact that many changes, which are now accepted parts of medical service or public health work, have been resisted in the past by some medical organization. Social workers must not, however, forget the still more significant fact that these and every other important measure in public health work and in organized medical care have had the participation and leadership of individual physicians, sensitive to the high traditions of their profession and to its responsibilities not only to patients but to communities.

The United States is too large and conditions in different sections of the country and even within the same state are much too varied to permit a simple formula for organizing medical care or for paying for it to be universally applied. Certain general principles such as group payment and group practice have wide application, but as a rule, in medical care, the plans of action which follow from these principles must be local or regional rather than national. For defining and dealing with local problems, civic bodies and social agencies must organize to study these, for their own part and in co-operation with professional bodies.

In considering programs of social insurance such as are discussed in the statement recently issued by a committee of the American Association of Social Workers, it is very important to remember that with respect to sickness, taxation and insurance are alternative methods of group payment. In no country in the world, even in those where sickness insurance has been longest and most fully developed, is more than a part of the costs of caring for sickness borne on an insurance basis even for wage-earning groups. A substantial part of the costs is borne by taxation.

Now the significant point is that most of the costs borne by

taxation are those of hospital care, including the professional services of physicians who care for patients in hospitals as well as the hospital charges themselves. In the United States, most of the nervous, mental, and tubercular patients in hospitals are paid for out of government funds at a cost of nearly \$200,000,000 a year, and what is not so generally appreciated, tax funds chiefly from state and local governments are also paying about \$100,000,000 a year for general hospitals under government auspices and an additional sum of about \$20,000,000 as subsidies to general hospitals under voluntary auspices.

Any scheme of sickness insurance which develops on a large scale as a result of legislation will unquestionably have to be accompanied by an increase in governmental appropriations either to supplement insurance funds for general medical care or to meet directly the costs of general hospital service for a considerable group of the population. The two methods would amount to about the same thing financially. Both methods are likely to be used in conjunction with each other. I lay stress on this point because a study of the amount and manner in which tax funds are to be used to meet the costs of medical care must accompany all our considerations of the use of the insurance principle.

I shall not attempt to develop the specific responsibilities and programs which devolve upon social workers except to make two points.

First, with respect to medical care, social workers must regard themselves as having a double interest. The social worker is professionally concerned as a worker with and is often the chief representative of those who are too poor to care for themselves and too inexpressive to voice their needs. The social worker is personally concerned as a member of what is often called the "neglected middle class" of the community: those whose incomes, while normally regular, are too small to provide any substantial margin over the demands of a modest standard of living. Social workers can help themselves and also set an example to the community by organizing themselves (and

similar groups such as teachers) for the co-operative purchase of medical service. You will be surprised how much more effective is your voice when you speak to physicians or hospitals as a body of people who would offer cash on an annual and organized basis in return for certain medical services.

In the second place, let us note that the plans and experiments in medical care reflect an underlying trend toward the organization of medical care, both in the furnishing of service to a greater degree through co-operative or "group" work among physicians and in the paying for service through an organized instead of a wholly individualistic method. We have been passing through four tragic years during which the subsistence as well as the medical care of millions of our people has had to be furnished as relief out of the charity of individuals or of the public. Social workers have played a prominent part in the administration of the immense funds and the harrowing problems of this emergency. If now, as we hope, an unexampled unemployment is about to pass away, we social workers may well ask what we have learned from the experience and in what climate of opinion we shall live in the new day.

The physician is brought up in a highly individualistic tradition. He must be led to see that the principle of granting alms, whether in cash, food, or service, is no longer tolerable or even efficient when applied to more than a small fraction of the population, and is wholly incapable of dealing with the widespread and continuing problems of the costs of sickness such as face a large proportion of people, even in more prosperous times.

The physician, like some laymen who still preach the virtues of individualism, forgets that the interdependence of people in our present economic life compels the expression of individuality through co-operative economic methods rather than through an isolated individualism. The physician, like these laymen, must be led to see that the principle of group payment for a risk such as sickness involves the continuing responsibility of the individual for his self-support combined with a share in responsibility for others; and that the principle of group payment is not

only compatible with the existence of a democratic society, but is indeed essential to its continuance. Group payment through insurance may not be a means of preserving individualism. It is a means of maintaining and developing individuality. If we social workers will take this meaning of the depression to heart, and help to instil it into our medical co-operators and among the public, we shall help in advancing one of the major social trends of our time.

THE PROBLEM OF CHILDHOOD TUBERCULOSIS

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THE tuberculin test shows that about one-third of all children at high-school age are infected with the tubercle bacillus. This means that they have a focus of tuberculosis somewhere in their bodies. The first invasion of the tissues in most instances produces no manifest disease. It is the foundation, however, upon which the severe and oftentimes fatal forms of tuberculosis are laid. If there was no first infection, obviously there would be no tuberculosis. We could also say with equal truth that if there was only one infection, there would be no serious tuberculosis. It is the second and subsequent infections that are the dangerous ones, the ones that produce the fatal forms of the disease.

We find two peaks in the death curve from tuberculosis: the first under five, being highest in the first year of life; the other rises after ten and reaches its peak in the twenties. Those two periods of high mortality are the objectives toward which the anti-tuberculosis campaign should be directed.

The helpless infant and the preschool child is exposed to comparatively few people, those within the home. An X-ray examination annually of all members of a household in which there are young children would discover the tuberculous persons, and if they were removed this high mortality peak of the first years of life would soon be flattened out.

In Detroit for the last two years the mortality from tuberculous meningitis dropped 44 per cent over the preceding three years. Meningitis causes about half of the tuberculosis deaths in children. The reason for this decrease is that there have been beds enough to hospitalize all tuberculous patients as soon as they applied for admission. The sources of infection and rein-

fection are thus taken out of the homes and no longer remain as a menace to the children.

From five to ten years of age children seem to have some attribute that protects them from tuberculosis. The number of infected children increases a little, but deaths are few. Then comes the increasing mortality with the advent of puberty. As children become older their sphere of activities broadens. Meeting more people means more possible sources of new infection. At age twelve about 25 per cent have acquired the primary phase of tuberculosis. This has been kept in subjection by nature's defensive mechanism, and all would be well if no reinfec-

TABLE I
DEATHS FROM CHILDREN'S DISEASES IN MICHIGAN,
AGES UNDER FIFTEEN

Disease	1932	1931	1930	Total
Tuberculosis.....	202	261	289	752
Whooping-cough.....	199	190	176	565
Diphtheria.....	92	147	261	500
Measles.....	173	21	217	411
Scarlet fever.....	89	76	106	271

tions occurred. The tubercle bacillus within the body, however, may be reinforced by new recruits from outside, or tubercle bacilli from the focus of disease that has hitherto been latent may escape through the protecting wall and infect new areas. The result is the same in either case. We have another form of tuberculosis, the adult or reinfection type, one that is destructive, often progressive, and responsible for many deaths in adolescents and young adults.

The attempt to cure patients led to a greater effort being made to find cases in an earlier stage. Refinements of diagnosis were developed, and the X-ray, the greatest of all aids in diagnosis, was perfected, with which we can find pulmonary tuberculosis in its really incipient stage. This led us back to the chil-

dren, as in them it was found so frequently that it has been given the names of childhood type of tuberculosis to distinguish it from the reinfection type that is seen usually in adults.

A review of the deaths from communicable diseases of children shows that tuberculosis leads the list. Tuberculosis, therefore, should properly be classed as a children's disease. This is a recent conception of tuberculosis and has given us a new perspective (see Table I).

We must focus our attention on the tubercle bacillus itself as the arch criminal and follow him through his varied activities, not only paying attention to his major crimes but giving equal consideration to the minor offenses and misdemeanors.

Tuberculin is an invaluable agent with which we can follow the trail of the bacillus, both to and from its victims. We can find the infected persons before disease has become manifest. We know that the bacillus within the body lives at the expense of the tissues, that about the bacillus develops tubercle, that where there is tubercle there is potential tuberculosis. When infection occurs the tissues take on new characteristics, one a sensitiveness to the bacillus and its products that makes the tissues react more violently to new infections, often a destructive process that goes on to a fatal termination. The immunity that is acquired is negligible. The slight protection afforded is far outweighed by the dangers incident to having a focus of tuberculosis within the body.

In the tuberculin test we have a safe and effective screen that separates out infected children. In the X-ray we have an accurate means of finding those that have pulmonary tuberculosis. It would, of course, be highly desirable to X-ray frequently, every six months or a year, all positive reactors, but that is impractical in most communities because of the expense. We can, however, concentrate our activities on those that are most likely to develop the adult, reinfective type of disease; namely, those who have X-ray evidence of nodules or tracheobronchial lymph nodes.

Zacks reports:

In a study of over 100,000 school children that those with nodular lesions of first infection were found in two out of every hundred children, and in a series of 110 children found with the adult type of tuberculosis 66.3 per cent had associated nodular lesions, showing that they had had a previous childhood type of disease. Children with these lesions are twice as prone to develop later the adult type of tuberculosis as was a group that reacted to the tuberculin test but in whom no nodules were found.¹

Our problem is to prevent infection. To do this we must find the cases of tuberculosis before they become open cases, segregate them in institutions, and cure as many as possible. Case-finding methods must be more aggressive. We must put our dependence on the X-ray and less upon the stethoscope and the routine physical examination. The X-ray must be made more accessible and less expensive. Furthermore, we will never succeed in finding early cases of tuberculosis by waiting for people to go to doctors' offices or to clinics. When they go of their own accord it is because they have symptoms, and that usually means that they have developed into bacilli carriers and spreaders. They have unwittingly been perpetuating the bacillus by planting it in others. We should look for it in the most likely places, in the homes of contacts where other cases will usually be found. Furthermore, we must advocate and practice ourselves the annual health examination, one that includes an X-ray of the chest.

To get another perspective of tuberculosis we can contrast the number showing infection with those that develop manifest disease. About 60 per cent of the adult population are infected as shown by the tuberculin test, while less than 1 per cent have clinical tuberculosis and but 7 or 8 per cent of all deaths are from tuberculosis. It is evident, therefore, that the body defenses are sufficient in most instances to hold the primary infection in subjection. We should not scatter our inadequate resources by attempting to follow up every positive reactor, as there are too

¹ Dr. David Zacks, "What We Have Learned in Massachusetts from the Ten Year Program," *N.E. Med. Jour.*, September, 10, 1931.

many at the present time, but concentrate on the cases that are gross enough to be revealed by X-ray and do all we can to prevent reinfection and spread of the disease.

The plan I would suggest would be that the campaign be directed toward two groups of children—the preschool and the adolescents. The preschool group are more difficult to reach, but by tuberculin testing and X-ray examination of all those known to be in contact with a case of tuberculosis we can get at the ones most in need of supervision. The adolescent group are in school, and there we can more easily find them. By testing and X-raying the seventh, ninth, and eleventh grades, we can provide three effective examinations during the adolescent period, which is the danger time for the development of pulmonary tuberculosis.

In the past years we have devoted much more effort to attempt to cure than to prevent tuberculosis. Finding that the early cases responded more favorably to treatment, they were given the preference in admission to sanatoriums. There being insufficient beds for all patients, the advanced cases were left at home. The result of this policy was to cure some but also to create more cases of tuberculosis. The advanced case was left to die in the home, infect the young children, and reinfect some of the older members of the household. New crops of tuberculosis were continually being developed. It is difficult to understand why the death-rate dropped at all under this method of procedure.

Treatment is now more successful than ever before. In collapse therapy we have a weapon that not only cures many patients previously considered incurable, but it quickly closes tuberculous cavities in the lung. Instead of patients living on as animated culture tubes propagating the tubercle bacilli for years, a nuisance to themselves and a menace to others, by collapse therapy we can make many of them safe to live with and of some use in the world.

We can control and eliminate tuberculosis by carrying out the following procedures which provide for prevention and cure:

1. Examination of all known contacts by tuberculin test and X-ray.
2. An X-ray examination of parents and all other persons who have the care of children, including school-teachers. Only in this way can children be protected from the unknown case.
3. Tuberculin test and X-ray all positive reactors in the seventh, ninth, and eleventh grades. This would provide three examinations of school children during the adolescent period.
4. An annual health examination of all adults, which includes an X-ray of the chest.
5. Two hospital and sanatorium beds should be provided for every tuberculosis death.
6. Collapse therapy treatment as soon as possible following diagnosis for every case where it is applicable, and that is in at least 80 per cent of the patients.

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF TUBERCULOSIS

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IN MY discussion of the practical phases of prevention and control I should like to begin by emphasizing the fact that there is now available sufficient scientific information about tuberculosis to make it possible to blot out the disease in three generations. Just how could one go about trying to attain this goal? In the first place, if you get your first tuberculous infection today it will come from infected milk from a tuberculous cow (and we know how to control this source), or it will come from some human being who has tuberculosis and is spreading tubercle bacilli around. That human being who is spreading tubercle bacilli has symptoms; his tuberculosis can be diagnosed; and he can be so isolated that he will cease to be a source of spread of infection to others. He will either die or get well, but whichever the result, he can be so cared for that he no longer will be dangerous to others. But he has already infected you and probably many others. What may happen to you who have become infected? Your infection will either lie dormant, which is most often the case, or will develop into active disease. If you do not develop active disease, you will never be a source of spread of tubercle bacilli and therefore never be dangerous to others. If you do develop active disease, there will develop symptoms or a signal of trouble before you become dangerous to others, and it is possible to diagnose tuberculosis at this early stage. Whether you get well or get worse, it is known how to care for you to prevent your being dangerous to others.

Thus, if we could find all those who have active disease and are spreading tubercle bacilli, and so care for them that they would cease to be sources of spread, and if we could diagnose all the new cases before they became sources of spread, tuberculosis would soon disappear. Each individual step in this scheme is

possible. If a capable physician had complete health supervision over the one or two hundred inhabitants of an island, such an accomplishment as indicated above would not be difficult. Multiply this many times, and we have our own population and our own physicians responsible for the health of our people.

Such an ideal is not possible of accomplishment, but it is exactly this ideal at which we must aim, and it is along these fundamental lines that we must work if our efforts to better the tuberculosis situation are to be most fruitful.

Just what are the difficulties that stand in the way of the practical accomplishment of this ideal? In the first place, relatively few of our physicians are sufficiently well trained or are sufficiently interested to take full advantage of the available knowledge concerning diagnosis and treatment. It is not their fault. It is the fault primarily of the medical schools. It is the problem of medical education to try gradually to correct this. In the second place, the layman has not been sufficiently educated to take advantage of available knowledge and facilities for diagnosis and treatment. Education along this line is advancing, and it is the responsibility of you and of every one of us to put our shoulders to the wheel in this connection. In the third place, the facilities for diagnosis and proper treatment are inadequate. These are being increased; Dr. Chadwick's sanatorium is a striking example of what can be done in this regard.

With these practical difficulties facing us, just how can we work most efficiently under the present circumstances? The keynote to accomplishment in this big problem of tuberculosis is education both of physicians and of laymen to take advantage of what the physicians can do. The most impressive method of educating is actual demonstration. This means that every physician and every individual should carry on this campaign of urging tuberculosis suspects to get an early diagnosis and co-operate in any plan of treatment outlined. Every patient who is diagnosed as having tuberculosis should be cared for carefully not only for his own sake but for the sake of preventing him from being dangerous to others. When such a patient is found and is treated, that is only part of the responsibility. The next step is

to go through his family and contacts and find out whether or not and to what extent he has infected others. The children should be tuberculin tested and should have an X-ray of the chest if the tuberculin test is positive. They should, of course, be carefully examined to determine whether or not they have active disease, and if any of them has, isolation and treatment should be instituted as above indicated. If they have only a tuberculous infection and no evidence of manifest disease, any necessary corrective measures, such as the elimination of defects and the improvement or maintenance of good nutrition, should be carried out. If these are accomplished and contact with open disease to prevent subsequent infection is eliminated, there is little danger of these children having any further trouble from their quiet tuberculous infection.

One may go at the problem from another angle, namely, by doing tuberculin tests on school children where large groups can be tested in a relatively short time. Those having positive tests again are examined as above, but one goes further and uses these positive children as clues or leads to the location of the source of spread from which they got their infection. Being children and having a relatively limited cruising range, one often finds the source of spread in their own family. By work of this kind a great deal of unsuspected tuberculosis can be found in adults or in other children in the family, and, being unsuspected, it is a most dangerous source of spread since no preventive precautions are taken.

If our facilities were adequate, one could find practically all of the tuberculosis in its various stages by using these methods. Because of the general lack of education in regard to the importance and value of these preventive procedures, it becomes absolutely necessary that those of us who do know what can be accomplished must assume the responsibility for seeing that it is done. It is not enough merely to try, but actual accomplishment is the only thing that will get results. You who are interested in social welfare can do much in this educational campaign which, to be impressive and effective for the people who need it most, must assume the form of practical demonstration.

TREATMENT OF FIRST-INFECTION TUBERCULOSIS

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WITH the accumulation of information concerning tuberculosis has come a change in the treatment of the first-infection type of disease, as contrasted with the reinfection type, which is the common one treated in adults.

There are two distinct types of tuberculosis in the human body. That which makes the initial attack is known as the first-infection type or "primary tuberculosis," or if in a lung, it has been called the "childhood type of tuberculosis." This has been shown to be a very mild form of disease; in fact, it rarely causes significant symptoms and almost never results in much destruction of tissues. This type of tuberculosis, therefore, may be present in the body without ever causing any disability, and, in the absence of special examinations such as the tuberculin test, we may be quite unaware of its presence.

The reinfection type of tuberculosis, when present, always succeeds the first-infection type, and if in the lungs, it has been called the "adult type of tuberculosis." This type presents a very different picture. While it is true that our bodies may have enough resistance to overcome reinfections from tubercle bacilli, it is also true that a considerable number of us do not have enough resistance to control this form of disease; hence, symptoms make their appearance, such as fever, rapid pulse, loss of appetite, loss of weight, etc. Even after these symptoms appear, some people have, or develop, enough resistance to bring the disease under control either with or without treatment. Again many persons reinfected with tubercle bacilli do not have, or are not able to develop, such resistance, and their disease continues to progress and their symptoms to increase, until they are defi-

nately disabled or die. Such persons have constituted the greater part of the group who have occupied our sanatoriums in the past. The treatment of persons with this type of tuberculosis presents a problem entirely different from that of the first-infection type.

It is the treatment of the first-infection type of tuberculosis which I shall discuss. In 1921, when the Lymanhurst School was dedicated, and for several years thereafter, our staff was of the firm opinion that every child who had an inflammatory area of tuberculosis in the lung should become a strict bed patient either in a sanatorium or in a home. In fact, our viewpoint on the treatment of such cases was precisely as that on the treatment of the reinfection type of tuberculosis. This was because we did not recognize, at that time, the manner in which the body reacts to the two types of tuberculosis. While some parents of children who were found to have areas of disease in the lung accepted our recommendations and sent them to sanatoriums or made strict bed cases of them at home, others were unable to see the need of such treatment, inasmuch as their children presented no outward manifestation of disease. Such parents ignored our recommendations, kept their children at home, and allowed them the same liberties as other children in the family and the neighborhood. Many of these parents, however, were sufficiently co-operative to bring the children in for periodic examinations. Thus we had under observation two groups of cases: one group receiving strict treatment and the other receiving almost no treatment. As years passed, we were amazed to find that the children of the untreated group were as well as those children on strict treatment. A typical case from each group will suffice to illustrate the point.

A girl of five years, A. H., was brought with her four brothers and sisters for examination because the mother, who had been ill in the home for about three years, had recently died of tuberculosis. The brothers and sisters were found to have deposits of lime in their lungs and at the lung roots, but this girl had an inflammatory area in her right lung. This was in 1925 when we still threw up our hands at such findings and rendered very grave prognoses. The father was advised to have her admitted to a sanatorium at once. He did this,

but at the end of approximately four years in the institution, she had developed no symptoms of reinfection tuberculosis, and lime was abundantly deposited in the foci of disease. She is at present an apparently healthy school child.

C. J. is a boy who came under our observation at the age of two years, in 1925. He had also been exposed to tuberculosis and his tuberculin test was positive. He had a large area of disease in the right lung, demonstrated by the X-ray film. His mother was told that he must enter a sanatorium. She questioned such advice on the ground that the child was not ill. There had been tuberculosis in her home and she knew something of the symptoms of the reinfection type. She finally refused to send him to an institution or to give him any special treatment. He remained among other children, and his regimen did not differ from theirs. In due time, lime was deposited in the foci of disease, and no symptoms had made their appearance. Today he is an apparently normal school child and has never had symptoms of reinfection tuberculosis.

These cases illustrate beautifully the two groups. The untreated group left us with no basis upon which to argue for bed rest or sanatorium treatment. Therefore, we no longer recommend any drastic treatment for cases of the first-infection type of tuberculosis.

The following illustrate our present management:

A child of twenty-two months, B. C., was brought in for examination because her father had extensive tuberculosis. She was apparently normal but had a positive tuberculin reaction and the X-ray film showed a rather large inflammatory process in the left upper lobe. The father was advised to enter an institution for treatment, since he was without funds and had the reinfection type of disease and was disseminating tubercle bacilli to his children and other associates. This broke the contact exposure and prevented the reinfection of the child. The rest of the family was tuberculin tested. Although the results were all positive, none was in the class of spreaders or carriers of tubercle bacilli, hence there was no further exposure for this child in the home. The mother was told that she need not worry about the infant's health, provided the reinfection type of disease did not make its appearance. Some neighbors heard of the recommendation and insisted that another physician examine this child. When he saw the X-ray shadow he became as much alarmed as we would have been a few years before this. He recommended immediate hospitalization. This recommendation was accepted, but after a few weeks in the sanatorium the family removed the child. Although she had pleurisy with effusion, in due time lime made its appearance in the foci of disease and now, five years later, she is apparently normal. There have been no symptoms of tuberculosis except when the pleural effusion was present.

A boy of eighteen months, K. LaV., was first examined after his father had

been found to have rather extensive tuberculosis and was disseminating tubercle bacilli. This infant's tuberculin test was positive, and he was found to have quite a large inflammatory area in the right lung. The father was immediately sent to an institution, hence the exposure of the child was stopped. We informed the mother that she had nothing to fear unless this child had already been or should become reinfected. To prevent this, the family as well as the child has been observed periodically to determine their health status as far as tuberculosis is concerned. She kept him at home and treated him as any normal child would be treated. Today, four years later, lime deposits are visualized on the X-ray film in the old foci of disease and there has been no outward manifestation of tuberculosis. When school age is reached, attendance at a special school for the tuberculous will be recommended.

Our great educational campaign against tuberculosis, together with some probable factors which we do not understand, have borne fruit so abundantly that today large numbers of infants and children escape contamination with tubercle bacilli and many adults have not been infected. When such adults do become infected for the first time, they develop the same benign type of tuberculosis as seen in the bodies of infants and children. Therefore, we no longer recommend bed rest or hospitalization for adults when they develop the first-infection type of disease, but treat them in the same manner as children with the same disease.

When interest in children with tuberculosis was aroused and before we knew that the vast majority of them have only the benign first-infection type of disease, the problem of providing hospital facilities seemed stupendous—in fact, some sanatoriums hastened to construct one or more buildings for such children. But with our new knowledge of tuberculosis, some of them have already found it advisable to convert such buildings into other uses. Some of these buildings were erected in close proximity to the main sanatorium buildings and very little attention was paid to the protection of children against further exposure to tubercle bacilli. Often they used the same dining-room, the same recreation room, etc., as the open adult cases of tuberculosis, and by so doing were inviting the reinfection type of disease. The child who has already developed the reinfection and destructive type of tuberculosis when hospitalized is best treated in the regular

sanatorium buildings. Inasmuch as this form of disease is not common among children, there is little or no need for special children's buildings.

The next movement had to do with the construction of preventoriums for children. Some were built and admitted children from homes where they had been exposed to tuberculosis and a good many had been made orphans because of tuberculosis. Some institutions admitted any child who was below par. A great wave of enthusiasm swept over the country. Some advocated that every child who had been exposed to tuberculosis be placed in such an institution but, fortunately, committees were appointed, and on them were conservative as well as enthusiastic individuals. The conservative group was able to stem the tide until it was shown that the preventorium is not the solution; that institutionalization really is not good for a child except when he is ill. The child with the first-infection type of tuberculosis is not actually ill.

The summer camp for tuberculous children is little more than a gesture. I am doubtful whether it has any more value than providing an outing for the children. It is based largely upon obsolete views concerning the effects of outside air on the healing of tuberculosis. Ventilating engineers have shown that conditioned air is far superior to outside air in almost any part of the country at any time of the year. Contamination, temperature, and humidity too high or too low counteract the chief argument for the summer camp. Taking a child from a home where there is exposure to tuberculosis to a summer camp is laudable, but to return the child to the same home without providing adequate protection against exposure is detrimental. A properly supervised camp trip is good for any child who is not ill. Such camps as those provided by religious organizations, luncheon clubs, philanthropists, etc., are excellent, but for a tuberculosis organization to make claims for the camp as a major factor in tuberculosis control is absurd. Sometimes such camps are used to impress the public with the idea that the tax money or even the money they spend on Christmas seals is being used to good

advantage. A community which already has a program providing for all of the major factors in tuberculosis control work and finds that the only thing left to do is to start a summer camp is justified, but such communities are extremely scarce.

At the close of twelve years' observation on children with the first-infection type of tuberculosis, the Lymanhurst medical staff is strongly of the opinion that sanatoriums and twenty-four-hour preventoriums are usually unnecessary in the treatment of children with the first-infection type of tuberculosis. In fact, we are of the opinion that the time is not far distant when the administration of a sanatorium, or of any tuberculosis organization, will feel apologetic for maintaining in tax-supported sanatoriums children who have only the first-infection type of tuberculosis. Our observations on these children have convinced us that the use of their homes, foster-homes when necessary, the family physician, clinics for the needy, the school system, and nursing and social organizations is the best solution of the treatment and protection of such children. The individual's home is surpassed by no other place when the source of exposure is discontinued and the other home conditions are good. Children who have been made orphans by tuberculosis and children whose homes are not or cannot be made right for their protection are far better off when placed in certified foster-homes.

The question immediately arises as to the safety of the members of the family who make a foster-home for a child with the first-infection type of tuberculosis. Of course, such a child has foci of disease in the body, but fortunately most of them do not eliminate tubercle bacilli by way of the mouth, as persons with the reinfection type do. Considerable evidence has accrued to show that tubercle bacilli are cast from tuberculous lesions of the first-infection type when the disease is in the acute inflammatory stage, but following this stage bacilli are rarely found in the excreta. Fortunately, children usually do not expectorate; in fact, even when the disease is in the inflammatory stage, they rarely cough. Therefore, tubercle bacilli cast from the lesion usually find their way through the trachea to the throat and

are swallowed. Thus, examination of the gastric contents and of the feces reveals them. Apparently, the danger of tubercle bacilli eliminated by way of the intestinal tract reaching the bodies of others is slight. Therefore, children with the first-infection type of tuberculosis do not present as serious potentialities, from the standpoint of the spread of their disease to others, as persons with the reinfection type of disease. Thus, we are usually able to give members of families who desire to make foster-homes for such children a reasonable assurance that there is no danger of them contracting the disease.

In rural and small-town schools these children may remain in their usual classes and mingle with other children. In larger places, where there is a sufficient number of them, special rooms may be set aside for their instruction and observation. In still larger places, the ideal provision is the special school. Grouping them together when the number is sufficiently large seems advisable, since their parents and those in charge of them have a common interest. We have found that, generally speaking, this does not result in phthisiophobia, nor does it stigmatize the children.

In the earlier part of this paper, one may have gleaned the impression that the child with the first-infection type of tuberculosis presents a very simple problem; that the disease is not serious and, therefore, one need have no concern about it. I now want to point out quite the contrary. The problem is a very complex one. The disease is serious and we should be much concerned over each child with the first-infection type of disease, that is, every child who reacts positively to the tuberculin test. In the earlier part of the paper, the immediate effect of the disease was under consideration. We must now discuss the remote effect in the light of actual facts.

Every child reacting positively to the tuberculin test has in his body at least one focus of tuberculosis; that is, the first-infection type of disease is present. The fact that it is causing him no illness and that it is not destroying his tissues at that particular moment does not mean that it is under control for

all time. The tubercle bacilli are capable of living in such foci over long periods of years and at any time may escape from them only to set up new areas of disease. If large numbers of such new areas of disease are established, the individual usually succumbs in a short time from such conditions as tuberculous meningitis or miliary tuberculosis. If smaller numbers of new areas of disease are established by the spread of the tubercle bacilli into the lung, bones, joints, etc., acute inflammation is set up, and after a time the disease becomes chronic. Unfortunately, we have no specific measures to prevent the spread of tubercle bacilli from these first-infection foci of disease to other parts of the body. Therefore, children are at the mercy of tubercle bacilli once they are allowed to enter and establish foci of disease in their bodies.

A second danger is that once the first-infection type of disease develops in the body, it becomes sensitive to the products of growth of tubercle bacilli and thereafter it is more dangerous to be re-exposed to tuberculosis. Therefore, complexities begin to loom when we consider care for the child with the first-infection type of disease. The problem is a serious one and these children demand constant attention. First, living conditions must be made right and kept right as far as subsequent exposure to tuberculosis is concerned. From this point on, the hospital social worker's aid is invaluable, since it is her responsibility to check on these conditions. The fact that a mother has died of tuberculosis and was the source of the first-infection type of disease in a child does not mean that other sources do not exist in the same family or among other close associates. If examination of all the members of a family and other close associates proves that there are no other open cases of tuberculosis at that particular moment, it does not mean that such cases may not develop at any time. Therefore, the members of families of homes, foster-homes, teachers, and the other intimate associates of these children should be re-examined at least every year. Here again the hospital social worker comes into the picture in this follow-up program. Although we know little about resistance of

the body to tuberculosis, we assume that children who have foci of the first-infection type of tuberculosis in their bodies should be provided regularly with all the daily-food requirements of their bodies and that they should have adequate rest. Even though it may be shown that these may not prevent later dissemination of their tubercle bacilli, they are necessary for the growth and maintenance of their bodies. Therefore, they should be adequately provided. The magnitude of the simple recommendation to observe properly these children with only the first-infection type of disease is such that without the co-operation of the social agencies it is an impossibility.

Every child with the first-infection type of tuberculosis, from its beginning in the inflammatory stage and even after lime has been deposited, is a potential case of the reinfection type of disease, which causes illness and destruction of tissues. If there is a sudden spread of the bacilli from the original foci to many parts of the body, resulting in tuberculous meningitis or miliary tuberculosis, there is little to be done by way of treatment except that of a palliative nature. When the chronic reinfection type of disease makes its appearance, whether it is due to the spread of bacilli from the first-infection type of lesion or whether it is due to subsequent exposure to bacilli from others, there is much to be done when the reinfection type of disease is detected early. We are not aided in its detection by the tuberculin test, as that has been positive since the first-infection type of disease developed; we are not aided by symptoms, since they usually make their appearance after the disease has become rather extensive; we are not aided by physical examination, since abnormal signs are usually absent in the early development of the reinfection type of disease; we are not aided by the X-ray film examination when the lesions first start to develop, but long before they cause symptoms or abnormal physical signs they become sufficiently large to be visualized by the X-ray film examination. In our observations at the Lymanhurst School, we have frequently seen X-ray shadows, produced by reinfection type of tuberculosis, years before any symptoms or abnormal physical signs were

present. We have seen these shadows slowly but surely enlarge, and eventually, if treatment is not administered, the individual becomes ill with the reinfection type of disease during the teens or early twenties. This fact emphasizes the treacherousness of tuberculosis and proves the great need of most careful observation and periodic examination, including X-ray films, of all children who have the first-infection type of disease.

Once the reinfection type of disease makes its appearance on the X-ray film, even though the child is not ill, as is usually the case, treatment is definitely indicated. At this moment, we are able in a high percentage of cases to direct the disease toward healing. In some cases strict bed rest may be indicated in the home or in an institution, but in a good many cases—in fact, I believe the majority of them—collapse therapy will promote healing without much bed rest. Bed rest alone fails so often that we have lost much of our confidence in it. While it is true that some of these lesions will come under control without any treatment whatsoever, we have no way of identifying them, and inasmuch as so many tend to progress and are moderately or far advanced when symptoms or abnormal physical signs make their appearance, it behooves us to detect them by X-ray and treat all at the earliest possible moment.

There has been a strong tendency in this country to minimize the importance of the first-infection type of tuberculosis in the bodies of children. This tendency, no doubt, is due to the fact that such children appear in good health. With our new knowledge of the subject, we must realize that children with this type of tuberculosis, no matter how well they appear, and even after the deposition of lime, will contribute the greater part of the tuberculosis load of the future in any community. By recognizing the first-infection type of tuberculosis in children as a serious problem and by administering the necessary treatment, consisting of prevention of further exposure, good living conditions, frequent periodic examinations, including X-ray films, we are simply pushing our lines back to the very beginning of tuberculosis, where it is most easily controlled.

MAJOR HEALTH PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO

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A CONSIDERATION of the health problems of the Negro involves a consideration of the social and geographic conditions under which he lives. The great mass of colored people are still concentrated in the rural sections of the South where even the bare necessities to maintain life are at times desperately difficult of achievement, and where often there are no medical facilities of any sort whatsoever. His health hazards are somewhat less in southern cities. He is not a considerable factor in the rural sections of the North, but owing to the now well-known migration of the past two decades, the colored population has increased markedly in northern cities. This shift from rural sections to cities, both North and South, is a very important movement.

In 1920 cities of 1,000,000 and over held 6.2 per cent of the total Negro population as compared with 2.1 in 1890. In cities of 500,000-1,000,000 the percentages were 7.1 in 1930 against 2.2 in 1870, and in cities of 250,000-500,000 there has been a gain of over threefold.

The impact on the vital statistics of a race, as the result of such a large movement, along with new living and working conditions, is terrific. In 1920 the expectation of life in the South for Negro males was 46.4 while in the North it was 40.5. But the mortality conditions have improved much more rapidly in the North than in the South, as shown by the figures for 1930: southern males, 47.2; northern males, 45.0. For females the increase in the South has been from 45.5 to 48.7 while for the North the figures are from 42.8 to 48.5.

Poverty, poor housing, lack of medical services, and an unequal and inadequate share of such services where they exist,

North or South, either for the prevention or for the treatment of disease, along with ignorance and race prejudice, account for the plight of the Negro.

P. K. Whelpton of the Scripps Foundation says:

While there is no specific measure of economic status, perhaps mortality rates may be a fair indication, for they represent the net effects of many factors. The fact that there has been so slight an increase in the expectation of life of Negroes, except as a result of decrease in infant mortality, would seem to indicate comparatively slow improvement in economic status during the past ten years. The larger increase in the expectation of life in Negroes in the North may indicate considerably greater improvement in the economic status of the group in that area.

It is my opinion that the greater facilities for medical services in the northern cities have been a prominent factor also.

The special health hazards of the Negro are tuberculosis, venereal diseases (especially syphilis), and infant and maternal mortality. All these conditions are immediately associated with poverty. Tuberculosis and syphilis are of a communicable nature, and demand long-drawn-out, expensive care and treatment. Infant and maternal care require close supervision and educational methods. There must be considered, as a very important problem, the lack of available medical facilities for the correction of these impairments.

Tuberculosis.—Vital statistics reveal that the death-rate for Negroes from tuberculosis is from four to seven times that of whites. The most recent country-wide survey on this problem has been undertaken under the auspices of the National Tuberculosis Association, by Dr. C. St. Clair Guild, field secretary of a Committee on Tuberculosis among Negroes. The admirable sanity with which Dr. Guild appears to have attacked this problem deserves the commendation of all students of tuberculosis among Negroes.

One of the greatest handicaps to all public health work among colored people has been the heritage from early white writers, who mistook opinion and prejudice for facts. These writers were mainly concerned with attempting to prove Nordic supremacy. They searched only for some glaring characterological

contrast, based upon biological differences. This has had the curious result of leading qualified research workers astray, and of causing Negroes themselves to waste their efforts in disgusted denials.

It is gratifying to note that the more investigators worthy of the name get into the field, the less specific becomes the matter of biological differences, while environmental and economic causes gain in importance. However, the question as to whether Negroes do have a racial lack of resistance against tuberculosis still remains a minor controversy.

Dr. Guild says:

While accurate information as to this [racial] lack of resistance would be of the utmost interest, it would probably have but little effect on control measures. To change the anatomy or physiology of the Negro would be a difficult undertaking and only time can correct his lack of historical experience [with tuberculosis]. In the meantime, however, the importance of his environmental and economic handicaps is universally recognized and this must obviously be our point of attack.

This is one of the most important points to stress. A failure to recognize it has prevented public health measures being made more available to Negroes, because of a preconceived opinion that such unusual methods are necessary that little can be gained.

For a number of years, G. J. Drolet, statistician of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, has been collecting statistics on the tuberculosis mortality rates for Negroes in forty-five large American cities. During 1931 and 1932 he reports a reduction of 13 per cent in Negro mortality in these cities. Rates reported for some of these cities, per 100,000 population, are shown in Table I.

In order to treat tuberculosis successfully it is necessary to have hospitals and sanatoriums specially equipped. This involves great expense, to say nothing of the set-up required to discover incipient cases. The disparity between the beds available for white sufferers of tuberculosis and those for Negroes is the story of the statistics. Considering the country as a whole, one may almost make the sweeping statement that there are no

beds for Negroes, and in some parts of the country this is actually true. It is not popular with taxpayers to spend money on hospitals for Negroes, and where separate institutions would be necessary, health officers would consider it either ridiculous, or fatal to their tenure of office, to sponsor such an idea.

The city of Detroit offers a conspicuous example to the contrary. This city has pretty well proved that there will be a material reduction in the rate when the Negro receives that percentage of care which his death-rate demands. It is gratifying to

TABLE I
TUBERCULOSIS MORTALITY RATES

City	White	Colored
New York City.....	59	270
Chicago.....	46	266
Philadelphia.....	58	219
Detroit.....	56	260
Cincinnati.....	56	358
Washington, D.C.....	61	278
Birmingham.....	40	186
Memphis.....	61	270
New Orleans.....	76	239

note that while this great city was perfecting a health department, which in many ways should serve as a guide to other municipalities with less enlightened leadership, it did not forget to include the Negro in its program. Until this simple justice is accorded colored citizens, an indictment of plain stupidity lies at the door of the great health agencies of America.

Syphilis.—The story is almost the same with venereal diseases, especially syphilis. Here again we face the problem of long-drawn-out, expensive treatment covering a period of from two, three, or four years to a lifetime. It takes a lot of money, intelligence, courage, and persistence to complete a cure for syphilis. Intelligence to understand that while there are no visible signs of the malady, it is none the less insidiously pursuing its course. That environment and social and economic conditions do have an important bearing upon the syphilis content of

the population was shown in the recently published results of work, in certain selected areas in the South, under the supervision of the United States Public Health service, and certain state and local health departments, in co-operation with the Julius Rosenwald Fund. This pioneer study succeeded, perhaps for the first time, in determining the syphilis content of a whole population in selected areas. The whole colored population of certain counties was studied in Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. For the purposes of this report, our interest will lie in the fact that, as the survey moved from the less favorable counties to those where the educational and economic conditions of the colored population were better, the syphilis decreased in a measurable manner.

In 1926 the United States Public Health Service, desiring to determine, if possible, the prevalence of syphilis, took a one-day census in twenty-five communities throughout the United States. The figures showed that among the general population, constantly under treatment or observation, as of any one day, there were 4.05 cases of syphilis per 1,000 population, the rate for whites being 4 per 1,000 and that for Negroes 7.2 per 1,000. This was considered a minimum probability. The intensive methods of blood-testing used in this southern study confirm this suspicion. Instead of running 7.2 per 1,000, it ran from 398 per 1,000 in Macon County, Alabama, down to 89 per 1,000 in Albemarle County, Virginia. Since the white population was not tested in these demonstrations we have no figures for comparison.

In northern centers where medical service is available, the question resolves itself into one of economic resources and public health education. In the South, especially in rural sections where there is neither money, education, nor treatment facilities, the question is well-nigh hopeless. Its extreme importance is due not only to the syphilis itself, but also to the fact that it is fairly well conceded that infection seems to favor the development of that other chief hazard of the Negro, namely, tuberculosis. This adds to the complications of the treatment of either disease when both are combined in the same individual.

Widespread educational programs, stressing hygiene, prevention, and the value of simple cleanliness, especially in sex hygiene, will go a long way in educating a people largely ignorant of the value of these things. Such well-known public health measures have almost never touched the mass of Negroes, because of the social conditions under which they live.

Maternal and infant welfare.—With reference to maternal and infant mortality, the same primary considerations thrust themselves forward—need of intelligent supervision, hospitals, and nursing facilities. The death-rates for the colored mother and child are almost double that for whites in the same communities. The maternal mortality rates from all puerperal causes per 1,000 live-births in the United States birth registration areas is as shown in Table II.

TABLE II
MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES

	Urban	Rural
1915.....	White 6.4 Colored 11.0	White 5.5 Colored 8.3
1920.....	White 8.2 Colored 15.1	White 6.9 Colored 11.7
1925.....	White 7.0 Colored 12.4	White 5.0 Colored 11.1
1929.....	White 7.4 Colored 12.6	White 5.4 Colored 10.7

Infant deaths per 1,000 live-births in northern cities for 1928 are white 66.4, colored 118.4, as compared with southern cities showing 74.4 for whites and 149.0 for colored; in 1929, for northern cities 62.7 for whites and 108.8 for colored and for southern cities 71.3 for whites and 174.2 for colored.

In the rural districts, for whites, the rates were for both years in the North 63.7 and 66.4; for colored, 124.3 and 127.4. In the South these rates were 67.9 and 65.9 for whites and 149.0 and 147.2 for colored.

In the South the way has been pointed out by the Julius Rosenwald Fund which has supported, in part, over forty colored nurses in the rural districts. Here again complications arise in the disinclination in the South to accord professional standing to these colored nurses. Because of lack of hospitals in the South and refusal of northern trained nurses to return South, some difficulty has obtained in securing adequately trained young colored women to fill these positions. Dixie Hospital at Hampton, Virginia, has recently received a grant from one of the foundations for help in training these nurses. Affiliation is maintained with Hampton Institute for collegiate work leading to a degree. The fine and well-publicized work of the Frontier Nursing Service in the Kentucky mountain community is much better known. Its thrilling counterpart, in color, is to be found in one of the most valiant pieces of public health work being done in America today by these young colored women in the rural sections of the South. If its estimate were to be made on the basis of their work with midwives and maternal and infant welfare alone, this would still be true.

Hospitals and medical education.—It is quite evident from the foregoing that these major health problems of the Negro require for their reduction not only a well-directed educational attack, but also hospitalization on a large scale. These particular health hazards happen to be in fields in which much research has been done. Much of the justifiable fame for the great public health contributions of our time rests upon gains made in the reductions in the death-rates for infant mortality and tuberculosis. But these gains were not made without the aid of modern, well-equipped hospitals. Available hospital beds appear to have certain relationships to the vital statistics of a community, varying loosely with the economic status of the people.

Hospitals are exceedingly important as teaching centers, and since the care of the Negro sick is very largely in the hands of the Negro doctor, it becomes a major consideration. Hospitals, whether for teaching purposes or merely for the care of the sick, are expensive institutions to build, equip, and maintain. The

Negro is not in an economic position to maintain a string of separate hospitals across the country to meet his needs.

Nevertheless, there are about 125 known Negro hospitals of all sorts and kinds in this country, most of which are totally inadequate. Upon them falls the burden of such hospitalization as one-tenth of the population of this country receives, and such teaching as Negro doctors get. It must be borne in mind that the over 6,600 white hospitals, which serve the other nine-tenths of the population, save in a very few cases do not receive Negro patients, and when they do, they do not admit Negro physicians to practice. Perhaps 15 of these colored hospitals are first-class institutions, with a total of about 1,500 beds. Their development and their potentialities make one of the most interesting phases of the struggle of Negro physicians, nurses, public health workers, technicians, and social service workers to find an opportunity for development in order to contribute to the better health of their people. These hospitals serve for internships and postgraduate medical education—fields in which the Negro doctor finds nearly all other hospital doors closed against him. Several thousand colored doctors engaged in the practice of medicine, almost exclusively among a people with the highest death-rate in the country, have been forced to practice a relatively inferior type of medicine because of lack of opportunity for development. That this situation can be corrected may be shown by one example.

Chicago has been preparing for the opening of the three-million-dollar Greater Provident Hospital, affiliated with the University of Chicago, to be staffed by a Negro personnel, with white consultants from the University, and maintained as an institution for postgraduate teaching. There are about 250 colored physicians in Chicago. For the last two years, at least one-third of them have been engaged in medical study and research in this country and some in Europe. The rivalry for positions on the staff has been intense, ambition quickened, and value to the community enhanced. Opportunities for these men to study came only after great opposition.

It is too early to estimate the effect of this and other such institutions, but it is reasonably safe to say that the opportunity so long awaited by the Negro doctor is, experimentally, at hand. It is being watched closely and will, I predict, result successfully.

Such hospitals, generously aided by the contributions of foundations, philanthropists, and the colored people themselves, will probably contribute more to the solution of the varied health problems of the Negro than any other single type of agency now apparent. Nevertheless, with these so-called Negro institutions comes another problem. Many well-thinking Negroes, anxious, and rightly so, to remove racial barriers to colored physicians practicing in white hospitals, believe that these Negro institutions simply fix the lines tighter, hence they oppose them. If Negroes are included in the numerous hospital-insurance schemes, this may hold an element of solution, for, under such circumstances, with free choice of physicians granted them, Negro patients may be found eligible for admission to white hospitals. Colored physicians may then follow their colored patients into these institutions, and be admitted to the staffs of these white hospitals. There are a few instances in which Negro doctors are holders of courtesy privileges in white hospitals.

Dr. Michael M. Davis, director for medical services of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, has the following to say about this:

Certainly it is sound American policy that every effort should be made in northern cities to induce hospitals to add qualified Negro physicians to their staffs. Certainly it is sound American policy that public institutions should open their facilities to all professional men who are qualified to make use of them regardless of race. But it may be many years before any considerable number of Negroes are appointed to the staffs of general hospitals. Even then, if appointments are made to municipal "charity" institutions, or for ward patients only, there will still be scant opportunity for Negro physicians to care for their remunerative private patients. The effort to obtain staff supplements on a non-racial basis in general hospitals, therefore, needs to be supplemented by hospital beds which are primarily for the care of private patients by Negro physicians.

Every medical commentator who has had experience in field work among Negroes has told of the co-operation of colored people. The Negro is especially receptive to public health efforts. It is astounding that public health workers have so often accepted the imaginary limitations in this field, for it offers the greatest opportunities for conspicuous service and assured results.

There appears to be a growing sense of social responsibility today. "The courage to experiment" is sadly needed in health work among Negroes. While most of the foregoing indicates a sorry state of affairs, there have been many evidences of interest and gain. These should be better known among those in high places who need just such stimulation to encourage them to venture forth in this work with programs of action. White communities must realize their responsibilities not only to the Negro but to the whole population. People are more easily segregated than diseases.

In the meantime, the Negro rests on a health margin too narrow for comfort. His health reserve is entirely too small. Current diseases, such as acute colds and influenza attacks, are far too readily converted into prolonged illnesses, with attendant loss of time from the job, increased medical costs above the average for similar conditions among the general population, or into too early death.

Our problem involves several thousand state, county, and municipal health departments, and a score or so of unofficial agencies, with their varying locations, standards, and leadership of medical and non-medical men. They are the keys to the situation. They control the medical activities in their communities, and these activities reflect the social and political desires of the constituency.

Public opinion can be changed. Social workers should try the interesting experiment of breaking down color barriers against participation in health services. Indeed, co-operation by the races here, where a common interest is so apparent, will make a valued contribution to the whole question of discrimination.

All organizations maintaining social workers show an interest in the problem of human relationships. Include the Negro in this interest. The problems of placements for such cases as need dental care, convalescent homes, terminal care, or summer camps, which make up the smaller irritations of every social worker's life, would be more easily disposed of if all persons in the community shared in the possible accommodations of that community. How much more important that they share fully in the bigger advantages of complete health services!

The value of a thoroughly convinced group of social workers, making up a council of social agencies in their community, determined to make an issue of medical care for the Negro, could probably exercise more influence than any other single group. The only reasonable objection to such a humane program is lack of funds. Then ask for that portion which is due the Negro on the basis of his mortality rate.

Once such a movement is started, the aid of many organizations which need only to broaden their vision, such as Kiwanis and Rotary clubs, Y.M.C.A.'s, and Y.W.C.A.'s, medical associations, interracial groups, and churches, can be brought to bear. The National Tuberculosis Association has established a special committee on tuberculosis among Negroes. There is a Negro on the staff of the American Social Hygiene Association, and this organization has a definite program for activities in the field of Negro health. The city of Detroit has shown how to incorporate the Negro physicians into a program. The United States Public Health Service has correlated the work of many agencies in the interest of improvement in Negro health. There is interest. The stimulation which social service groups can give to these, and to the dormant interests in their local communities, would be returned many times in the comfort, increase pride, economic advancement, longer life, and resultant creative efforts of the Negro. In addition, public health workers could face their statistics with greater pride and a clearer conscience.

THE NEGRO AND TUBERCULOSIS

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THIS discussion of the problem will be limited to my experience with the colored population of Detroit. During the World War the industrialists were in great need of labor, competition was keen, and great inducements were offered to attract the southern Negro to work in the factories. As a result they came in large numbers. During the years that followed up to 1929 they were able to get employment most of the time. They were, however, the first to be laid off in dull seasons and the last to be taken back when operations were resumed. Altogether they fared quite well until the depression of 1930. Since then as a class they have had little work and have received much welfare aid. They have adjusted themselves to the situation by crowding more people into fewer homes, and many have existed on a lessened and uncertain food supply. There is little evidence available, however, that they have suffered any serious degree of malnutrition. Comparatively few have left the city.

The census of 1930 showed 120,000 Negroes in a total population of 1,500,000. Tuberculosis is very prevalent among them. Of 1,052 deaths in 1932 from tuberculosis, 357 were Negroes. Although they comprise but 8 per cent of the population, they contributed 33 per cent of the tuberculosis deaths (see Table I).

Ten years ago the colored tuberculosis rate was 272. This increased steadily each year to a peak of 447 in 1928, a year of great industrial activity. The next year the rate was but slightly lower—441. Since then there has been an encouraging drop each year to 312, which was the exact rate in 1924, nine years before. The five-year period ending with 1928, the high peak of Negro mortality, showed a 30 per cent increase in the colored and a decrease of 20 per cent in the white race. The last five

years, 1928-32, shows a decrease of 30 per cent in the colored and a further decrease of 21 per cent in the white rate. In other words, the white rate has been consistently downward for the whole period while the rate in the colored increased by 30 per cent in the first half and decreased by the same percentage in the last half of the period. The change in trend from an increasing rate to a decreasing one was coincidental with the opening of the Herman Kiefer Hospital in the latter part of 1928, which resulted in a substantial increase in the allotment of beds for col-

TABLE I
REDUCTION IN DEATH-RATE
(Tuberculosis Deaths and Rates per 100,000 Population)

YEAR	WHITE		COLORED		PULMO- NARY DEATHS	NON- PULMO- NARY DEATHS	TOTAL	RATE
	No. Deaths	Rate	No. Deaths	Rate				
1923...	823	83.7	180	272	855	148	1,003	95.5
1924...	905	85.8	230	312	931	204	1,135	100.4
1925...	837	72.0	291	355	941	187	1,128	90.4
1926...	903	75.0	308	353	1,031	180	1,211	93.5
1927...	869	70.0	351	380	1,023	197	1,220	91.4
1928...	873	68.2	437	447	1,096	214	1,310	95.1
1929...	875	66.0	454	441	1,116	213	1,329	93.9
1930...	829	57.3	481	398	1,082	229	1,311	82.7
1931...	729	51.7	396	338	963	162	1,125	73.8
1932...	695	50.3	357	312	890	162	1,052	70.3

ored patients. The white rate during this time has decreased 41 per cent. The ratio of white to colored in 1923 was 1 to 3.2; ten years later in 1932 it was 1 to 6.2.

During the last two years colored physicians have opened five private hospitals for tuberculosis patients with a capacity of 230 beds. A per diem rate for the care of these patients is paid by the county, and the patients are under the medical supervision of the Department of Health. Two of the physicians actively engaged in the treatment of these cases have had the benefit of part-time appointments at the Herman Kiefer Hospital. There they have learned the most modern methods of treatment by collapse therapy, and they are carrying out these

procedures with their patients to the same degree as is being done in other hospitals.

Last year 357 Negroes died from tuberculosis. There are 530 beds occupied by colored patients, or 1.5 beds per death. This is ample to care for all colored patients as fast as they apply for admission. For white patients we have 1,800 beds, or approximately 2.6 per death. Our experience shows that this is the right ratio of beds per death for Detroit. Until there were 2 beds per death available there was a waiting list for patients. Waiting for a bed is discouraging for a patient, and well it may be, because a few weeks' delay often causes the disease to progress from a favorable stage to a far advanced one, and the best chance for cure is lost. Frequently patients found to have advanced tuberculosis will admit having had symptoms of illness only for a few days.

Because we have sufficient beds, we are admitting more patients in an earlier stage of disease. This will result in a higher percentage of arrested cases and shorten the period of hospital care. It will lessen infection in the homes by the prompt removal of the source of infection. Fewer new cases of disease will develop and more patients will recover.

Institutions for the tuberculous must be more than just boarding-homes where patients are kept in custody for the benefit of the community. This applies to all tuberculosis cases in all stages of the disease, white or colored. Modern treatment of tuberculosis demands good buildings, well equipped, more of the general hospital type where surgery as well as routine bed-rest treatment may be given. Modern treatment is not passive—it should be active and aggressive. This is especially necessary for Negro patients as their disease is more acute and rapid in its course. We aid nature by using procedures that splint the diseased lung so that conditions most favorable for healing are obtained. Collapse therapy supplements bed rest; it does not supplant it.

Case-finding methods.—Detroit has a central clinic with doctors on duty six hours daily and open five days a week. The

tuberculin test is used on all children and the positive reactors are X-rayed. All adults are X-rayed regardless of the findings on physical examination. We depend on the X-ray to find the cases of early tuberculosis.

The clinic attendance of colored people last year was 7,042, and the number of colored individuals attending was 2,905. Of the total clinic attendance this represents about one-sixth, and of individuals attending the clinic approximately one-seventh.

With good hospitals and effective treatment to offer we have no more difficulty in getting the colored than the white patient to accept institutional care.

Results of treatment.—Recently a study was made of 464 consecutive admissions of Negro patients to three different hospitals during a period of twenty months, ending September, 1932.¹ The salient points brought out in this study were these: More than half of the Negro patients came from Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee. Only twelve were born in Michigan. Of the 201 women, 167 were housewives, maids, domestics, and waitresses. Of the 263 men, fifteen were waiters and 75 foundry workers. The large number of foundry workers in this series who developed tuberculosis is striking. They are exposed to high temperatures while at work and handle a great deal of sand in making castings. These conditions may be predisposing causes of the high incidence of tuberculosis.

The large number of women engaged in domestic service and handling food is significant and indicates how great is the opportunity for spreading tuberculosis to children in their own homes and in households where they are employed.

To determine the influence of tuberculosis in individuals of pure or mixed blood, patients were separated into three groups according to color—light, medium, and dark. The classification of disease in the minimal, moderately advanced, and far advanced stages by color showed no important differences, as the percentage was much the same in each group.

¹ Henry D. Chadwick, R. C. Markoe, Joseph Thomas, "The Treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis in Negroes by Collapse Therapy" (paper to be read at the meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association in Toronto).

Patients discharged during the period of observation showed a high percentage of apparently arrested (28 per cent) and a high percentage of deaths (58 per cent). The results of treatment of the whole group, including those remaining in the institutions, showed 53 per cent responding favorably to treatment. When these were divided into classes according to color, the very light Negro showed 73 per cent of improved cases; the medium, 49 per cent; and the dark, 58 per cent.

The impression quite generally prevails that mulattoes, especially those who are very light in color, have more resistance to tuberculosis than the blacks. That belief is borne out in this study only in so far as it applies to the light Negro. On the other hand, the very dark Negro had a higher percentage in the favorable group than did the medium-colored patients. Therefore, the degree of color other than the very light does not seem to be an index of resistance to tuberculosis.

The favorable group representing 53 per cent of all patients admitted during a twenty-one months' period ending six months ago makes a very satisfactory showing even when contrasted with results obtained in other sanatoriums where the patient population is chiefly white.

The good results obtained in these cases were due in a large measure to prompt and effective treatment. By that I mean that soon after admission some form of collapse of the diseased lung was given in addition to bed rest. Pneumothorax, phrenic-nerve surgery, or thoracoplasty were used in 70 per cent of the patients. The results achieved by this more aggressive form of treatment are much more favorable than when routine sanatorium care alone was given (see Table II).

Comparing the ratio of tuberculosis deaths to total deaths for white and colored brings out in a striking way the greater prevalence of fatal tuberculosis in the Negro. Of the total deaths in Detroit in recent years, approximately one in each four colored and one in each sixteen white persons died of tuberculosis. The ratio for the Negro is higher than it was ten years ago, but there is an encouraging downward trend since the high point of 24.7 per cent of total Negro deaths was reached in 1930.

Pulmonary tuberculosis with associated syphilis.—A study was made to determine the effect of coexisting syphilis in tubercu-

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF TUBERCULOSIS DEATHS TO TOTAL MORTALITY BY COLOR
(Detroit, 1923-32)

YEAR	WHITE			COLORED		
	Total Deaths	Tbc. Deaths	Per Cent of Total	Total Deaths	Tbc. Deaths	Per Cent of Total
1923.....	11,723	823	7.0	1347	180	13.4
1924.....	11,658	905	7.8	1180	230	19.5
1925.....	12,099	837	6.9	1587	291	18.4
1926.....	14,346	903	6.3	1885	308	16.3
1927.....	12,727	869	6.8	1720	351	20.4
1928.....	14,041	873	6.2	2022	437	21.6
1929.....	14,679	875	6.0	1911	454	23.8
1930.....	12,756	829	6.5	1948	481	24.7
1931.....	11,620	729	6.3	1789	396	22.2
1932.....	11,360	695	6.1	1639	357	21.8

TABLE III

Types of Patients	Minimal	Mod. Advanced	Far Advanced	Total	Per Cent
With Positive Kahn Tests on Admission					
White patients.....	3	9	24	36	.....
With progressive tuberculosis.....	1	0	10	11	30.6
Colored patients.....	4	9	31	44	.....
With progressive tuberculosis.....	0	1	18	19	43.2
With Negative Kahn Tests on Admission					
White patients.....	124	329	605	1,058	.....
With progressive tuberculosis.....	0	17	137	154	14.5
Colored patients.....	18	54	121	193	.....
With progressive tuberculosis.....	0	6	48	54	27.9

losis patients under treatment in the Maybury Sanatorium, Herman Kiefer Hospital, Fairview and Bethesda hospitals. The records of 237 colored and 1,094 white patients were analyzed,

and 3.3 per cent of white and 18.5 per cent of colored patients showed a positive Kahn test (see Table III).

These figures show that the incidence of syphilis in colored tuberculosis patients (18.5 per cent) was six times that in the white group (3.3 per cent).

Progressive tuberculosis in the syphilitic colored patients was 15.3 per cent higher than in the non-syphilitic colored group; in the syphilitic white patients it was 16.1 per cent higher than in the non-syphilitic white group.

We may draw the inference from this that the association of syphilis unfavorably influences the patient's ability to cope with tuberculosis to about the same degree whether white or colored, 16.1 and 15.3 per cent, respectively.

Progressive tuberculosis in the syphilitic colored patients was 12.6 per cent higher than in the white syphilitic group; in the non-syphilitic colored patients it was 13.4 per cent higher than in the non-syphilitic white group.

The foregoing comparison would indicate that the colored race has not yet acquired the degree of immunity enjoyed by the white people and that this amounts to a deficiency of approximately 13 per cent in their ability to withstand tuberculosis.

Syphilis when it occurs as an associated condition in pulmonary tuberculosis makes a further deduction of 15 per cent from the patient's chances of recovery. The malign influence of syphilis is practically the same in an individual patient, whether white or colored. The incidence of syphilis, however, in the Negro was six times that found in the white patients in the group studied and therefore must be a large contributory factor in causing the high mortality from tuberculosis, which in Detroit is six times that of the white rate (see Table IV).

The Negro migrating to northern cities encounters new conditions that must act as predisposing causes of tuberculosis and accounts for the higher mortality than is found in the South. He lives in crowded quarters in the poorer sections of the city. In periods of depression this crowding is increased. Because of

close contact with many people, more opportunities are afforded for contact with an open case of tuberculosis. Therefore the chance of infection is multiplied many times. The Negro has not become adjusted to the close confinement, irritating dust, and speed of factory operations. This is shown by the large number of foundry workers in this series who succumbed to tuberculosis.

It is probably true that the Negro with his pigmented skin, which absorbs or filters out the ultra-violet ray to a considerable

TABLE IV
TUBERCULOSIS DEATHS IN LARGE CITIES NORTH AND
SOUTH IN 1930

City	White	Colored	Total	Per Cent of Negro Deaths
New York.....	62	294	73	20
Chicago.....	49	292	66	32
Philadelphia.....	59	262	81	37
Detroit.....	57	398	85	36
New Orleans.....	87.2	280	146	50
Atlanta.....	39.6	220	95	68
Birmingham.....	33.0	199	115	66
Memphis.....	64.5	249	164	62

extent, is seriously handicapped in northern latitudes where we have fewer sunny days and the rays are less intense. In course of time he will doubtless become adjusted to his new environment. In the meantime we can do much to limit infection and cure his disease.

To me it seems a waste of energy and money to attempt to control tuberculosis in the Negro without first removing him from his home. When we place a patient in a hospital or sanatorium we have him under control, can carry out the best procedures of treatment, and prevent infecting other members of the household. When we attempt to carry out home treatment we find there no facilities for pneumothorax or surgical collapse. Routine treatment even in a sanatorium is usually futile, and to try to cure a tuberculous Negro in his home is a useless gesture.

The type of pulmonary tuberculosis in the Negro is more acute than in the white and demands prompter treatment. The disease recedes or progresses with great rapidity. It is more like a pneumonia, requiring immediate care. The prevalent idea that tuberculosis in the Negro is a hopeless condition is erroneous, as shown by the good results obtained by collapse therapy.

The colored physician should be given a chance to learn diagnosis and treatment—I mean by this, modern diagnostic methods by X-ray of the chest and treatment by collapse therapy. Negro physicians should be aided so that they may open and maintain hospitals of their own. In this way practical health education and its influence on tuberculosis can be extended to the colored people.

HEALTH PROGRAMS FOR GROUPS IN SETTLEMENTS, Y.M.C.A.'S, AND Y.W.C.A.'S

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WHILE we are assuming from the title that the particular emphasis of this paper is to be on the co-operation between health agencies and group agencies, in our examples of co-operative plans we have included other social-work agencies, feeling that the principles involved are applicable to other than group agencies as well. There seems to be a particular point in including these other agencies because of the tendency to assume that it is easier to plan a co-operative health program with a group agency than with one in the family or children's field. This assumption seems to us unfortunate, and we should like to encourage the attitude that any of these programs could be adapted and extended to other social-work agencies. We are therefore including under health agencies the local board of health, the tuberculosis association, the health council, and the visiting-nurse association, and in the limited sense of supplying material and giving advice by correspondence, commercial organizations which carry on definite health propaganda. Under social-work agencies, in addition to the recreation and character-building group, we are including the family agencies, schools, day nurseries, and camps.

Increasing interest in health.—Health is not only an important factor in the lives of people, but, owing to the education and propaganda of the last ten years, it is being recognized as such by the individuals themselves. We have constant monthly examples of this in the Metropolitan in the returns to the company advertisements. Requests for information on a specific health problem amount in some cases to over 75,000. The sub-

ject calling forth the most requests is "Food and Nutrition," with "Overweight and Underweight" running a close second, and "Venereal Disease" a third.

General thesis.—We urge three principles upon health and social agencies in considering this problem:

The health agencies in a city, rather than depending entirely upon reaching the public independently, should also develop their programs, especially their educational program, through the social agencies. If these programs are incorporated as a part of the natural activities of the social-agency group, they reach the individuals with the added prestige of an agency which has touched their lives on other subjects. This method, in addition to economy, makes health a part of the whole approach of the agency to the individual.

To as great an extent as possible, the health-agency staffs should have an understanding of the professional aspects of the other agencies. Of course, it is impossible to have workers with teaching or case-work experience or experience in all the other definite techniques, but in the Metropolitan we have gotten around this problem to a certain extent by having these professions represented on advisory committees.

As a corollary to this, we urge the importance of both groups recognizing and appreciating the necessary restrictions and routines which the other groups have in the light of their experience set up for themselves. It will seem almost elementary to assume that such an understanding would exist. However, as you all know, it is a most common thing to hear hospital social workers, visiting nurses, and other health workers tell with a great deal of irritation of the way in which case workers and other social workers dealing with families fail to understand the routines which they must observe. Health and medicine are old fields as compared with social work and fields full of traditions. Definite, well-founded, and hard-fixed principles of medical ethics must be reckoned with. The power and value of county and local medical societies must be appreciated, and the doctor-nurse relationship. On the other hand, health workers should

assume that the techniques and routines of social workers are based on experience and study, and be willing to find the reason for them. It is most unfortunate when the confidence of the family or individual in the other worker is shaken by a professional person.

The social worker's part of such a program should include:

- A knowledge of up-to-date basic health facts.
- A knowledge of the health resources in the community and how to use them; not in exceptional cases where service is given as a favor, but how to utilize these services in their regular functioning.
- A knowledge and a plan for including essential health activities in their group programs.
- An appreciation of the definite responsibility which they have for providing health services to their employees and to their clients.

The health worker should be prepared to provide:

- Information on basic health facts for the social worker.
- Also, in a different—probably simpler—form, material on these same facts for the use of the clients of the agencies.
- In the light of some knowledge of the social worker's program, definite suggestions for health activities.
- Information on the health resources of the community.

Information on basic health facts.—In approaching this subject we should like to bespeak sympathy for the social worker. It is doubtful whether those who deal with health facts realize how confusing and how technical health information still appears.

Health information changes rapidly. There is much misinformation, often owing to attempted simplification or, in other cases, to a commercial or personal bias. Discrimination as to sources is essential. At this point we urge the regular reading of *Hygeia* and of the *Journal of the American Public Health Association* upon social workers, and of the *Survey* upon health workers, to assure reasonable information.

At the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association in 1931 Dr. Armstrong presented a paper on "Health Facts" in which he classified health propaganda into three groups: assured health facts, near facts, and assured health fancies. He described these as follows:

1. Items in health practice that, certainly for our times and as far as we can see for the future, are scientifically certified facts.
2. Items whose probability is large, but where we are not quite certain of our facts. This group may include items that a previous generation accepted without question, but which we now may be unlearning, so to speak. It may also include a group of near facts that increasing experience seems to make more and more probable, but about which we as yet have no final proof.
3. Items extensively used as facts, especially for commercial exploitation, but which we know either to be erroneous or at least to be employed with misleading and perverting aims.

As examples of *Grade A facts*, he gave the following:

On the question of *diet*, the belief that a balanced ration is of fundamental importance to health; that a minimum supply of calcium and possibly of other minerals and of vitamins A, C, and G are necessary for normal life and growth, for disease resistance, and for tissue health.

On the question of *sunlight*, an acceptance of its hygienic and therapeutic value within definite limits and under proper use.

On the question of *communicable disease*, there is much that seems to be incontrovertible about the sources and modes of infection, about water and milk supplies as mediums of infection, about carriers of typhoid and diphtheria; and on the side of prevention, definite facts as to immunization from diphtheria, smallpox, and typhoid, and less positive facts in regard to measles and scarlet fever.

There is another set of Grade A facts as far as their scientific backing is concerned, but which are difficult to present to the public because they are hard to apply or too technical to understand easily.

Under the second grouping of *near facts* come the questions of personal hygiene and living habits—the direct health consequences of which research has not yet proved. These are the simplified and dogmatic rules as to drinking so many glasses of water a day, or sleeping so many hours, or being exposed to so

much fresh air, or taking so many baths, or brushing your teeth so often. Research tends to bear out that these are pleasant and desirable personal habits, so far as confirmation is possible, but their significance to health has probably been overestimated. There are, however, the type of everyday practices which the social worker runs up against, and she should expect from the health worker guidance as to what is good dental care and good medical care, what is the relative importance of sun lamps and of thick and thin clothes.

Under the question of definite responsibility of social agencies for the health of clients and employees come the following examples:

The problem of having medical advice in the health examinations in the Y.W.C.A., in the Y.M.C.A., and in boys' and girls' club activities. The danger of physical educators making these examinations without the technical advice of doctors.

The responsibilities of organizations which run boarding-houses and dormitories in regard to health supervision, the possibility of the spread of tuberculosis from roommate to roommate.

The responsibility of organizations serving meals to know in addition to the sanitary requirements the material on low-cost foods.

Examples of co-operative activity.—Turning from these general principles, it may be of interest to give examples of co-operative activity between social-work agencies and health-work agencies, by which resources of health agency were used to help social workers to keep up to date on health facts, to have information as to community's resources, and to integrate health activities or resources with their own program.

Some of these examples have been taken from larger cities, but the principles illustrated hold good also in smaller communities.

I. Tuberculosis recently showed an increase in one large section—a health-center district—in New York City. The following steps were taken by the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association in co-operation with the East Harlem Health Center.

A committee representing social workers and health workers was formed under the local council of social agencies.

The health maps of the area were discussed at a meeting of all the social workers. It was agreed that a course to bring all the workers up to date was needed.

A course of four lectures was organized with an enrolment of 118 from 22 agencies—an average attendance of 90. Following each session, workers reported the substance of the lectures to their co-workers.

Arrangements are now being made for further discussion of tuberculosis in relation to the work of each agency.

2. A children's agency with a large staff, responsible for allowances to mothers, decided the staff needed help in order to guide mothers and children in safeguarding health on reduced budgets. A health agency consulted on details of the program suggested a series of conferences, and assisted in arranging the course, selecting speakers, interpreting work to them, and seeing that reading lists and lists of resources were supplied. Subjects covered were:

What social workers should know about city's resources for diagnosis and care of tuberculosis—free clinics, sanatoriums, how to use, etc.

What social workers should know about methods of diagnosis and treatment in order to co-operate with doctors, clinics, and sanatoriums and help families carry out instructions.

How to help families and individuals adjust attitudes and routines to situations created by tuberculosis, with vocational adjustments.

Essentials of child health—local resources for health service to children.

Essentials of dental care for children and mothers—local resources for dental care.

Foods required for good nutrition and how they can be secured on limited budgets.

3. A non-profit-making employment agency was having difficulty securing jobs for colored workers. A health agency concerned with the neighborhood situation advised the establishment of a health-examination service and the certification of workers as free from communicable disease and assisted in setting up the service. The employment agency is having many more calls; the workers found to have communicable diseases

are being discovered and brought under care, and those with medical defects are being advised to get treatment.

4. A Y.M.C.A. going into a new plant sought the advice of the local health workers as to certain suggestions for equipment and program and decided, after consultation, to leave out certain expensive equipment, thus saving money and avoiding possibility of injury to members through misuse and also avoiding justifiable criticism for giving such treatments without constant medical supervision.

5. A Y.W.C.A. with a large dormitory has a standing arrangement for securing health information and guidance for residents from the nurse, who is the health information secretary of the Tuberculosis and Health Committee. Residents are referred to doctors or clinics as the situation requires and are followed through by the nurse until the needed care is obtained. A number of tuberculosis cases in early stages have been discovered, thus removing a source of infection from contact with other residents, and helping the individual to secure care in time.

6. The Minnesota Public Health Association induced the 4-H Club in its annual state-wide contest for the healthiest boy and girl to include a tuberculin test and it also has taken over the work of examining boys and girls to find the prize winners.

7. The Los Angeles County Tuberculosis and Health Association maintains a library service which reviews the latest books and pamphlets and promotes the discussion of them at group meetings of all kinds. The result is that all of the doctors, nurses, and social workers in this county may keep up to date on the latest printed matter in the health and social-work fields. This program of work by the library in the field has, of course, done a great deal to increase the use of the library by hundreds of teachers and other county employees, nurses, social workers, etc.

8. A number of neighborhood agencies, all of which sent children to camps and had to have the children examined to prove they were free from contagious disease, were assisted in estab-

lishing a joint health-examination service with a positive objective.

9. Standard dietaries for day nurseries with menus and recipes were prepared by the nutritionist of a health agency.

10. In Cleveland the girls' year was planned as a co-operative effort between the tuberculosis association and the girls' work agencies, to hold up ideals of health and popularize activities conducive to health.

11. Schools maintained by Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. have been assisted in developing and giving suitable courses on health.

12. A service for low-cost dentistry for children and adults is being operated by a dental committee of a health association, in co-operation with the local dentists, and lists of dentists who will give low-cost care in their offices are being supplied to settlements, clubs, etc.

Experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with these principles.—In extending health education to industrial policyholders and to its own field force, the Metropolitan has very definitely tested out the principles which were given at the beginning of this paper. It has always tried to reach individuals through the community organizations already working with them. It has included on its staff people with various professional backgrounds to handle the correspondence with the particular professions, schools, social workers, health workers, etc. Its experience is particularly clear in connection with the School Bureau, which was consciously set up with an appreciation of the principles which in many other cases had been gradually adopted.

It has been assumed that it cannot possibly reach twenty-million school children, that it cannot reach the teachers of these children, and has therefore emphasized its co-operative efforts with the state departments of education, with superintendents and principals—with the N.E.A. and with the Training School for Teachers.

It was recognized that any work undertaken in the schools

must be professional in nature and guided and developed by educators. The staff of the Bureau has been drawn from people who have had teaching experience, and an advisory group of educators representing all phases of education and of sections of the United States and Canada have guided the work of the Bureau. The Bureau's program has been looked upon as a supplement to what is already being done in the schools.

In addition to preparing special material for school children, the problem of presenting health information to the teacher has been covered in the *Teachers' Health Bulletin*—a monthly publication addressed to teachers on subjects such as "The Spread of Germ Diseases," "Fresh Air," "Ancient and Modern Ideas as to Quarantine and Isolation," "Sunlight," "The A.B.C. of Vitamins."

The main purpose of this paper has been to indicate how the work of these agencies cuts across each other's program: the health worker finding in the social agency a medium for reaching large groups of people; the social agency turning to the health worker for information for its staff and its client and advice on its program. As to the question of mutual responsibility, we have assumed that the factual material should come from the health worker, but the responsibility of asking for help must be assumed largely by the social worker. It means an acceptance of health as an essential to be incorporated in social work as it is gradually coming to be accepted in education.

HEALTH PROGRAMS FOR USE OF LONE WORKERS IN RURAL AREAS

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THE professionally trained health worker, known as the "public health nurse," is frequently the lone worker in a rural community. Her problems, which are many and varied, are rarely known to or understood by those accustomed to working in a city or urban center. Because of the isolation which is more or less inevitable in rural areas, it is necessary for the selection of the worker to be carefully made with due regard not only to her professional education and experience but to the health, personality, and the ability of the individual chosen to adapt herself to the conditions under which she will have to work.

It is extremely important that the lone worker have an organization in the state on which she can rely for adequate supervision and assistance in the planning and development of the health program for which she has been engaged. If she belongs to a private organization, working on a state-wide basis, this supervision should include correspondence with her director, field visits to the individual worker, group or regional conferences, and a state-wide conference of the staff.

The correspondence with her director should be in the form of weekly letters in which she is encouraged to write not only about her work but about her own reactions to her surroundings. She should feel free to discuss her problems, secure in the thought that she will be understood and will receive prompt answers to her inquiries as well as helpful suggestions for the solving of her problems. The supervisory field visits should be made to the worker at least twice a year and oftener if funds will permit. These visits should be the means of bringing about a better un-

derstanding on the part of the supervisor of the problems encountered in the field. Through these individual contacts in the field a friendly relationship should be established between the supervisor and those supervised, which should be for the mutual benefit of both the field staff and the administration. The field visits should be supplemented by small regional conferences once or twice a year, the workers in nearby localities meeting together with the director at some central place for a one- or two-day institute. The institutes are more successful when conducted in the form of round tables with each worker given a definite place on the program planned in advance. Every member should be encouraged to take part in the discussions at these conferences and should be given an opportunity to discuss her problems with her fellow-workers. The difficulty with many institutes is that the hours are too long, with no time for rest, recreation, or the opportunity to meet other workers informally. Finally, it is advisable to have a state meeting of all the staff once a year with a program that will provide for outside speakers on subjects related to public health with conferences and round tables at which the staff and the outside speakers may have the opportunity to discuss the various phases of health activities together. The benefits of these state meetings are shown in the increased interest and enthusiasm of the staff.

The central office should provide the field staff with all necessary supplies such as pamphlets, bulletins, and outlines on health subjects. These should include material for talks, demonstrations, classes, and bulletins regarding new methods of public health procedures and techniques from time to time.

If the health worker should be a nurse employed by the county, her supervision should come from the state health department, whose advice and resources should be utilized by her at every opportunity. The state health department should assume the responsibility for field visits to the lone worker. Conferences should be held and the resources of the health department placed at her disposal. The worker in rural areas should be given the opportunity and encouraged to attend state meetings

on related subjects, and national conventions whenever possible.

You may ask: "What is a rural area?" I shall give a brief description of one of our rural counties which is more or less representative of the conditions found in rural areas in Michigan. The county of Exe, with a total population of 7,921, has an area of 560 square miles. Road conditions are poor, there being but one pavement and two gravel roads, which are state highways. The county and side roads are of dirt and sand, most of them being inaccessible by automobile in rainy seasons or in the winter and early spring. Ruts are deep and chuck holes are frequent. Many so-called "roads" are mere trails through the plains or forests. The entire county was at one time a forest of pine trees, but lumber companies came and cut away the timber until the county is now "cut-over" land. This land covered with low growth, scrub oaks, and underbrush of various kinds is spoken of by the inhabitants as the "plains." The land is sparsely settled, and large portions of some townships are given over to state forests with what is known as "second growth," the virgin timber having practically disappeared. In these state forests are many deer, rabbits, and occasional bears and foxes. There are also pheasants, wild geese, and ducks. All the game is protected by state laws governing hunting seasons. In the winter, banks and drifts of snow meet the worker each day. The worker always goes equipped with a shovel, which she must learn to use deftly, since a path for her car may be entirely lacking. This may require two or more hours. Frequently a blizzard arrives during the day, catching the worker in some section many miles from help, so that she is dependent entirely on her own resources if she wishes to return home before night.

While the chief occupation of the population is agriculture, the produce consists almost entirely of beans, potatoes, and sugar beets. There is some dairying but no dairy farms nor pasteurizing plants.

The government of the county is under the direction of the board of supervisors, made up of a supervisor from each of the

sixteen townships. They meet quarterly to transact the business of the county, fix budgets, and otherwise provide for the finances of the county. There are two poor-commissioners appointed by the board of supervisors; their duties are to provide relief for the indigent according to rules laid down by the board of supervisors.

A large foreign-speaking group, slow to grasp or accept new ideas, is in one section. Religious belief presents a difficulty by the reactions of the people to health principles in another section of the county. The drinking-water supply in one city is derived from four privately owned wells, the public supply from the river being contaminated by the sewage from a nearby city.

In this county there are four physicians, several midwives, and one dentist. Two of the physicians are public-health-minded and two are fearful of "state medicine." The midwives are usually neighbor women who go in at time of delivery, called by the family who cannot afford the prices charged by the physicians—one dollar a mile plus the obstetrical fee. When the patient is fifteen to thirty miles from the physician, this price is often prohibitive. The dentist has not been interested in preventive dentistry and does not encourage corrective work for young children. There is no hospital in the county, and no clinical facilities are available. Pediatricians, ophthalmologists, and tuberculosis specialists are lacking. The largest community center has a population of twelve hundred.

The county seat where the health worker has her office in the courthouse is located off to one side of the county. The community centers may be anywhere from ten to thirty-five miles from the office. The distances from one center to another are such that often a day's work entails a hundred miles' travel. This necessarily handicaps the program which the worker might plan.

Because of the lack of trained social workers, the relief given by the supervisors is not constructive and presents another problem. State resources for dependent or handicapped children are not well known or understood. The orphan child has been placed in an unsupervised home, and the deaf or blind

child has been neglected through lack of knowledge of the facilities for proper care and schooling.

Finances are a serious handicap in our rural county because of its low-land valuation. This plus no appreciation of the importance of health education presents the problem of procuring funds for health activities. With the exception of an immunization campaign, sponsored by the Michigan Department of Health the year previous to the arrival of the public health nurse, there has been no attempt at public health work. The health officers are, generally speaking, farmers or other laymen with no previous experience in public health.

The school buildings may vary from a one-room school, thirteen by fifteen feet, a mere shack with poor lighting, makeshift desks and blackboards, water carried a quarter of a mile or more, dilapidated outdoor toilets, the school grounds covered with underbrush, no playground equipment, and with an inexperienced teacher to whom health measures are unknown, to the modern standard school fully equipped with every modern convenience and trained teachers.

To this rural community to whom public health is unknown and the responsibility of conserving child health has never been discussed comes our worker, the public health nurse, with her experience gained from a visiting nurse staff in a large city and holding her college degree and her certificate of public health nursing from one of our universities. She finds herself in a small village where comfortable living quarters with modern plumbing and electricity are practically unknown. She learns there are but three houses in the town with these facilities and is happy when she is able to engage a room in one of them. However, she soon learns that she is supposed to take a bath but once a week and that electric lights are expensive. In fact, she is told that the light bill has increased since her arrival. As to the food, vegetables and fruit have not been considered essential to the diet and so her board is limited to meat, potatoes, and beans with cake or pie for dessert on special occasions. Since the depression even this has been eliminated.

The office location is another problem. The county is expected to provide an office, so a small room in the courthouse is set aside for her, and the supervisors generously provide her with a small table and chair and some file and cupboard space very much limited. She obtains from the road commission directions with maps for locating her schools. The judge of probate and the county school commissioner provide her with a list of the key-people in the townships, and she visits each one with the thought in mind of the lay co-operation and organization she must develop in order to carry out her program. She finds the distances are great and that she must carefully study the county and learn how she can best divide it into four sections so that each part of the county will learn to know her and will expect her each month. By this method she hopes to save mileage and at the same time gain the co-operation of the people in each district.

She finds a lack of cultural background, owing in great part to the fact that many of the adults have had only eighth-grade or less schooling. The people who have been out in the great world beyond their own small center or county are few, exceptions being a state representative, a member of the Parent-Teacher Association, the school superintendents, and some of the teachers. She finds no library material readily available. She misses most of all the contact with fellow-workers and the opportunity for weekly conferences with her supervisors and with workers from other agencies. She has no opportunity to discuss her problems with one of her own group and hesitates to bring them to strangers for fear of misunderstandings. She must find her inspiration and stimulation within herself. She must, first of all, learn the needs of her county, then find potential committee members to assist her in working out a health program suitable to these needs. She must plan the program so that her mileage will not require too much of her time and strength as she has been taught that if she organizes her work to the best advantage the mileage should not amount to more than nine hundred miles per month as an average. She understands that twelve or fifteen

hundred miles on the road per month means little time left for the program she hopes to develop. Because of the large number of children found together in the schools, she plans to visit the schools first and to make school inspections.

The school-health needs are so evident that she institutes a school survey, and with questionnaires provided by her home office she visits the school administrators to gain their co-operation. A group of women representing the townships and school districts are called together, the purpose of the questionnaires explained, and with their interest and co-operation aroused they visit the schools in their respective districts to gain the information themselves from the teachers and the children regarding the school environment, practices, and inspection. From this study she finds an evident need for teaching modern health measures in the schools, expecting the teachers, aided by the children, to make these subjects a regular part of their school program.

In the meantime the health worker has studied the death records for the past three years, has visited the physicians with the information obtained, and has discussed with them a tentative plan for the coming year regarding a prenatal and infancy program.

She has studied the state resources and has started her own library of pamphlets, bulletins, and books on health in its various phases which she has obtained from the state health department, the state tuberculosis association, the state crippled-children commission, the federal bureau, and other outside resources.

In her educational preparation for public health work she has learned that a health program must be all inclusive, which means that the expectant mother, the newborn babe, the infant, and the preschool and school child must all have a definite amount of time allocated to each so that the program may be well balanced. This also means that the tuberculous patient and the contacts or suspects, the child crippled or handicapped by poor vision or hearing, and the child needing dental care

must also have a definite place in a child-health plan. The dependent or delinquent child must have its share of attention.

In Michigan, the Children's Aid Society has a very fine staff of trained social workers and to this group all children of the latter class are referred, the health worker making it her policy to refer all individuals for social investigation or material relief to agencies definitely established for that purpose. Locally, these include in Michigan the county probate judge, the supervisors, and the Red Cross.

Six months later the worker has traveled over the county, has been on the alert for members for her committee, has studied the school survey, and has consulted the dentist and the doctors. She now makes out her tentative program for the coming year. Each week she carefully makes a schedule for the following week, changing the yearly program slightly from time to time as emergencies arise, but finding both the yearly and the weekly schedules necessary according to the needs of the different phases of her work.

During her first year she has inspected the schools, demonstrated to the teachers and the children the latest methods in vision and hearing testing, shown them how to keep their growth records, and pointed out why it is important to be weighed and measured regularly. Morning inspection, how to detect and control communicable diseases, handwashing drills and water-testing, the importance of hot lunches daily and the simplest way of preparing them, first-aid kits and their use, and the Schaefer resuscitation method of artificial respiration have been taught by demonstrations. The state department of public instruction through its local representatives, the school administrators, is asking the teachers henceforth to carry on the work themselves as part of the regular school curriculum. As the health interest develops in the community the health worker feels assured that the parents will take more responsibility for the health of their children and will keep them home if not well. The worker in visiting the rural school has asked that parents be urged to be present, bringing their preschools also for the in-

spection or examination by nurse and doctor. In follow-up visits made to the home she has found expectant mothers, infants, and preschools needing medical and nursing supervision.

In checking over a preschool census instigated by her and collected by the township chairmen of her committee and the teachers, she has found a very small percentage of preschools immunized against diphtheria or vaccinated. She has also found mothers and fathers suffering from tuberculosis in direct contact with children. Her program, therefore, includes the planning for immunization clinics, preschool and infant conferences, and a tuberculosis campaign. She must use every effort to arouse a community consciousness of its responsibility to the expectant mother so that they will be stimulated to greater effort to locate and report these patients to the nurse early in pregnancy. The crippled child and the deaf child found either in the school inspection or in the home visit must be referred to the proper authorities for hospitalization or schooling. Dental and eye care must be procured for those whose parents cannot afford such care themselves.

After three years' work in this rural county in Michigan the health worker reports the following accomplishments:

The forty-nine rural schools all have sanitary environment; they are collecting and sending in to the state health department samples of drinking water yearly or oftener for analysis and are improving well construction to conform to the standards of the health department. All the teachers have been instructed in weighing and measuring, vision and hearing testing, and the use of the first-aid kit. Health is being correlated with other subjects taught in the schoolroom such as proper food in connection with the geography lesson and weighing and measuring as a part of arithmetic. Home hygiene classes have been taught in the high schools with demonstrations by the nurse and then by the pupils on the care of the child in the home, the proper hygiene of the home and of the individual, and some simple procedures in homemaking.

Extensive immunization and vaccination campaigns have been carried on each year, the money for this work being provided by the supervisors, and the doctors contributing to the program by giving their services at a reduced rate per hour. In 1932 an extensive tuberculosis-testing campaign was made possible through the co-operation between the state tuberculosis association, the supervisors, and the local physicians, and X-rays were taken of all positive reactors. A loan fund provided jointly by the county and a private agency of which the worker is a staff member has made possible more than one hundred tonsillectomies and some dental work for those who could pay a small fee but who were unable to pay the usual rates. All crippled children in the county have been located and are under medical and nursing supervision.

The private agency provided a dentist each summer to care for those children who would not otherwise receive this service and also sent an ophthalmologist to examine and to provide glasses for those children whose parents could not finance the treatment.

As one method of arousing interest in maternity service, women's classes were held with a physician and the health worker in attendance to demonstrate the care of the expectant mother and the newborn child.

At the county fair, exhibits, posters, and literature regarding health projects were displayed with committee women present to give out information regarding the public health nursing service.

In May each year a child-health celebration has been held as a culmination of the year's work. All the schools were dismissed for the day. Parades, pageants, outdoor sports, and indoor exercises were a part of the day's program. The county people with their lunch baskets came into town to spend the day. In one village the school children paraded happily through the streets. They were supervised by their principal, and the parade was headed by the fife and drum corps of the Boy Scouts with

the scout master in charge. Crowds thronged the business section of the village to see the parade and to view the attractive window displays put on by the merchants.

The public health nursing service in this rural area is but paving the way for the establishment of a county health department, the ultimate goal of every lone health worker who knows that until such a time her work in the field of public health will never be complete.

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PROBLEMS IN ADMINISTRATION OF A JOINT PLAN OF FAMILY CASE WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

*Edward D. Lynde, General Secretary, Associated
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TO DAY in framing its policies the Associated Charities has to take into account not only the attitude of its own board but that of the Welfare Federation; the County Commissioners; the Joint Committee on Relief Measures; the City Council; the City Administration; the State Relief Commission, sometimes the Federal Administration; the Community Fund; the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University—and we must not omit the mayors of thirty-one suburban cities. Harmony prevails among all these groups, owing largely to the Joint Committee on Relief Measures on which most of them are represented; also to the efforts of our board and staff in caring for families in a way acceptable to the public and in keeping public officials and the public informed of what they are doing.

In 1929 our staff consisted of less than two hundred people; today we have thirteen hundred. To understand this development you should know that in Cleveland there is no public department. When the depression struck us, the Associated Charities needed additional workers and additional funds, but at first public officials tended somewhat to leave the entire responsibility for both relief and service to private support. This threatened the very existence of the Associated Charities. Gradually the various tax-supported units stepped into the picture. First, through state legislative action, the city obtained the right to issue bonds for relief purposes; several months later there came a special session of the state legislature just about three days before we would have gone out of existence, which

brought the state and county into the picture. Then, finally, came federal relief.

Even when these tax-supported units assumed most of the relief costs, they were still inclined to leave all service and administrative costs to private support. Here again we faced danger, as private funds soon became inadequate. Eventually, however, public officials came to accept partial responsibility for both relief and service and have accorded most whole-hearted support to Associated Charities' policies.

Meanwhile, amid the hustle and bustle that a mass job entails there was steadily increasing danger that our normal function would be lost sight of by the community—and perhaps by ourselves. So our board of trustees, on the recommendation of a staff committee, decided last fall to make a rather clean-cut division of our work into two parts: first, the Unemployment Relief Division, including both relief and service, to be supported by tax funds; second, family case work, supported through the Community Fund and our endowment. This plan was adopted for several reasons: first, to clarify the two separate functions now assumed by the agency; second, to enable the agency to study and develop more effective methods for handling unemployment-relief work; third, to focus the attention of public officials upon the size of the unemployment-relief program in order to place responsibility for its support where it rightly and legally belongs; fourth, to prepare the way, perhaps, for the eventual establishment of a socialized public agency; fifth, to save for the community the valuable services built up in the family agency over a period of many years, namely, family case work.

After much toil and sweat, our district offices found themselves starting off last fall in two divisions known as the Family Welfare Division and the Unemployment Relief Division. In some districts the two divisions were housed under one roof; in others, close to each other. The district secretary was at first the administrative head of both divisions; the district intake department was located with the Unemployment Relief Divi-

sion but served both divisions. But in the main the two divisions had separate personnels.

In our preliminary planning we drew up a very tentative guide for a division of cases. This allocated to the Family Welfare Division certain categories which indicate presumptive need for specialized case-work service, e.g., widows ineligible for mothers' pension and deserted wives with young children; families where husband or wife was incapacitated by chronic illness; neglect and non-support situations. It allocated also to the Family Welfare Division unemployment situations where the family fabric was cracking under the strain, as evidenced by markedly lower morale, family conflict, or significant emotional states such as marked mental depression and marked physical impairment. To the Unemployment Relief Division were assigned the so-called uncomplicated unemployment cases; also detached men and women, nonresidents, and old-age situations. Likewise it was suggested that some of the long-time situations with few constructive possibilities might be handled here, and also unemployment situations where case problems were present but where the agency's earlier experience with the family had found them unwilling or unable to make use of more intensive case-work services.

A sample of two thousand cases divided on this basis showed that such a division would yield a case load for the Family Welfare Division twice as great as budgetary limitations would permit us to carry. Faced by the necessity of cutting the load in two, we began to think in more discriminating qualitative terms. We recognized, for example, that some widows and deserted wives had worked out a satisfactory way of life for themselves and their chief need was financial assistance until they could again obtain work. Similarly, some families had already satisfactorily made the adjustments called for by the illness or handicap of the father. In other families, while health problems were present, the type of service called for might in a pinch be rendered by untrained workers if well supervised.

So we began to establish other criteria for the selection of

families for the division. The first criterion which emerged was the need for case work on what might be called the "personality level."

Second, we kept coming back to the point that we can help in this way only those who recognize a need and want such help. This indicated a second criterion—the desire for such service.

Third, we came to recognize increasingly the need for evaluating in advance the possibilities of progress in an individual family situation, so as to avoid lengthy and costly service for families where problems are too deep-seated for the case worker, or where deterioration and demoralization have gone so far that the odds are overwhelmingly against the case worker. The factor of prognosis, then, emerged as a third criterion.

These three factors constituted henceforth the main determinants in the process of sifting cases and allocating them to the two divisions.

One significant effect of the division has been to eliminate from case loads of Family Welfare Division workers a large number of chronically dependent families. Another group that has undergone considerable shrinkage is the near-psychotic and "difficult personality" type of poor prognosis. This group attracts much community interest and makes inroads on the worker's time. But while these groups seem to be proper subjects for public relief, they present great difficulties to the untrained worker. Even before the division took place, we had begun to meet that problem by giving cases of this sort to untrained workers who showed a special flair for getting along easily with difficult people and successfully interpreting such people to the community. Since the division was put into effect, this plan has been further extended.

The division also forced us to recognize that we were placing in the Unemployment Relief Division many cases that called for special skills and a more individualized handling than the rank and file of cases. The needs thus indicated have been met in part in two ways: first, by a considerable addition to the number of trained workers in the Unemployment Relief Divi-

sion and restriction of their case loads; second, by further development of the plan previously mentioned of special case loads in the hands of untrained workers who evince marked ability and interest. For example, we have recently been concentrating health problems such as tuberculosis, malnutrition, and special-diet cases in the hands of one or two untrained workers in each office. Such specialization prevents these cases from becoming lost in the mass, saves time and effort for supervisors, and enables some special instruction for this group of workers. Another effect of the division has been its continuing challenge to our thinking on the function of two such divisions, and the increasingly conscious effort on the part of interviewers to develop "feelers" and criteria for the selection of cases for the Family Welfare Division. For reasons with which we are all familiar, identification of these cases is difficult at the point of intake. So the supervisors and workers in the Unemployment Relief Division have been extremely watchful to detect them there. District intake committees and transfer committees have helped to improve the technique of selection and transfer between divisions, and have also been helpful in suggesting methods of interpreting the transfer to the family.

This division in the agency has thus somewhat clarified our two functions. It has also, in the Family Welfare Division, assured to a degree the preservation for the future of the values of a more flexible and experimental case-work service and has, in the Unemployment Relief Division, developed better standards of unemployment relief.

There are graduate senior case workers in each division. Also this year we are planning in conjunction with the School of Applied Social Sciences to place students in both divisions. The aides and also the intake people are exclusively in the Unemployment Relief Division. We are now working out a complete cleavage in the two divisions in the districts—six Family Welfare Division offices covering the whole city and twelve Unemployment Relief Division district offices covering this same area. At our main office most of the people fall in one division or the

other, but there are four or five administrators whose time is given to both.

In the Unemployment Relief Division we do not use the term "mass relief" as there is really an individualized service to families in that division. Our senior case workers in that division carry an average case load of sixty-five. For investigators or aides the case load averages seventy-nine. Less than 10 per cent of our aides have case loads of more than one hundred. Aides with "special loads" have from forty-five to sixty-five.

It is impossible to administer relief on a sound basis if the individual worker is so weighed down with numbers of families that all he can do is to grind out relief orders. There must be time for proper initial investigation, and follow-up through home visits and collateral contacts. Acquaintance with and planning with families are important from the standpoint of knowing the individual family's needs and important, too, from the standpoint of morale. The friendly backing, encouragement and sympathy that the worker gives his client are an extremely significant part of his job.

But the low average case load would in itself mean little if the average were maintained through overloading some workers and favoring others. Of course, new workers need to accumulate case load gradually and some workers can never carry as heavy a load as others. But a mean or standard case load needs to be established for each type of worker and then the aide, the student, or the senior case worker should carry a case load approximating his respective standards. To make this possible, the assignment of workers to the various district offices is made according to the established needs of those districts. As a measure of each district's needs, an index figure is worked out for each district on the basis of the families under care in that district in previous months and years, and the general trend of intake. Then all workers, including aides, students, and senior case workers, are apportioned the various districts and divisions in accordance with this carefully computed index of the case-work needs of that district. It profits us little to maintain a con-

trolled case load if the worker wastes the time thus released on unnecessary steps or useless mechanics.

In the Unemployment Relief Division some unnecessary steps are saved through districting the aides. But these sub-districts are somewhat flexible, and the districted workers are supplemented by a flying squadron who work wherever they are most needed. The aides' time is further conserved through careful planning; through the use of form letters to employers and employment managers; through setting up for the aides the standards of eligibility for relief; through a manual of instruction for aides; through turning over to order clerks and volunteers any work which will save the time of the aides; through reducing case-recording to absolute essentials and yet including those essentials; likewise, through the centralization and specialization of clerical work; also through an employment file, and special aides (former employment managers) to make employment checkups, and finally through concentrating in one very busy worker, the district assistant, the primary administrative responsibility for planning for flour distribution, clothing center, gardens, park work, and other special projects.

Several times we have referred to the aides or investigators as our untrained workers. As a matter of fact, some of them have been with us three years or more, working all this time under the supervision of experienced graduate case workers so that they are well versed in the administration of relief although not trained in the broader implications of family case work. Altogether there are over four hundred such workers on our staff, most of them college graduates, often with additional experience as teachers, lawyers, engineers, journalists, etc., and carefully selected not only for educational qualifications but for native attributes as well.

Group meetings have been initiated for those aides who are carrying special loads of health problems. Also, general meetings for all aides, with lectures to impart the philosophy of the job and the technique of handling unemployment relief, and individualizing clients.

Our plan calls for not more than ten aides under each supervisor, though we are under the temporary necessity of exceeding that number at times. The supervisor is expected to concentrate upon her major job, that of supervision, without too many conflicting interests. Practically all of our aide supervisors are graduate case workers, most of them with considerable experience in addition to the two years' postgraduate course. Study groups are conducted for the supervisors, on the art and technique of supervision.

No matter by what road we approach the administrative problems of unemployment relief, we presently come face to face with the fundamental problem of adequate controls—controls not only of the money expended, but of the quality of contact between the individual family and the agency administering relief. We may start from the standpoint of economy in the use of funds, or we may start from the standpoint of the welfare of the client, in either case we shall arrive at the same place, namely, the necessity for establishing control through adequate standards of service.

The most important factors in maintaining such control are: (1) limitation of case loads, (2) selection of untrained workers on the basis of fitness for the job, (3) guidance of untrained workers by qualified supervisors with limited supervisory load, and (4) an adequate interviewing service at the point of contact.

We have already briefly covered the first three factors. As to the fourth, interviewing service, it has always been the policy of the agency to have applications taken by professional rather than clerical workers, and we have long been convinced that this is the only way in which to assure the applicant an intelligent and sympathetic hearing and to assure the agency against acceptance of unnecessary applications. Hence, when the depression came, this was not a debatable question with us, and with few exceptions our interviewing staff has been made of case workers with full professional training. Our cumulative experience convinces us that careful and thoroughgoing work by

trained workers at the point of application is the chief bulwark against, first, overloading the visiting staff with the task of sifting out families not in need of assistance; second, placing upon an untrained staff too much responsibility for initial decisions; third, unnecessary increase in the number of applications that inevitably results when the public becomes aware that a careful and systematic job is not being done at the point of intake. One finds, too, that this plan clarifies eligibility for relief and insures a more uniform application of the same principles to the whole range of applications.

These are obvious values. More intangible, perhaps, but vitally important are the values accruing to the applicant in being able to tell his story to a person trained in the understanding of human beings, their feelings and behavior. This is the only way in which we can avoid mechanical handling of applicants without regard for their varying needs and difficulties. Many an applicant finds at the application desk the sympathy, counsel, and reassurance that enables him to go on carrying his own burdens. A trained interviewing staff is our chief guaranty of procedures, methods, and attitudes that conserve the self-respect of applicants. A further practical consideration is that it largely eliminates the difficulties that inevitably arise when overwrought people are handled with lack of understanding.

Our interviewers follow an appointment system with half their interviews—leaving flexibility for emergencies. We find that our clients are very happy about this plan, which spares them a long wait in a crowded office. The discriminating work of our trained interviewers results in our being able to turn away nearly half the families who come to us each month because they have resources which they can use, and yet, in many instances, these people are turned away not with a feeling of despondency, but with strengthened morale—and the door is not closed to their return.

After a family is accepted in the Unemployment Relief Division it is usually turned over to an aide. The aide is expected to complete the careful financial investigation begun by the inter-

viewer. Home visits average one every three weeks. Needs and income both vary, of course, from month to month, and relief allowances need often to be revised.

Only about 50 per cent of the families who apply are accepted by our Intake Department, and yet even out of those who are accepted, about one thousand families are dropped each month. We attribute this to restriction of case loads to a point that enables workers to know their families and to follow their financial ups and downs; also in part to the successful collateral checks on employment and resources, and to the various methods of rendering families independent. These procedures perhaps account for the fact that Cleveland is helping a smaller number of families in proportion to the population than most other cities in spite of the fact that it is one of the two or three large cities in the country hardest hit by unemployment.

The procedure in securing jobs for people is a story in itself. It includes, first, the splendid co-operation which we have received from the State-City Employment Bureau in placing our clients first with the aid of a code system and tickets which our clients present at the Bureau; second, the committees of employment managers and employers in our various districts, one of these being regularly attended by about fifty employers and employment managers in that district who feel a real ownership and participation in the Associated Charities; third, the attitude of many employers in securing lists of their employees dependent upon us for prior placement; and fourth, the successful efforts of groups of influential volunteers who have approached employers and secured special dispensation for certain of our clients.

These and similar projects have been effective in getting as many men as possible back into industry. There is also the man-a-block movement, limited to our clients, and which placed several hundred of them permanently as men-of-all-work in certain neighborhoods.

Our food and other supplies are mostly purchased from retail stores at discounts of from 5 to 30 per cent. In this way we have

all the economic advantages of a commissary without its dangers, for we are able to utilize bulk supplies and many substitutes for standard brands without seriously lowering quality, dangerously limiting variety, or undermining morale.

While up to this point we have placed the main emphasis on an individualized procedure in the Unemployment Relief Division, we have, of course, recognized the extreme importance of much generalized procedure on a large scale; for instance, the co-operation with our city government in putting thousands of our men to work in the city parks in return for Associated Charities relief; the selection of hundreds of our clients for the government reforestation plan; the conduct of four farms for several hundred of our men; provision of individual field gardens for thousands of our men and of home gardens for thousands of others; the use of government clothing and wheat through the Red Cross, and, in turn, through our distributing centers, which are supervised by the Junior League and manned by volunteer workers and work-relief clients.

Even in the realm of relief-giving we have adopted some sweeping policies such as a rent policy which allows only 25 per cent of the rent in most cases and 60 per cent for families where there is no able-bodied person. In all such mass measures we have invariably recognized that there must be exceptions for cause. There is no wholesale plan of prosecuting fraudulent applicants for relief. Our emphasis is rather on securing the facts regarding our clients so that they are little tempted to try to put anything over on us, and in this connection we should mention that complete pay-rolls are sent us periodically by nearly all large concerns and many small ones. These pay-roll lists when filed with us and checked with our own list of families have, together with an alert and co-operative community, revealed most of those cases where the client was working unknown to the case worker.

The interaction of each of our two divisions has been extremely interesting to watch. On the one hand, the case-work traditions of our agency have exercised a salutary effect on the

Unemployment Relief Division, bringing in a spirit of individualization and humane consideration. On the other hand, the injection of the unemployment-relief work in the family agency has had its effect also. During the earlier months of the depression we had assumed that the case-work staff could go on administering relief in its usual individual way. But as the number of unemployed families began to increase out of all proportion to the funds in sight, it became necessary to develop definite restrictive policies governing unemployment relief. As the number of unemployed families increased, we began to hear more and more complaint from the client group and from the community about unjust relief discriminations. We were forced to the conclusion that in a time of widespread need an agency cannot justify to itself, to the public, or to the client group marked relief discriminations in favor of a selected group of families. There are, of course, certain objective factors, such as serious health problems, that are generally recognized as constituting legitimate differentials, but in the by and large an agency must dispense an even-handed justice among its clientèle.

A certain amount of flexibility in the administration of relief is obtained by latitude within the policies themselves. This is further extended by making provision for exceptions through the action of committee groups in each district office, that pass on cases where the visitor wishes to deviate from policy. These district exceptions committees, as they are called, have been very useful as interpreters of policy and in bringing about desirable uniformity as well as flexibility. Cases are brought to them from both divisions.

On the whole, in spite of their two different functions, the respective staffs of these two divisions have worked cordially side by side. This spirit of camaraderie has been strengthened through joint district staff meetings and general staff meetings, and through the acquaintance which has come through joint social activities, such as district dances and picnics outside of office hours. Sometimes the Family Welfare Division, being less than one-tenth as large as the Unemployment Relief Divi-

sion, still feels somewhat submerged, and occasionally someone from the Unemployment Relief Division resents the apparent high-hat attitude of someone in the Family Welfare Division, but among the majority in both divisions there is a keen appreciation of the work of the other and a high admiration for the other's achievements.

During the depression years our program of student training has gone on without essential interruption and now is being extended to the Unemployment Relief Division in order to furnish supervisory staff and develop a trained case-work service in that division. We have regarded the training plan as a vital necessity to meet the needs of the present and the immediate future. Some activities such as research have been somewhat submerged, but such essential services are being continued in skeleton form.

The community support has been a miracle. Hundreds of volunteers have given of their time continuously and devotedly. One of the gratifying surprises of the experience has been the backing and support given by the city to adequate standards of service. In fact, it is our conviction that the best way to secure support for such service is to afford the service and thus demonstrate its value. It sells itself. The Cleveland community has, over a period of many years, accepted and supported case-work service to an ever increasing number of families in need of such service.

When we began to receive public funds two years ago we naturally feared that there might be pressure for reduction of staff and for political appointments on the untrained staff, but there has been in political circles a strongly prevailing sentiment for not mixing politics and relief. This has enabled us to select our emergency workers entirely on a merit basis and to bring together a staff of very fine caliber, and it has also made it possible for us to maintain throughout the staff trained supervisory service.

All three newspapers have evinced a uniformly sympathetic

understanding of our relief program. True, the community has a much better understanding of relief administration than of case work. Yet there is sufficient appreciation of the value of family case work, so that we believe, even through this period, that service will be conserved. By and large, things are going well for Cleveland's needy families, and this is due not to two or three people, but to a community sentiment which stands back of enlightened and discriminating service.

THE USE OF CASH, ORDERS FOR GOODS, OR RELIEF IN KIND, IN A MASS PROGRAM

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PERHAPS no single subject in the great range of problems centering around the administration of public relief on a gigantic scale has occasioned so much controversy as the form in which this relief shall be given. Literally tons of reports have been drawn up analyzing, defending, and defaming the commissary method of food distribution. Ingenious paraphrases of this plan have been devised, studied, and applied in various localities. Public feeding stations have been organized on a considerable scale in this city in which we are meeting, and in numerous other places in this country. Volumes of reports, instructions, outlines of procedure, and discussion of principles and method have centered around the distribution of government wheat and cotton administered through the Red Cross throughout the land. Intensive local drives for used clothing have been carried forward and have mustered to their assistance the combined resources of newspapers, Boy Scouts, and other social agencies, while the nation's storehouses are bursting with food, clothing, and shoes. Eager bands of women have gathered together with an enthusiasm unknown since the war, to sew up garments for the naked, and unemployed cobblers by the dozens have cobbled and repaired shoes for the barefoot. All of this activity we gather up into the one technical expression, "relief in kind."

In the state of Pennsylvania, whose activities I know best, the problem of transportation of canceled grocery orders by express or by freight to the headquarters of the State Emergency Relief Board early became a heavy and questionable item of administrative expense. At this moment the daily checking of

items on the reverse side of grocery orders, in the office of the Philadelphia County Relief Board alone, is occupying the full time of thirteen clerks, and these are again checked, either in part or *in toto*, by an unknown number of persons in the auditor-general's office of the state. Retail and wholesale grocers, coal-dealers, gas companies, and in some places landlords, banks, and others contend that they are making a substantial contribution and a business sacrifice in the mere handling of the quantity of orders for goods issued by relief agencies. In most places work relief is being given in the form of cash, and in a few places cash is given as direct relief. But by far the bulk of mass relief today is being given either as relief in kind or as orders for goods.¹

What ideas underlie these various forms for the distribution of relief? Perhaps the simplest of all is the basic idea of our business economy, namely, purchase at wholesale and sale or distribution at retail. Why, with the millions invested in relief, should the public, whether representing taxpayer or voluntary contributor, not avail itself of this primary principle of the "profit system"—not for purposes of profit to be sure but rather for purposes of economy? On this simple idea rests the great appeal of "relief in kind." Seldom do its advocates recall, in applying this principle of the profit system to relief distribution, the well-known corollary: *Caveat emptor*; "Let the buyer beware!"

Perhaps it is not wise to refer at this point to another era of unusual purchase of goods and its distribution in kind by governmental agencies. During the war the army had to be clothed, shod, housed, transported, and fed. Much as we read in the press of scandals in government contracts, negotiated under pressure of the exigencies of the time, only the files of the War Department and the War Industries Board could give any real clue to the variety of difficulties attendant upon this necessity for meeting basic human needs in a mass way. But here the

¹ This statement is made not on the basis of a complete survey of the field but rather on an impressionistic picture gathered from general inquiry and such studies as have already been made by the Family Welfare Association of America. Complete data, along with a careful accounting of the cost of the various types of relief, are sorely needed.

analogy stops. The army was a congregate group. It would have been impossible under the best of conditions to deal with it on any approach to an individual basis. The great "army of the unemployed" no longer bears even a numerical resemblance to our fighting forces. Our only hope of demobilization of this new army lies in the skill with which we conserve and restore their normal activities as producing and consuming members of society. One of the most poignant illustrations of this fact came to me from a thoughtful economist who served in the World War. He observed that one of the most difficult aspects of his return to normal life after his discharge from the army was the resumption of his activity as a member of the consuming public. He said, "It was almost impossible for me to take money which I had earned, and go out and buy myself a pair of shoes or a shirt. I had become so accustomed to having these things *issued to me*. It did not seem right that I, a soldier, should have to *buy them*." Are there not many of us who are beginning to be apprehensive about the future of families who are coming to regard flour, for instance, not as a staple commodity to be purchased in the grocery store, but rather as a kind of manna which an unintentionally communistic government issues to its helpless citizens.

What of grocery orders, fuel orders, and other orders for goods? What is the chief underlying idea in this form of relief distribution? To be sure, in many places these orders by agreements with grocers, milk-dealers, and others are also taking advantage of the fundamental principle of wholesale or, at least, relatively less than retail cost of purchase. It would be interesting, if only in a single locality, to undertake a cost-accounting study to determine the extent to which the order or the relief-in-kind system, when all of the administrative costs inherent in it are added on to the cost of the goods themselves, is actually more economical than the direct distribution of cash with its attendant bookkeeping and administrative expense.

There is still another motivating factor underlying the distribution of relief in the form of food orders, which may apply to

some extent also to relief in kind. I have heard some of my most thoughtful social-worker friends say, "We do not know our families well enough in this emergency to give them cash." And after some months' experience in the distribution of grocery orders to these relatively unknown clients, I should like to add this question: Not knowing our clients as well as we might, do we know grocers, coal-dealers, milk-dealers, and even bankers well enough to pay *them* in cash for goods which they have provided, on our requisition, to the clients for whose need of these articles we have vouched?

There are doubtless many other important arguments to be advanced for relief in kind or orders for goods, but are they not all variations of these two fundamental theories? We comfort ourselves with the idea that relief money spent to purchase at wholesale necessarily goes farther and, therefore, helps more people—knowing full well that the spread between retail and wholesale costs in the field of commodities in which we deal ranges anywhere from 2 to 20 per cent.

Perhaps you have already concluded that this consideration of the various forms of relief is developing into an ardent appeal for one form, namely, cash. So it is. And it is the aim of this paper to set forth the practical, the economic, and the human reasons for the author's growing belief that if relief must be given, it can be given wisely only in this form.

Let us take first the human aspects of this problem. The great majority of persons now receiving public relief were, until recently, wage-earners. Even those who may have been dependent earlier upon relatives or upon social agencies for support were accustomed to the use of money. Money for them means the exercise of intelligence and discretion in providing for the fundamentals of existence for their families. It connotes household economy in its broadest sense. Around the family purse centers the education of children in wise and individual ways of spending, thrift, relative values, and the ethics of possession and sharing.

There is also a peculiar psychology that has grown up in our

monetary system. It warrants some analysis. In America, perhaps more than anywhere else, money represents achievement. It measures earning power. Perhaps because we are still a young country, unearned income is less taken for granted by the average person, however, much of it there may be in privileged places in our society. Around money there is a kind of aura of responsibility which does not attach to things. How often in our social-work experience have we noted the awe with which clients accept a gift of money and the difference in the spirit of acceptance of a grant in any other form! Is this too subtle a distinction?

You put money into my hands; it is purchasing power. I am responsible for spending it. It stimulates my judgment, initiative, and skill. It means ability to do something. It does not make me reckless. Because somehow, although a gift, it is not mine, but mine to use for purposes intended. But give me a basket of food, or a pair of shoes, or a dress. These things pass from your hand to mine. Gifts, to be sure. Perhaps appreciated and enjoyed; perhaps not, depending on how they suit my taste and mood. But they are invested with your power, your initiative, your taste. If you are my personal friend, I will value the gift more than money for these very endowments of you. But if you are a vast relief organization, impersonal, designed for relieving the distress of hundreds or thousands like myself, these things you give me are leaden with the weight of your power, your choice, your restrictions, your arrogance—in fact, in assuming that you can meet my individual needs more wisely, merely because you have the purchasing power and I, for the time being, have not.

If I have some initiative left, and a generous spirit, I will assume that you did not intend to rob me of my opportunity to participate in the spending of these funds, to which, by the way, as a taxpayer, I once contributed and will again, please God! In that event I shall conclude that your unwise choices are the inevitable errors of an elephantine machine, and I will sell or swap the ill-fitting or unbecoming dress. I will persuade the

grocer to connive with me and write in three loaves of bread on the grocery order in lieu of the fifteen cents in cash he has given me to take my crippled child to the hospital. A few weeks ago a man was arrested in Philadelphia for pawning stolen goods. At the trial it developed that he sold brushes from door to door, his meager earnings being supplemented by the County Relief Board. He had been given a pair of shoes for his child, duly stamped inside with the name of the dispensing organization. After a day of no sales he came home to find that his former employer had sent for him for a possible regular job. The plant was a short train ride from town. Desperate for cash, he pawned the child's shoes for 56 cents, confident that he could reclaim them next day and "get off relief." Would some statistician undertake to add to the cost of bidding for, buying, and stamping these shoes the cost of the magistrate's hearing and the visitor's investigation of the facts? And can anyone count the cost in discouragement, chagrin, and shame to a self-respecting member of society?

But let us be practical, not sentimental. What administrative problems have developed in the effort to make effective an economical, sure-fire relief distribution. In some places we hear of marked gains in nutrition as a result of commissary diets, the claimants forgetting for the moment that some food is necessarily better than no food. In other places we hear of commissary beans being blown through the windows of innocent County Relief Board members, and their lawns fertilized with powdered skimmed milk. These are practical aspects of the unreasonable behavior of persons who dislike having their nourishment prescribed and all but poured down their throats. After all, the right to starve is one of those inalienable privileges that our Constitution has not yet been amended to challenge. And so, although we subscribe millions to keep people from starving, we have not wholly succeeded. Those of us who still believe in freedom of choice (within limits, of course) take care of the public conscience which cries out that people must be fed by giving them orders for food, the theory being that these non-negotiable

instruments, in a way superior to the commissary, are a kind of guaranty of food to the hungry. The food purchased in an anguish of violated pride, or after a walk of miles to find an unfamiliar grocer, may be indigestible. Perhaps half the amount would have produced twice the results if the remaining cash could have been used to stave off pending eviction and thus allay gnawing anxiety. Perhaps the food cannot be eaten at all because the dispensing machinery neglected to provide the fuel with which to cook it. These are practical problems of converting relief money into nutrition.

And because we think we cannot trust families to eat when we have decreed that they shall be fed, we make the grocer and the butcher our agents. Many of these business groups and individuals have proved to be most helpful and co-operative, but it must be recognized that they represent the same cross-section of human qualities as do clients and taxpayers, with no loss at stake, and they remove us by just one step from direct contact with our clientèle. In short, it must be admitted that this system which we have set up to protect our relief funds from abuse protects the food business of the nation more than it protects the relief funds. This is not unimportant, but it is not our prime objective, and it could be accomplished, perhaps, in less costly ways.

I do not mean to imply that these practical difficulties which involve us in auditing, checking, double-checking, and prosecution are either numerous or widespread. But it must be clear, inasmuch as, in any mass activity, there are some deviations from the straight and narrow path, that by including in our scheme thousands of not disinterested agents, over whose participation we have practically no control, we only increase the opportunities for abuse of the system, and increase our own administrative burdens. Those persons who are going to cheat, whether they are clients or grocers or fuel-dealers, or milk companies or landlords, are going to cheat in any system. They are cleverer than we are. And since the presence of an adequate police system is no guaranty of an utter absence of crime, so no

system we devise is going to eliminate or defeat the intentional cheaters. The amazing thing is not that there are so many, but that there are so few abuses. And credit for this fact belongs not to the eagle-eyed administrators of relief, but to the fundamental decency of human beings. Relief administrators can share the credit only in so far as they give opportunity for this fundamental decency to operate in a full participating relationship between client and relief administration. By placing foolish conditions, checks, and controls in its way, we invite half of the difficulties which are, in some places, bringing discredit to public relief.

Is it really impractical to establish and maintain this participating relationship in a mass program? To be sure, we cannot, with case loads of two hundred and more, undertake the kind of relationship which is the *sine qua non* of social case work. But is this either necessary or desirable? Our business is the establishment of the fact of eligibility for relief. When we have done this adequately, we know our families better than any bank knows its creditor or any department store its charge customer. The difficulty lies in the queer substitutes we adopt for the simple fundamentals of our job. Why does the bank not thumbprint us instead of investigating our credit standing? Because it would be an expensive practice and would not meet the needs of the situation. You recall the thirteen clerks who are occupied checking items on the reverse side of grocery orders, a job frequently reported to the state as useless and unnecessary, but still required as a part of a supposed audit. Their combined salaries, transferred to the investigating staff, would reduce the case loads materially and result in a better real audit of eligibility. In one week the visitors who would replace these clerks could make four hundred and forty visits to families or references.

Finally, what are the economic factors involved in the form of relief distribution? One of the most effective appeals to hard-headed business men, legislators, and congressmen who were skeptical of large-scale relief projects was the argument that re-

lief was a substitute for vanished purchasing power. And from an economic point of view, that is precisely what it is. But if we are going to administer so many millions as a stimulus to buying, why do we not allow this artificial power at least to seek normal channels? Why do we so generally subsidize one form of business? Is it really because there is not enough money for both food and shelter? Or is it because our approach to this problem is neither wholly humane nor frankly economic? One of our cherished rights is that of freedom to trade where and with whom we wish. We have developed a vast monetary system for the very purpose of insuring this possibility. Whatever may be the defects of this monetary system, no effective substitute for it has been invented. Even current reverions to the primitive methods of barter are almost invariably accompanied by such devices as "script," wooden money, and what not.

Our mechanisms are too complicated to operate without some medium of exchange. Perhaps it is merely because we are so fearful that money may come to mean something other than that which is earned that we have been so insistent upon giving relief in other forms. Yet we have never raised the question in certain other forms of public relief, even in this country where we are already spending millions of dollars. Widows' pensions, veterans' relief, old-age pensions, are invariably paid in cash. Is it because these special groups appear to us somehow to have earned the right to public support as the unemployed have not?

Public relief in other countries is invariably given in the form of cash. A discussion of some of our methods was greeted by an outstanding German public-relief official with naïve amazement, and when she was challenged to defend Germany's cash-relief system, she said simply that Germany had concluded that families who for years have been accustomed to the expenditure of small incomes undoubtedly knew much more about spending money advantageously for their household needs than did any social workers. The comment of one relief client to a settlement worker in Philadelphia epitomizes all that I have said. She re-

marked, "If only they would give me a dollar in me hand, and let me run up and down the street to see what's cheap."

We have neither the time nor the skill, it seems to me, to develop in this emergency or even in normal times substitutes for our monetary system that will be either effective, sound in principle, or economical of administration. However much we may theorize about wholesale and retail costs, we cannot escape the fact that while we may be spending at wholesale, we are distributing at retail, and we cannot escape this cost in some form. Meanwhile, we have a profound double duty to perform. Our obligations in the field of relief administration are twofold: first, to see to it that relief is granted where there is need; and, second, to see to it that it is not given where there is no need. This double allegiance to our clientèle on the one hand and to the contributing public on the other, challenges all of our energy and skill. We are developing new philosophies and techniques in the effective performance of these duties.

When we have done well the job of determining eligibility for relief among the thousands who apply for and require it, we can then afford to give this relief in the gold coin of the nation, with confidence that it will be used with the greatest possible wisdom and discretion for the purposes for which it was intended.

ACTIVITY IN THE CASE-WORK RELATIONSHIP

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THE title of this paper, "Activity in the Case-Work Relationship," may need some explanation. Especially is this true since, over the recent past, so much interest and emphasis have been attached to the rôle of passivity in the treatment relationship. What is "passivity"? It is that concept of the worker's rôle which recognizes that the client's problem is his own; that he is free to bring to the social practitioner those problems, and only those, for which he desires help; and that her service to him is limited to what he wants of her, and to her own particular skills in rendering it.

The terms "passivity" and "activity" are not opposed, but are of a complementary nature; their difference is one largely of degree. In range, case-work activity is as applicable to the psychological needs of the client as is passivity to those which are environmental, physical, material. These statements may seem paradoxical. They will bear further interpretation. In contacts with the client, the case worker, at moments of outward passivity, may be psychologically most active; active in the mental observations she may be making; the way in which she identifies herself with what the client is saying, how he says it, and the feeling he reveals; active, also, in the judgment she may exercise, and the evaluation she may place upon what he is telling her. Again, when her rôle becomes one of "energy" and of "doing," the case worker may appear to the client as quiescent, because her activity in his behalf finds expression chiefly in that which she may do "behind the scenes," not in a spirit of investigation, but to enrich the resources from which the client may draw.

"Activity" and "passivity" as they are here used are therefore not conceived as one or another method in social therapy; rather do these terms imply alternating rôles or parts played in treatment, interchangeable, the one merging into the other as the worker follows the client's feeling, seeks to convey her understanding of his experience, her interest in it, and her willingness to share with him the attempt to meet it. The intrinsic value of such a rôle in the relationship of client and worker lies in the extent to which it may stimulate the client into the psychological and practical activity of facing and of working on his own problems. We may therefore conceive of this relationship as one including both the activity of the worker in ways which she may feel desirable in serving the client and the activity of the client in the interest of himself.

Perhaps we might consider further some activities of the worker. From the moment client and worker meet, the behavior of the client has its significance for her. The manner in which the client may greet her, his reluctance or readiness to enter into conversation, his framing of his needs, his pauses, his association of ideas as he goes from one topic to another—all these may be important clues to what he is thinking or experiencing. So, also, may be the feeling he reveals about subjects which may or may not be problems to him; the discrepancies between the apparent significance of his statements, and the feeling he betrays by facial expression, physical tension, tone of voice, and gesture. The worker who would sense what it is the client is expressing will make full and active use of observation in the recognition of clues which manifest themselves in ways both subtle and striking. She will, moreover, identify with him by following his feeling, conscious and unconscious, in the attitudes he may express toward himself and others in the situation.

The invisible activity which is involved in evaluating attitudes may prevent the worker from accepting too literally that which the client may be saying. It may save her from mistaking as love the essential hate or resentment which is felt by an individual, and which, repressed, may operate, consciously or un-

consciously, in making more difficult an already painful experience.

Mrs. Essex, for example, has been discussing with the worker the financial pressure and discomfort arising out of her husband's loss of work. Smiling, she says that Mr. Essex is a good man; she is so sorry for him. She tries to shield him in every way she can, and not to tell him of her anxiety about money. Becoming then more tense, she adds: "But he isn't very helpful about the house. I feel he *must* help me; he *must* find work. It is all right for him to say he can't do things, but people *have* to make themselves do what they don't like. At times I feel the strain is all on me."

In these remarks there is reflected the feeling, essentially, of the client's pity for herself; of her resentment toward the husband who places these burdens on her. She may not be as sorry for his suffering as she is hostile because of her own predicament. The recognition of such clues will warn the case worker not to discuss too easily or fully this husband's problem with his wife; but rather to afford her an opportunity to use the relationship in releasing feeling for something other than, or in addition to, her anxiety over material needs. Here, perhaps, is a woman who is not as able as she would like us to think, to serve a harassed and unemployed husband; a woman who is not as anxious as her words imply to shield him from worry.

Unless we are psychologically active in our judgment of what the client tells us, we may fall, with him, into the danger of misinterpreting his problem, or of accepting as valid that which he misconceives his problem to be. When, for example, a client is vehement in his expression of indignation against the social injustice of the world which keeps him unemployed, but gives us also a history of sporadic work over a long period of time; when he sees his predicament always as something arising only out of external circumstances, but states that he could not keep his work because the boss was too difficult or the hours too long, what means can the case worker utilize to serve him? An unobtrusive activity, first, I think, in her judgment and evalua-

tion of what he tells her and the way he tells it; a responsive activity, also, in seeking from him the facts about his experience which will further reveal him as a person; collateral activity in inquiry among others who know him. With such knowledge acquired by the worker, the problem may be identified not as that of a man unemployed, but of a personality unadjusted and unequal to the claims reality may make on it. Alert to such clues, the worker may escape the pitfalls of misdirected energy and inadequacy in her relationship to the client, who, in trouble and confusion, seeks her help and a way out.

All the activities thus far described—observation, identification, evaluation, and judgment—are entirely consistent with the values we have learned to attach to the passive rôle in treatment relationship. This rôle carefully leaves the client free to bring to the social practitioner those problems on which he desires help; it limits her service to what he wants of her; it leaves her free to withdraw if she is unable to help; it makes the most, in a practical way, of the time element in therapy; it has as its essential aim throughout the client's self-expression and ultimate self-maintenance.

Activity in its more subtle form may, and usually does, play an important part in first and early contacts. Under circumstances of the client's extreme psychological disturbance, the worker may fill only the rôle of an interested listener. By expressions of the face, gestures, nods of the head—by a position of relaxation or alert attention—she may express her sympathetic understanding. In the client's less anxious moments, she may by the use of responsive questions relative to the subject under discussion, by the following of natural leads, stimulate him into the psychological self-activity of stating his problem; articulating what it is he hopes to gain from his contact with the worker; how she can best serve him; what he himself has done or conceives as possible to do about his predicament; what resources are at his command for meeting it.

The case worker's rôle, in part, may be considered one of an enabling, supplementary character. As it is essential for her to

recognize that she is confined to what the client wishes of her, so, also, is it necessary to see the capacities of her clients as limited or radically reduced under too great stress of psychological strain or environmental circumstances. In considering such limitations, she may then determine in what direction her service can best be utilized. Her enabling rôle may take form in several different ways, among them the use of natural questions put to the client in an effort to gain further light into the realm of his problem. All such questions may serve as valuable guides to the practical way in which he may be helped to meet his need. Framed with sensitivity to the client's feeling and to his wish to give such information, freed from any attitude of "checking up" on him, they convey to him the worker's interest in knowing more about the source of anxiety. This is true of unemployment; it is true also of the manifold other difficulties which beset people: health, problems of household management, or debts.

In addition to the information which the client has supplied on the basis of this natural form of inquiry, there is that, also, which may be gained through the field of collaterals—employers, clinics, other interested social agencies, landlords. From these sources further light may be thrown on the client as a person: his capacities, his special aptitudes and limitations, the channels through which he may be helped. Such activity on the worker's part may do much to expedite the solution of practical problems which otherwise, in their long, drawn-out, and accumulative effect, may break the spirits of men.

Unemployment over recent years has brought vast numbers of people to the doors of family agencies. Reality and the pressures of its claims have absorbed our attention to the neglect, perhaps, of other factors in the environment. Among these factors is physical illness, which may constitute potentially as great or an even more serious threat to personality adjustment. It is not, however, the purpose here to stress the case worker's rôle as one of following up health problems which the clients can handle for themselves. Indeed, experience of the past may cause

us to feel that a too highly developed interest in this respect has led us, sometimes, along strange and winding paths. The over-emphasis in the follow-up of health needs to the exclusion or disregard of the client's own feeling for their importance or wish to act in respect to them, the unsolicited advice, or even arbitrary suggestions, though made with kindest intent, have too often operated as factors contributing to negative contact. The point to be emphasized here is the worker's need to identify with the client's feeling; to show interest in his health problems as he himself reveals them to her as sources of anxiety, or elements in his social or emotional unadjustment; to play a supplementary rôle when her professional knowledge of resources enables her to make available to the client information or treatment which he cannot secure for himself.

The case-work task involves the meeting of a wide range of situations, some of them externally commonplace. Who of us has not had our days crowded with matters of outward routine—rents to be paid, gas bills to be met—and yet, may these not strike at the very heart of reality? May they not be as fraught with meaning to those whose lives they touch as other claims which manifest themselves in a more striking manner? If this is true, then would it seem that here lies also a challenge to sensitivity of handling—a sensitivity which may not require, and often does not permit, of the giving of all the client may ask, but of respecting him as a person whose claim to a hearing and self-expression is a valid one.

That there is potential value to the client in the activity he expresses, both psychologically and in practical terms, is obvious. It can mean much to the individual to be self-maintaining, to plan on his own initiative, to carry on his own affairs, whether these are matters of only slight and routine importance or of greater significance to him. It can mean much to the worker for the client to do this within the limits of his capacities. The dangers of making decisions for people are manifest. They act as boomerangs which strike back in unexpected ways. The client who is coaxed or urged or advised into a course of action against

his will may punish in ways destructive to himself. Only through free choice can he develop his own direction.

The human being lives in a world which forces him, whether he will or not, into an experience of reality. He has a mind, and with it he thinks, he feels, and suffers. But he has also a body. The two cannot be dissociated; cannot be placed in separate realms to be treated at will by the therapist. To function as the self-maintaining being in the sense in which the case worker uses this phrase, the individual must have food for mind and body; he must have shelter to which he may withdraw and be alone. He needs security in all which that term implies. It is in this concept of integration, I think, that the case-work rôle has its opportunity for rich fulfilment; to face things as they are; to be practical when the need calls for such handling; and to do this with a consciousness always that practical problems can be handled with sensitivity to relationship; that the client must be himself—not what another would make of him. To develop skill in meeting practical problems with psychological consciousness, so that our service as a whole may mean something—this, I believe, constitutes a part of the present-day challenge for the case worker—she must continue to enrich her knowledge of the psychological factors in personality unadjustment; she must develop greater skills in evaluating the meaning and purpose of behavior; she must perceive and put to creative utilization values of a practical nature. In a world from which, at times, it would seem that normal reality has escaped—has become a thing of vapor, elusive, and beyond reach—she must plant her feet firmly on the ground.

There are those who will feel that this philosophy is an acceptance, largely, of palliatives. From a sociological point of view such case work is palliative, but in the individual instance it reaches out to other goals of positive value. People suffer acutely. Destructive experience can shatter the bodies and minds of men, leaving them weak and lonely. If case work continues to operate in the field of preventing breakdowns, physical, mental, spiritual; if, in the present crisis, it succeeds in effecting a "sur-

vival adjustment," its reason for being is very real. Nor need this objective preclude the case worker's interest or activity in broader fields of social adjustments. No case worker who has lived through the experience of the last three years could wish to set herself apart, her mind focused exclusively on the development of skills peculiar to her art. The crowded waiting-rooms of anxious faces to be seen in any family agency are a sufficient indictment of the social order to arouse in her, as a social worker, a wish to fight for better things. But as a case worker her function is not cosmic; it cannot envelop the universe. Its tools are unique and delicate of structure. To the field of sociological interests, case work can make its essential contribution as a laboratory, where material may be found, and workers to interpret it.

Recently a man sat in the office of a family agency. In silence he looked down at his hands—hands knotted, their muscles strengthened by hard toil of the past through which a livelihood had been earned. Fear in his eyes, fear in his voice, he whispered: "They are growing soft and white." The words of this man may symbolize a fear which is everywhere—a fear with which case workers come daily into contact. It is, I think, in a rôle of activity which senses the nature of the individual's fear, psychological and practical; shares his experience with him to the extent of enabling him to carry on—an activity which resorts neither to argument nor to persuasion, but stimulates the client to self-expression and to the facing of his difficulties—that case work for the present can fulfil its greatest usefulness to a people who are frightened and confused.

ACTIVITY IN THE CASE-WORK RELATIONSHIP

DISCUSSION OF MRS. WHITE'S PAPER

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I SHALL try to consider the application Mrs. White's paper may have for the case workers all over the country, most of them carrying heavy loads with a wide range of problems. I assume that Mrs. White's discussion pertains to activity in the therapeutic relationship between client and worker rather than to situations in which the treatment is commonly called executive or educational. In a broad sense all case work is dependent upon a relationship. Nevertheless, the last two or three years have seen a steady enrichment in our understanding of the dynamics of the case-work relationship. The word "passivity" has been on the tips of many tongues and has had a variety of meanings. To the worker unsure of herself, questioning her results, it has been a refuge, an oasis in which she could rest, put down her burden of responsibility, and do nothing. To some extent this was inevitable. Perhaps it was the necessary transitional step from overmanipulative activity to another rôle. Mrs. White has taken the emphasis from the negative connotation of "passivity" and has given it a living quality. She breaks up the term which we call "dynamic relationship" into some of its component parts. She throws light upon mental observation, identification, judgment, evaluation, and free association through which the client is enabled to make discoveries.

At this point I am wondering if a further application of Mrs. White's contribution on psychological activity can be made to the wider field of case work in which most of us find ourselves

today? Can the average case worker say that she will limit her service to that which the client wants of her? Can she confine her activity to interest in those problems which the client freely brings? Of course, the worker psychologically active, as Mrs. White describes, who begins where the client is in respect to his problem, may help him to further articulation through interest and helpful questioning, and by activity behind the scenes, through the field of collaterals. Underlying difficulties and latent strengths not consciously recognized by the client at the time of application will be uncovered. But are there not many situations in which there is need for additional activity? We have all observed the client who one day seeks help because of the discomfort of his condition, who on the next day slips back into a passive acceptance of it. We often grow through the overcoming of obstacles. Is there no activity on the part of the case worker to keep the client active about his own situation? Is there no place in the case-work relationship for stimulating conflict?

On the other hand, may we not have the antithesis? The client may be so burdened with his difficulty, so unprepared to meet a crippling and disastrous circumstance, that his condition threatens all of his capacity to go on. Can we say in a situation of this sort that there is no room for advice, reassurance, or suggestions? Through such activity may not the worker offer security to sustain the crumbling foundation? The wise worker, of course, always remembers that the load is the client's to carry, that the sustaining is temporary, until strength develops.

Take the case of Mr. Rogers: already confronted by unemployment, loss of home which represented years of planning and savings, with no close ties outside of his family, suddenly left bewildered and helpless through the death of his wife and the new responsibility of mothering five small children. Mr. Rogers will weather this storm, but only through some lightening of the load, through some encouragement, assurance, and even direction from the case worker.

Perhaps more puzzling to the case worker is the situation

where the client's entire experience in family life, religion, school and industry has been on an authoritative basis. We must not underestimate the client's capacity for growth. We must search for the small beginnings of independence, but must we not sometimes make possible an environment suiting the client's capacities, one which would give him the maximum of stimulus and which might prevent his placing too many restricting bonds upon another person, perhaps a child?

Then there are the many situations which fall between these extremes where varying degrees in sharing of responsibility seem necessary.

At the present time we have not advanced very far in our understanding of what takes place in a relationship. I think sometimes that the more articulate of our clients could give us some help in our explorations, as they see it from a different vantage point. We do know that as one person touches another there is change. The client after an interview with a case worker is different, whether the interview has been a business-like transaction of relief or a discussion of a pending separation. Is not this the issue of the whole matter? The medium of all treatment is the relationship. This holds true for every case worker—the field in which she finds herself does not change this fact; the size of the case load which she carries does not alter it. The degree of help which the client is able to secure depends upon the case worker's ability to suit her activity to the need of the client.

The more we keep our eyes upon the client, seeing him as an individual in his uniqueness, being sensitive to the environment in which he can best grow, the less need there is to set patterns of activities for ourselves. Too often the case worker has placed the emphasis on what she wants to have happen in the relationship. We have seen the danger of the case worker's desire to make over a client according to her own need. The negative connotation of "passivity" creates the danger of inactivity. Is there not another danger—that of patterning the concept of freeing a client and possibly refusing him help which he may use constructively?

THE GOVERNMENT AND YOUTH IN A TROUBLED WORLD

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THIS is a very broad subject. What should the government—national, state, or local—have done during the last four years? What has it done? What can it still do to change or improve the outlook for young people? A discussion of how the state might lift or aid in lifting the handicaps under which children now suffer could include the topics of farm relief, of tariffs, of banking and stock manipulation, of taxation, and, most fundamental of all, a more just distribution of our national income.

I propose to keep rather close to those aspects of the present-day problems which are especially our concern as social workers; fields in which most of us are employed and in which leadership, in national or state or local planning, ought to come from our ranks.

We ought to begin by recalling that it was a troubled world for children before 1929. All the studies of unskilled labor, made in the days when the rich could still afford to pay income taxes, showed that the wages of those who constituted the foundation of our economic structure were usually inadequate for a minimum standard of health and decency in home life. Children in these families may have entered that race which is called "the pursuit of happiness," but they had little or no chance of reaching the goal. Social workers will therefore not be satisfied with a return to the pre-depression period of insecurity in home life and gross inequality in opportunities for children. But how much better those days were than the ones we now know perhaps as many as 10,000,000 of the 12,000,000 who are unemployed today would be prepared to tell us.

In the past, social workers were concerned almost exclusively

with abnormal groups, with the protection of the weak, with those suffering from social, economic, or physical disabilities. But increasingly as the state has entered the field of social politics, and particularly in its services for children, we have been concerned not only with prevention of these abnormalities but with the problem of how we can insure better physical development, larger usefulness, and greater happiness for all children. We are concerned not alone with the care of the abnormal. It is our responsibility, also, to promote the optimum development of the normal. We have a new conception of progress toward equality for children. Our old struggle to secure equality before the law for all citizens must continue until social prejudice shall have been conquered or controlled. In other fields we are now considering not so much how to compel equality as how to establish a boundary or a limit beyond which inequality of opportunity shall not be tolerated.

The doctrine of the fatherhood of the state which has given us the legal basis for our juvenile courts, for compulsory-school-attendance laws, for the removal of children from their homes against the wishes of the parents when the welfare of the child requires it, has been of slow growth. Quite rightly we have been conservative in the use of such powers. But service for the child now rests on a different basis from what it did a hundred years ago. Public schools, child-health centers, playgrounds, etc., are now everywhere accepted as a proper function of the state.

In recent years the acute problem has been relief, and there has been new discussion of the power or the duty of the state to provide adequate food, clothes, and a reasonably comfortable home. Public poor-relief is, of course, as old as the country. But do we really believe in it? Have we tried to put it on an efficient basis? And, in recent years, we have been asking, should public assistance be available for all the unemployed, or only for those who in addition to being unemployed are destitute? Before passing judgment on what the state has done or not done, we ought to recognize that there have been great differences in our fundamental philosophy as to what the state should undertake.

The differences are fewer and much less fundamental, perhaps, than they were a generation ago among social workers and also among other leaders in the formation of public opinion—less than they were twenty-five years ago. For example, in the *Proceedings* of the First White House Conference, which included the leaders of social work at that time, and many of them, I am glad to say, are still leaders among us, one finds the recommendation that home life for dependent children must be maintained by adequate aid to dependent families, but it is qualified by the statement that aid should come "preferably in the form of private charity rather than public relief." This was doubtless because public relief had been poorly administered and because private charity was at that time believed or assumed to be less humiliating than public assistance. The mothers' aid laws which came during the following decade swept out that theory and compelled concentration on extension and improvement in the administration of these laws. I am mentioning this now because I think it is important to remember that we have proceeded very cautiously in our advocacy of state participation in social service. Social workers have felt they must determine what would be the cost of every step to those for whose care they had assumed responsibility.

In general, whatever our individual social philosophy may have been, our working hypothesis has been that the state should undertake a service whenever it became clear that it would be more adequately performed by the public than by the private agency, or when the resources of both were necessary to meet the need. But while accepting this as our general policy, some of us have regretted and others rejoiced at each extension of the functions of the state. On our right wing are those who have believed that the voluntary method is always preferable; they regret the intervention of the public agency even when they recognize it as necessary. While on the left are those who think all essential social services should be made public functions. A thing is to them better done if it is done by a public agency even though the service may be the same or inferior in

character. During these years of depression there has been evidence of a realignment; most of those on the right have joined the center forces, so that among social workers there is hardly more than a historic remnant of the old opposition to the state in social service. It was not to be expected, perhaps, that conservatives outside our own group who do not know or understand the need and do not have the responsibility for a social program should be slow of conversion to what is a new viewpoint for many of us. Two years ago one of our great political leaders, taking issue with another of equal prominence, said: "If the teachings of Florence Nightingale on the fields of Crimea were right, if the teachings of Clara Barton in the great distress of earthquake and of flood were right, it is equally true that these same teachings, based on the duty of the community and of the state, must apply with equal right to the distress and suffering which are stalking in our midst. . . ." In contrast, the newspapers on the same day carried the statement of a former senator, now a member of the lower House of Congress, in opposition to state assistance of any kind. He said: "Now you cannot have government without politics. It is inevitable that those who administer government must consider future votes in dealing with relief activities. . . . I think," he continued, "it would be better if we should suffer a little more now and keep politics away from relief than let politics in and suffer a great deal more in the future as a result." I do not need to say, in passing, that the suffering was not to be done by him; a wealthy man himself, even in the midst of this great catastrophe, he was happily removed from direct contact with the suffering of others, so he found it possible to adhere rigidly to a doctrinaire viewpoint.

While one group thinks that the public services cannot be efficient, another is sure it cannot be kindly or understanding of human relationships. A recent report of one of our largest national voluntary societies quotes a former President of the United States as follows: "There is within it [voluntary service] the solicitude and care given to the individual in distress based upon his need and not upon his claim of right or of influence. The

very spirit that makes this society possible assures it a probity and devotion in service which no government can ever attain." While the President was approvingly quoted in the society's report, I feel sure that most of the social workers on the staff of the society would repudiate the assumption that their spirit or devotion to those whom they served was any greater than is found in the ranks of public social workers. The point, I am making, is that a considerable number of influential persons still think that the private society is not sometimes but always to be preferred to the public agency.

However, there are others, and their numbers are increasing, who consider promotion of social welfare a responsibility of the government. They appreciate the part the government has played in protecting those who enjoy special privileges and insist that it is the government's duty to raise the level of life for the children who now suffer from serious handicaps. Relief was the immediate emergency test of this theory, and its adherents have been vigorously urging a national relief program adequate to the need. They were joined by the right wing only as the evidence accumulated that state and local funds, both public and private, were inadequate to meet the needs of the unemployed.

It is, of course, an inheritance from old political struggles that we have thought that what a local government might properly do became revolutionary if the state, and, especially, the nation did it. In the first and second years of the depression assistance by the national government was called a "dole," and the word "dole" was intended to carry with it the idea that the plan proposed was altogether repugnant to our social and political philosophy. While those who believed the nation should aid its citizens in this world-wide emergency finally prevailed, it is important in considering the state's program for children to recognize that many who were not converted to the theory even of the public responsibility yielded to the relentless pressure of necessity. For example, President Hoover declared himself "opposed to any direct or indirect government dole," not only be-

cause he regarded it as in part responsible for the depression in Europe, but because he thought the need could be met first by the voluntary agencies and then by the local government. You may recall that he said: "If the time should ever come that the voluntary agencies of the country" (you will note he puts "voluntary" first) "together with local and state governments are unable to find resources to prevent hunger and suffering . . . , I will ask the aid of every resource of the federal government." But he added: "I have faith in the American people that such a day will not come." A few months later he asked Congress for \$300,000,000 to be made available to the states in the form of loans or advances for relief.

And now after four winters of unemployment the public agencies are carrying from 85 to 90 per cent of the cost of family relief, and the trend indicates that that percentage will be larger six months from now. Social workers are generally converted to the necessity of a system of employment reserves which will greatly reduce the relief problem and divide the costs of a depression which now fall so heavily on the worker. But they know that relief will still be necessary.

The swing in public opinion on the subject of relief illustrates the handicap under which a public agency must do its work. The private agency has a board which is like minded. They are on the board because they approve of its work. The public agency is governed by a board—the legislative body—which includes those who support and those who oppose all public social services, and victory goes sometimes to one and sometimes to the other.

The public agency is often created reluctantly because its establishment conflicts with the social or political philosophy of some and because others are mindful of the increased tax burden which it means. One does not need to say this year that in spite of the theory that each should give according to his capacity, taxes are paid largely by the middle class rather than by the rich, so that unemployment relief has been and still is a heavy burden on those of limited means. Only the relentless pressure

of hungry citizens has converted many to the need of helping at this time.

The extent of the need has discouraged some local units from doing what they could in the emergency. It has led others to seek escape by flight from responsibilities they assumed long ago. For example, in a southern state which has led in the organization of its local public social services, the State Child Welfare Commission had accepted in accordance with a state law guardianship for some six hundred children. They had been placed in foster-homes by the state. This year the legislature adjourned without making any provision whatever for the board of these children, or for the salaries of the staff of the child welfare agency, even for a temporary period during which other arrangements might be made for the children. Collectively its people were in the same class as the deserting father. Formerly social workers thought they could persuade a father by means of fines and imprisonment to support his family. Experience has taught us the futility of this procedure and we have called in the psychiatrist for help in finding out why he was unwilling to care for his children. Perhaps we should ask the psychiatrist to assist us also in determining why legislative bodies sometimes exhibit the same type of irresponsibility toward the children for whom they have assumed care.

But while the state just referred to was more irresponsible than many, there has been, in the hysteria of economy, which we have witnessed during the last five months, a reckless disregard of obligations which the community has assumed toward children in many states. State governments, hard pressed for funds, have made very drastic cuts in the appropriations of many state services; sometimes the reductions for welfare and health services for children have been disproportionately large. As many of us know from experience, reduced appropriations have meant drastic reductions of the salaries and wages of public employees and, more important, curtailment of intake, of inspection, and of consultative agencies and even elimination of some of the vital services for children.

The schools were the first to suffer because theirs was the largest item in a social welfare budget. The accounts of the closing of schools and shortening of terms, the increase in pupil-teacher ratios, and elimination of kindergartens, health supervision, attendance officers, evening schools, continuation schools, opportunity schools or classes, and nursing services make very discouraging reading. It is reported that there have been something like 385,000 more children in school this year than last, and that there is a drop of \$150,000,000 in the current expense budget. The rural schools have often been the first to suffer. In addition to short terms, transportation at public expense for children living remote from the schools has often been cut down, thus leaving these rural children seriously handicapped. We have all been much interested in the state equalization funds as a means of establishing a minimum standard in education. Curtailment of these funds has meant special hardships for poor districts.

We are concerned at reductions in the budgets of health and social welfare departments of state and local governments. We know that in the long run the children must pay the cost of this neglect even though temporary. To make the confusion confounded, the old spoils system has been reintroduced in some states which have been comparatively free from it during the last quarter-century. Experienced and trained administrators, who were especially needed at this time, have been displaced by the types we know so well—a kindly and pathetic old man who had lost everything in a bank failure; a young “go-getter” who had made party managers believe he was responsible for party victories; a deserving widow who made a speech or two in the campaign; and others who found the social-work salaries, which they would have scorned in other times, more than they could earn in these days. Unquestionably year by year the evidence accumulates that an adequate and well-administered civil service law is a first essential for our public social services. Reform of the civil service should be, in some states, a first step in public assistance to our young people.

It is our responsibility not to lose our heads in what seems, in some states, to be a general *débâcle*. We are under the responsibility of assisting in necessary economies at this time. We must decide what are the really vital services at the moment and be prepared, in the elimination of many services, to build a new program which will be of greater, not less, service to children.

Information comes to the Children's Bureau that there has been some such salvage in the wreckage of the past year. Fortunately some ancient and less useful institutions which we have been slow to abandon are being turned into agencies which will contribute to present needs. For example, in abolishing a state public school for dependent children, it has been found possible to return some of the children to their own homes. For the remainder a children's institute is being planned which will maintain a receiving home, provide a boarding-home program, and co-operate with the University in making studies of children. Under this plan the old school plant is to be used to care for high-grade, feeble-minded children who will be selected from some fourteen hundred feeble-minded who are on the waiting list for institutional care.

The state equalization principle is well established in the administration of relief funds, and we can hope that this experience, added to the beginnings that have been made in mothers' pension, will lead to much better services in rural and small industrial communities in the future.

With the public required to assume the principal responsibility for relief in a time of great emergency, we now realize that public-relief agencies must carry an important part of relief costs in normal times. The old township relief officers, who wasted millions in the pre-depression days, must give way to county bureaus with which, it is to be hoped, the states will continue to co-operate. We cannot look forward to scrambling together again hastily some or any kind of a public agency. There must always be the nucleus of a well-trained staff and a tradition of the best-type service in this field.

We should be able to make other permanent gains. It should

be possible to convince the public, as a result of the new evidence of need which the development of new sweated industries has brought, of the value of national control of child labor. We must do something more than hope that as industry revives we shall not return to old conditions. Experience has converted many industrialists who have tried the voluntary method to state provision for unemployment reserves, minimum wages, and shorter hours of work. These we all recognize as child welfare measures in their long effects, and we should at least support these social-reform measures. Evidence of children's needs is in the files of every case-working agency. We shall have to be prepared to experiment; it is our responsibility to be both wise and skilful and courageous in our advocacy of public undertakings if we are to make the United States a happier place for children.

YOUTH AND MENTAL HYGIENE

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YOUTH and its problems have literally dogged the steps of mankind for centuries. Practically all cultures and civilizations of which we have record prove this to be true, and they reveal mankind's genuine concern in youth. As one searches these records, a fact stands out above all others. It is this—persistent and genuine as the concern has been, the welfare of youth is invariably secondary to the convenience and welfare of adults. And with it all is the twofold conviction that each successive generation surpasses the one that preceded it, and that every generation is left with an opportunity to bring order out of chaos, to progress and not to retrogress. This day is no exception, but it is unique in that we dare analyze the factors that go to make up youth—our own and our children's. It is with these factors that this paper deals.

It is conceded that the concern mankind has for youth is persistent, and the greatest concern of all is the quality and quantity of service that youth will render to adults. In one age we find childhood and children subservient and slaughtered; in another, supreme and insecurely sublime; and in still another age they are shamed into being seen without a sound out of them. At one time mankind is in revolt against its own children, and men overwhelmed by their own sins have with ingenuity sought to lessen their sense of guilt and its accompanying torment by thrusting their children into racks or onto altars to appease the wrath of gods. At another time, with equal design an erring mankind makes its children supreme, shouts to them of fortitude and courage, and then in zealous statesmanship feels atoned in giving them over to war and battles and self-destruction! And

at still another time mankind, ever insecure, senses the short-sightedness of its own childhood and the continuation of its own persistent childish ways and by repeated greediness and threat reserves for its children a shameful inarticulate submission. Thus reviewed it is evident that youth throughout recorded history in relation to adult life plays a strategic rôle—piously sacrificed, ingeniously heralded, and shamefully tolerated.

Be it a primitive or a pagan pleasure common to all mankind, this practice of the utilization of its youth for self-atonement, for salvation of self, and for self-aggrandizement has long been expounded. Long ago in our own Christian Era, priests in all piety preached of the sins of fathers that lay heavy on the heads of children. The present day is very similar to the bygone, and as the pendulum swings to and fro, mankind ever seeks to merit forgiveness in the purifying chastisement of its youth in order to lessen the acuteness of its own threatened chastisement. However, one conspicuous fact stands out today, and that is that mankind, advanced as it is in the arts and sciences, is exceedingly reluctant to permit a change to occur and is extremely tardy to give consent to improve child welfare. One has only to ponder a moment to be struck by the amazing fact that here in the United States in the last fifty years the number of individuals is legion that have gained respect and national acclaim in almost every other pursuit except child welfare, whereas in the same fifty years it has allowed not more than ten to gain national repute in child welfare. It is not that there have not been countless, conscientious, and exceedingly capable individuals who have devoted years to meritorious child welfare, but they are seldom recognized and praised. Those few who have gained prominence nationally did so by enormous effort against great odds and felt rewarded by gains admittedly tiny. And mostly the gains have been in the strictly physical aspects of life. Mankind, at a time in which it believed, and acted accordingly, that there was a "weaker sex," adroitly schemed to leave to women the improvement of the conditions for youth.

A few years ago, in the plethoric days here in the United

States, mankind's record in child welfare corroborates the contention that the welfare of youth is ignored. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1930 and a national commission on law observance and enforcement not only found it extremely difficult to obtain reliable and comparable statistics, but also found that politic mankind would allow the conservative estimates to go unchallenged and be shelved until faded and obsolete. It is recalled in one report that there were 10,000,000 of 45,000,000 children under the age of eighteen who possessed conspicuous impairment in body, mind, and conduct, and that 80 per cent of these 10,000,000—or, in other words, 8,000,000—were not receiving the care or treatment at the time known to be remedial or preventive to a high degree. Another report disclosed that 400,000-odd prisoners pass each year through our penal equipment in which \$100,000,000 are invested and \$30,000,000 more annually are administratively spent. We know, too, that approximately 56 per cent of the prisoners are under thirty years of age, and if not strictly youthful, at least a self-righteous mankind was impressed by their immaturity and sought to discipline them. This same report, impartial and expositional, severely scored the existing conditions found—pagan practices, medieval equipment condemned for the damned, and brutal inconsistencies—all so odious and blatant that the primitive and the savage desires of modern mankind are revealed not to have been lessened much by our urbane Christianity or our aesthete industrialism. Another report,¹ more restricted in scope but none the less accurate, has succinctly shown that 80 per cent of those who have experienced mankind's so-called correctional and reformatory system as administered today are unable to carry on afterward with credit to themselves or to others. A practice that is 80 per cent failure and is tenaciously retained by mankind must satisfy some urge not readily apparent or above board, so to speak. Note particularly that it is with youth that mankind fails—80 per cent of 10,000,000 impaired ones uncared for by procedures and

¹ Glueck and Glueck, *500 Criminal Careers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.).

methods known to be beneficial; and over 50 per cent of all prisoners are youthful and are penalized and irreparably damaged further by the hand of man. And this was at the pinnacle when we were surfeited, plethoric, and festive.

Today, at a time when every conceivable panacea, placebo, and poultice is feverishly grasped, mankind is quick to harass the teachers of children, quick to ridicule the social aides of children, quick to deny youth itself the shelter and sustenance necessary for the growth of children; is quick to minimize or curtail the advantages of dental, medical, and psychiatric skill for children and to dismiss these skills, beneficial alike to the healthy and the diseased, as "frills." And lastly, middle-aged mankind is quick to bargain for its own relief first and leave to voluntary patronage the welfare of its children in or out of school and on or off the highways. Furthermore, selfish interests and malicious schemers, with much to gain and little to lose, are already at work with their specious assertions to mankind's own legislative leaders and healers that the progressive educators of youth are "pink" if not actually "red," and evolutionary if not truly revolutionary.

For years this national conference and its allied groups have had repeatedly presented to them a discussion of the factors and forces that tend to disrupt family life and home foundations from without. This was in reference to long-standing home standards and family allegiance, true or false, that were known to be God fearing, law abiding, and self-maintaining. In more recent years, sections and divisions of this and similar conferences began to discuss the individual demands and urges, likewise true or false, that tend to destroy domestic harmony and tranquil fidelity from within. With both these tendencies—the factors and forces from without the home and the demands and urges from within the individual repeatedly discussed and recorded for you—you know it is evident that the situation for the youth of mankind today, as in the days of opulence, is rapacious, abusive, and destructive in the extreme.

In other words, and briefly stated, each generation of man-

kind is observed to make its exit the easier and the more welcome to all by the belief that the "good old days" have slipped away forever and that the mess that accumulated is to be borne by the backs and brawn of youth. It would appear, then, that this enslavement of youth has come down to us as an inalienable and sacred right—to have and to hold youth as it serves best the successive, perhaps progressive, vagaries of mankind.

If one shares the belief that mankind's progress is dependent upon misery and suffering—many do hold to this belief—then one ought to be exceedingly elated. For not only is mankind's own misery the world over today very penetrating and very real, but also the youth of the world are being made to suffer more acutely. If one believes whole-heartedly that education makes it easier for one to adjust to life, assists one in overcoming hardships to reach success and contentment, which, by the way, may be softening and weakening, then one ought to be gratified that on April 1 (1933) here in the United States 290,000 children eligible to attend school had had school doors slammed shut and locked in front of their faces. Not so very long ago, out of schools and colleges went a-flying a foreign language to save our youth for democracy, and today elsewhere in the world the words and the works of a chosen race are chucked into bonfires to save youth for a *fylfot* (swastika) destiny. And, too, today hereabouts accredited school terms are pared and foreshortened by politic magic two weeks here and two weeks there, but let a youth stay out a week or more unexcused, and he will be seen as a recruit for a free-living, free-loving, and free-wheeling communism! How many others are being critically damaged by being compelled to attend schools wherein the teachers are distraught with their own suffering and disillusionment, we dare not guess. If one believes that misery and suffering are good for the individual, then one must be cheered by the signs today. Some 200,000-odd children are classed as transient—hopping on and off the brake rods, in and out the blind baggage, and hitch-hiking up and down the land—seeing America first. It may be that some will be benefited and strengthened by this

nomadic existence, but we doubt that it will make for a strong race or a great culture. At best for culture or civilization, a gypsy life is scarce more than a capricious flight. However, the important fact is that in these trying and tumultuous times modern mankind lets any of its children become tramps, intemperate, insecure, and irresponsible.

For a moment let us regard briefly another factor. Important as world-trends are and gigantic as world-forces are, for the most part their consideration may best be left to those best qualified and trained to try to study, to analyze, and to apply conjectures, theories, and facts. In the last fifteen years the overthrow and reorganization of three mighty empires, the basilisk of world-politics, the Russian Revolution, the dislocated and fractured economics, the sufferance of insurgent and resurgent nationalism, and the Gargantuan application of extensive and intensive technological pursuits are indeed interesting to observe and to speculate about. The farther off they appear to be, the more interesting they are. The more vague they are, the safer is our speculation. Burdensome indebtedness, increased taxation, a water spout of postwar statistics to prove material gain, and with it all a decreasing birth-rate regardless of the law and the hand of God—these, too, are interesting trends and forces upon which we meditate and entertain ourselves. Moreover and again is mankind quick to leave the problems that burden and tax it to a youth whose numbers are diminishing and whose temperance and security are undermined by the paucity of consistent guidance or example. For most of us our discussions and our speculations concerning these trends and forces serve mostly to help us escape our own immediate pains, injuries, and disillusionments. They can soothe and lull us into a pleasant complacency that it is the task of youth to grapple and, we breathe a hope, to triumph. Though we know we are false—that the task is as much ours as theirs—nevertheless this is the pattern of mankind's ways since the beginning.

Thus far in this presentation we have purposely referred to mankind and with intent we have placed emphasis upon generic

terms. Largely this was to permit you to experience how easy it is for all of us to feel that the trends and urges of mankind are abstract or far removed from us and not personal or intimate to us as individuals. In other words, how prone we too are to cast off onto others who are absent or in the abstract our own responsibilities and guilts. However, we can trace these trends and urges of mankind today by the aid of recent studies, techniques, and disciplines; we can detect their origin, their structural foundation, and their objectives as applied to the conduct of the individual, you and I, and the practices of the agencies we represent or with which we co-operate. The remainder of this paper is restricted to the presentation of these techniques and disciplines.

Mankind's reaction to life is based upon the characteristics of its own childhood and the early successes and failures related thereto. A penetrating study or analysis of human conduct shocks many people; it reveals so many flaws and crevasses that have been puttied over and hidden. Shocked as one may be, adult mental and physical life is dependent upon the structural plan or pattern laid down in childhood. This pattern, although tenaciously held to throughout one's entire life, can be altered for a great many people by a technique that retraces its development to its origin and allows it to begin over again. This implication is radical when compared with former views. It means that adults at twenty-five or forty-five can be changed for the better, can be more secure and courageous if they so desire. This doctrine has several tenets that should be kept in mind if we are to consider modern youth and the times.

These tenets, briefly stated, are:

First, the normal child, even in infancy, is at all times, awake or asleep, throughout its entire body, goaded by stimulations that give rise to urges that tend to bring satisfaction or gratification to it. For the most part these stimulations arise from the handling or the manipulations that go on at the bed, at the breast, and at the bowl.

Second, the normal child to survive has to be or is taught to be all important. It has to put itself first and has to love itself and

its parts, if it is to grow and not be dismembered. And to make up for its absolute helplessness and insure its survival against great odds it has to hold to this costly omnipotent position.

Third, a normal child, helpless as it is, craves or hungers for support, warmth, nourishment, and soothing sensations which please it—all the elements of an emotion we know as “love,” and, being helpless, the child can give but little love in return. (Many adults are vehement in their rejection of this tenet—it makes a child, one of our very own, so savage, so primitive. They forget the helplessness of children and the universal fact that it is harder, when helpless, to express love than to be loved.)

Fourth, the normal child reaches for, grabs after, or slaps at that which it sees, hears, feels, tastes, smells, etc. In other words, it possesses impulses that are aggressive, destructive, and hostile, and, the child being helpless, these impulses naturally must be directed to those objects or persons nearest at hand which abet or thwart them.

Fifth, the normal child is baffled by defeat. It has so little, and to have to give in or to give up anything is so much, so alien to well-being, that all it can do is to flee into its own world of make-believe or into fantasy. (You know, too, all that anyone can do to escape a danger or a menace or an obstacle that is foreseen to be too threatening to meet is to fight it, fall faint by it, feint at it, or to flee from it. Many children will try all four avenues, but, being immature, helpless, and at a disadvantage, they will soon learn the surest route to safety is fantasy, into which few adults can trail them to torment them.)

Sixth, the normal child soon learns if it is to progress and get along in life it is better to agree or side in with the demands of others known to be stronger and overpowering in many ways, but in so doing the child soon recognizes he has undermined his previous position and weakened his own standing within himself. To placate or excuse himself for being the traitor to his earlier position in infancy wherein he was the dictator, and also still to retain for himself this enviable position, there is set up in his mind, it is contended, a dictatorship that is his very own, al-

though it is fashioned after or copied from the examples round about him. To be dictated to is bad enough, but to fall afoul of a compromise wherein from without and from within one becomes a victim of dictatorships and tyrannies both true and false, both real and imaginary, puts one in a torment; in the language of the day—"in a tough spot and being taken for a ride." More formally you refer to this as "conscience," and from its bombardment of "right and wrong," "truth and falsity," "courage and cowardice," "obedience and rebellion," "patriot and traitor," *ad infinitum*, a sense of guilt, it is believed, fastens itself upon those impulses and stimulations which the child in infancy first found to be infallible and most precious and dear to him and his welfare.

Seventh and last of these tenets, if the objectionable and unacceptable stimulations and impulses are too strong to be given up or traded, the mind of a normal child, comparatively weak and immature in relation to that which surrounds and engulfs it, is distraught—wavering between what to hide and what to expose; what to hang on to and what to give up; what to admit and what to deny; what to agree to and what to contradict.

You have already detected, no doubt, that taken separately or collectively these seven tenets, characteristic of child life, manifest themselves almost identically in the daily behavior of adults all about. We observe, too, that these characteristics vary as to force and intensity—one impulse may tend to dominate the others, or may fortify or destroy another and so on; that they vary as to direction—one or more may be riveted, so to speak, upon the body or a part of it may be thrust forth to be focused upon objects or upon others; and that they vary as to effectiveness, exposed or disguised. They are closely interrelated, and from their interplay the pattern of one's conduct is fashioned. As we have previously intimated, this is begun in early life in response to the experiences we have been subjected to and follows us throughout adult life. Rephrased, then, the conduct of an adult is scarce more than a replica of child life—a series of responses and reactions first practiced. It is not that

adults are childish, although one might be tempted to think so; it is only that childhood and its experiences are fundamental to adult life and its pattern.

Laymen and the professionally trained, it often appears, like to cling to the concept that mental hygiene is an enigma, noisome, impractical, and intangible. It can be an enigma, and for a great many who will not have it otherwise, it will be so. I am naïve enough to believe that a great many will make out that it is worse than it is. As far as anyone can tell, it may be as vicious to complacency as it is heralded, if you listen to the selfish complaints some adults make.

Many adults tend to misunderstand their own childhood, having improvised or forgotten or distorted much of it, or do not dare to look at the remainder, or are unwilling to believe that all of one's childhood is still a primal factor in the daily life of everyone. Until we concern ourselves more with universal youth—our own early patterns and those in the formation period today—we can scarce hope to acknowledge any more wisdom than this: to admit that each of us differs only from the others in how well we were reared to exploit one another the more easily; in how adept we are to fasten blame elsewhere than upon ourselves, and to acclaim what an opportunity youth has to save itself. It is slow progress and a questionable practice "to do a good deed every day" if we know neither why it should be done nor why we do it nor why our fellow men ridicule or object to its being done.

As experienced social workers you well know you can save lives and strengthen souls. But, when youth with all its threatening vitality and verve and unabashed vision sees itself the first to be let out of a quaking industrial life; sees its candidates for the professions reduced, rebuffed, and apprenticed until both energy and vision slacken and flicker; and then detects that a great amount of creative life involutes at forty—does not begin at forty, as has been selfishly championed—it is possible youth may sportively ask: "Why were we saved—is this our opportunity to righten a snug smugness that has laid you low?" All

that the proponents of mental health and hygiene request of us is that we anticipate this question and set out to formulate an intelligent reply. It is this task that is the enigma, not mental hygiene.

Social workers know all too well the distortions and privations that youth now experience. Many also know the incomparable and inaccurate reports in regard to child welfare that adults have been content to make and accumulate. So great is the contentment disguised that it is well-nigh impossible for unbiased and competent workers to obtain an unequivocal fact in relation to parental care, institutional custody, child labor, detention malpractices, etc. As agency representatives I wonder if we know or want to know, and if we do know, whether or not we appreciate the far-reaching significance and the import of our practices. How relieved other adults, less well equipped to stand for the right, are that they have a specious example in us to blame and to follow!

For years we have been inaccurate, misinformed, shortsighted, and committed to efficiency and bookkeeping—the tactics of those who have greedily exploited others for a selfish gain. Unanalyzed efficiency and bookkeeping which ignores the aims and ambitions of individual life can cover up a great deal that is unsympathetic, dishonest, and cowardly. A great many of us have been mistaken in our overlords. So, too, will youth be. As adults, what we took to be bright and level-headed leadership we now guess to have been only a glossy, bald chicanery, willow-wispy and frightfully flat. More sanguine adults among us, but none the less embittered, are inclined to feel that even the leadership was a misnomer and that it was only opulent gluttony, exploitationously planned. And youth opportunely is to bear the brunt. Others of us lean to the conservative view that it was merely the stupidity of the surfeited middle-aged.

Any discipline that does not arise within the individual is not agreed to by him, is not consistent to well-being, is not frankly employed, and is not courageously modifiable, is scarce more than the coercive force we seek to exercise over beasts. Modern

youth suspects as much when it sees adults in a panic searching for a parental security from a president, a mayor, a county supervisor, or a social worker.

The mental hygiene of youth is in jeopardy, decidedly so, when social agencies barter, and permit undisciplined, uninformed, and untrained forces to staff their ranks, and disregard, as many parents do, the known fact that whatever happens to a child is not soon forgotten nor forgiven. In the offices and corridors of social agencies to witness a machine-gun type interrogation of ill or robust parents in dire distress; to have actual necessities withheld a week or ten days until a delayed investigation can be completed; or to have repeated threats of a sure and sudden eviction or deportation of parents thundered forth by desk-pounding and special-delivery letter; hastily to accuse and frighten parents into quick submission or into protective deceit; to terrify them into subjection by our own doubts, discontent, and drastic inadequacies; or to compel them to accept examinations, particularly psychiatric examinations, whereby at best the results will serve the agency or the worker only in being relieved of further annoyance or responsibility and the client shunted off to a remote place in which restitution is seldom found—all these practices which we indulge in and struggle under give to children a very dubious outlook on life. If that is authority, you may be assured that youth will soon learn that it is something to avoid and flee from as though it were a plague or a disease.

Whether one believes or approves of mental hygiene or not, to continue to sanction and practice the faulty is little more than to reveal to youth in a troubled world that to us, as representatives of social work, they need not turn for their mental hygiene—we neither possess it for ourselves nor care much if it is denied to others.

Psychiatry with its mental hygiene and its techniques might as well slink back into the asylum from which it came if it is only to be permitted to be aloof and to be an expediency or a conven-

ience to have delegated to it those we wish to be free of, so humiliating and nasty and revolting are some clients to some of us.

The search on the part of all mankind for a benevolent and benign parent is present in every generation, and whether found or not, then does man often proceed to the position in which the benevolent parent is seen to be malevolent and malfeasant. Our progress thus far hinges on this trend. For children to begin their lives with the conviction that their parents and the agencies with whom they are to deal are malevolent and malfeasant, not only to know it to be true, but also to have their knowledge confirmed by the implied attitudes and practices in vogue, youth may set aside all established authority, and put its trust in a force of its own making. That this reaction will be for the better or for the best cannot be foretold, so tardy have we been to acknowledge the existence of or accurately report the primal factors and basic reactions upon which human conduct is founded. If one will only take time to look at children, protect their rights, let them express themselves in front of us, listen attentively to what they say, one will set an example rare to find and learn more about mankind and its history, about one's self, and about adults generally than our forefathers ever dared to face or to fathom. To have done this simpler task as social workers, it may be said that youth and mental hygiene were well served at a time when the world was in trouble.

LAW AS A CREATIVE FORCE IN SOCIAL WELFARE

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THE title of this paper is "Law as a Creative Force in Social Welfare." I shall discuss the place of law in a social welfare program, not the part played by individual lawyers. Always there have been lawyers whose avocation has been social work. Many important officers of social-work agencies in many American cities have been and are now lawyers. Two of the best professional social workers in my own city, Baltimore, stepped directly from the practice of law into distinguished careers as social workers. I refer to the late Louis H. Levin, who set a new standard for Jewish social work in our city, and to Mr. Harry Greenstein, who has just been drafted from the secretaryship of our Associated Jewish Charities to re-organize and to head the public welfare activities of the entire state of Maryland. Such examples might be multiplied many times; and this indicates that there is no necessary incompatibility between the careers of law and of social service.

When we take up the phrase "creative force," we must pause to consider precisely what we mean by "creative." Many students of law, particularly of American law, and certainly all harsh critics of our legal system, think of law in terms of repression. The social reformer always faces the question: "My scheme is a good one, but is it legal?" At first glance, then, it might be said that the title of this address involves a contradiction of terms. But that view would leave out of account a vital part of a proper use of the word "creation." We do not create anything worth while unless we produce something that is sound in wind and limb. It is true that law is a conservative influence. Many of us think that often it is too conservative. Later I shall try to point out the reasons that make it so. But

true creation in a social program means building the present and the future upon the foundations of the past. There must be a steady progression, not a series of leaps. I believe that often the delay suffered while a new social concept beats down the crystallized resistance of the law is useful in giving the common man a chance to catch up with the advanced thought of the social reformer.

Finally, what do we mean by "social welfare"? Here again, as a lawyer, let me say that the term ought to include "law and order" as one of its essentials. The embattled farmers in Iowa who brutally assaulted Judge Bradley were concerned with their notion of social welfare. The brave judge who would swear only to do the right as he saw the right was upholding the law. But must we not say that he, too, was working for social welfare? Please never forget that the only society worth living in is a society governed by law!

However, I am expected to address myself to a more specialized view of the questions so far merely suggested; to predict the probable contribution of American law to social workers' proposals for the improvement of society. Never before in our history has this question assumed its present importance. In all likelihood we are living through a period of revolution. Perhaps this revolution may prove abortive. Perhaps it may turn out that the swift drama that has been unfolding since March 4, 1933, is only a hump in a statistical curve, and that after a few months we shall find that we have re-established the God of Things as They Were. But at this moment it seems far otherwise. For better or for worse we appear to have embarked upon enterprises so vast, and so vastly different from what preceded them, that revolution is the only word that aptly describes the change. If the economic and governmental policies recently initiated persist, if the new conditions wrought by them prove to be the main current of American life and not merely tangential explosions, it will not be too much to say that we have lived through the greatest bloodless revolution in history.

I do not dare prophesy in this field. But I am willing to as-

sert that law and legality, and more specifically constitutional law and constitutionality, will be major factors in determining the events of the next several years in the United States. If I am right in this, it follows that the law is a subject well worth present consideration by social workers. But "the law," as that term is generally employed, means very little. What actually concerns the people of the United States is not somebody's abstract conception of legality, but rather what certain very human men, who are judges of our high courts, will say about certain cases they will have to decide. Therefore it is supremely important to consider what I may call the "legal mind." Our concern is with lawyers, still more with judges, rather than with the philosophy and theory of law.

Often I wonder whether other professional groups are as cloudy in their conception of their own true place in the scheme of things as are the members of my own profession. In a recent issue of the *Journal of the American Bar Association* the leading article is by a great American lawyer, Mr. Newton D. Baker. He asserts categorically, as one of his deepest convictions, that "so far as the institutional progress of a people is concerned, its salvation lies in the hands of the profession of the bar." Mr. Baker goes on as follows: "The history of the profession, in relation to the development of the United States, proves that point. If one goes back to the days of the making of the Constitution in 1787, he finds that great document largely the fruit of the thought and the patriotism of the lawyers of that day. From that time down to this, all our forward steps in the remodeling of our institutions or in devising new ones have first been the thoughts of wise, sagacious, and thoughtful lawyers, and they have been promulgated largely through the advocacy and explanation of lawyers."

The first part of Mr. Baker's statement I can indorse heartily. When the American problem was the formulation and establishment of a new political and governmental system, the development of a more or less democratic republican form of government to replace the dynastic monarchy of the past, undoubtedly

the legal profession supplied patriotic leadership of the highest order. But when Mr. Baker asserts that from that time down to this all forward steps have proceeded from the legal group, I wonder if he is really serious.

Let me be specific, and let me confine myself to a development within the field of law itself. The example I choose is one that has a special reference not only to the exact title of this paper, but also to what I regard as the larger problems now confronting America.

In my own time, the most important social welfare legislation that has won general approval throughout the United States is that which has substituted the principle of workmen's compensation insurance for the former law of negligence as between master and servant. I shall assume that you are familiar with this fundamental alteration in legal theory and with the far-reaching social effects it has produced. There is today probably no thoughtful person in America who would advocate a return to the harsh cruelty and the manifest injustice of the old common-law rules in this branch of the law. The present practice proceeds directly from new legal theory under which has been set up a newly devised institution, the Workmen's Compensation Commission. The primary motivation behind this development was a desire to synchronize the law with economic change, to make the law serve the present ends of social welfare.

But who shall say that the thoughts of wise, sagacious, and thoughtful American lawyers brought about this change? Quite the reverse is true. Lawyers, as a group, were not interested in the initiation of this legislation, and judges received it coldly. Though the new concept had been received into the body of the law as early as 1884 in Germany, it was not until 1902 that the first act was passed in the United States. That was in my own state; and two years later it was declared unconstitutional. By 1910 the idea had begun to germinate in America, and in the following ten years forty-three states had adopted the new system. Meantime, what of the leadership of the bar? I have examined the *Proceedings* of the American Bar Association for the

year 1909. Scarcely a word about workmen's compensation insurance. In the *Proceedings* for the year 1910 less than two pages of a volume comprising nearly twelve hundred pages deal with the subject. A list of all the speeches made before this great national body of lawyers from 1879 to 1910 fails to reveal a single speaker who saw fit to make this important question the subject of his address. Finally, under the leadership of the National Civic Federation and the American Federation of Labor, aided by the forceful prodding of the first great President Roosevelt, state legislatures and the federal Congress gave belated recognition to the new thought. But leaders of the bar fought vigorously to destroy the dangerous innovation; and, of the first four statutes enacted, three were declared unconstitutional by the courts.

Basically, what does this mean? Are lawyers concerned with social welfare less thoughtfully than are the members of other professional groups? Or is there something about law—law in the abstract—that makes its practitioners drags upon the wheels of progress? To answer these questions we must look for a moment both at law in the abstract and at law as a working social tool.

Mr. Justice Cardozo defines law in these words: Law is "a principle or rule of conduct so established as to justify a prediction with reasonable certainty that it will be enforced by the courts if its authority is challenged." American law proceeds from three main sources: first, the federal Constitution and the forty-eight state constitutions; second, the decisions of courts upon cases tried before them; and, third, the enactments of legislative assemblies. A moment of reflection, especially upon the first two of these sources of our law, will serve to show why American lawyers, as a class, are the most conservative group in the community. All day and every day they spend their time and exercise their ingenuity looking backward. The search for constitutional authority and for judge-made precedent has made of them men who wear their eyes in the backs of their heads. If they did otherwise, they would twist their necks per-

manently awry. Lawyers must know the past in order to tell their clients what to expect from judges in the present. And judges base their decisions of today in large part upon what other judges said yesterday. Any thoroughgoing change in the body of the law must proceed from legislation, and every new piece of legislation has to meet the test of constitutionality.

This last limitation upon the growth of the law is the one that most directly affects the problems of social workers. A partial list of today's projects for social welfare will make this statement clear. Child labor, mothers' pensions, old-age insurance, sickness insurance, unemployment insurance, limitation of the hours of labor, wage and price regulation—the list might be expanded indefinitely. All these are vital topics for consideration. No doubt social workers are prepared with definite programs for immediate action upon each of them. But experience with child-labor legislation, which I have placed first upon the list, has taught that constitutional law may block the consummation of their best-considered plans.

Now let us come back to my statement that their concern is with the legal mind, as it expresses itself through the decisions of appellate judges, rather than with law in the abstract. Twenty-five years ago that statement, coming from a judge, would have been the rankest heresy. Probably no judge would have said it, because probably no judge then thought it. But a great change has occurred, a realistic change, a change that I think is entirely desirable. We in the legal profession have come to realize fully that law is a human institution, administered by human beings for the welfare of organized society. This means that some of the veils of mystery have been lifted, that most of the hocus-pocus of medieval mysticism that formerly enveloped the law has been blown to the four winds. It means, too, that the legal mind has begun to take stock of itself. I hope it means, or very soon will mean, that though law will continue to act as a brake to keep the social machine under control, it will not be a drag and an obstacle to well-considered progress.

This change began to manifest itself vigorously about twenty

years ago. The *Proceedings* of the American Bar Association for the year 1912 show the leaders of the bar acutely conscious of the social obligations of the law, vocal with apprehension lest the extreme demands of progressive political leaders should break down entirely the authority of the courts. From that time to this there has been a steady increase in the attention given by the organized bar to subjects that directly affect the social welfare. Whereas in former years the bar had concerned itself primarily with such matters as technical rules of substantive law, simplification of legal procedure, and the ethical standards and educational qualifications of its own members, from this time forward we observe a growing interest in proposals for social legislation. In 1932 we find speakers before the American Bar Association discussing both public unemployment relief and proposals for unemployment insurance laws. We find a session devoted to the organization of legal aid; and, in the field of criminal law, a series of three meetings where the subject of probation is presented and discussed in a manner that would make any social worker feel perfectly at home.

At this point I must ask the reader to follow me in a short technical discussion. The layman usually has a vague notion of what he means when he talks about the constitutionality of a statute. He knows that a state legislature or the federal Congress has passed a law and that during the debate that preceded its passage its opponents argued vociferously that it would be held unconstitutional. I know lawyers who say that about every conceivable proposal they do not like. The phrase has become a shibboleth as persuasive as the word "socialistic." The layman knows, too, that as soon as the new law has been placed upon the statute-books, somebody starts a lawsuit in which an effort is made to have the courts strike down the law by deciding that it actually is unconstitutional. Until the case is decided finally by the highest court, nobody knows whether the statute is part of the law of the land or is a scrap of paper. Sometimes an important piece of legislation, affecting vitally the rights of thousands of persons, remains in this nebulous state—neither

law nor non-law—for months or even years while the test case winds its weary way through the courts. Meanwhile, the nation waits patiently; men act upon their affairs without knowing whether or not they are law-breakers; and, at length, a group of judges decides that the legislature had no right under the constitution to pass the supposed law, which actually is not a law at all. Or else a group of judges decides that the legislature did act within its constitutional rights, and that the new law really is a law.

This is an astonishing situation. Yet the practice is founded upon a sound logic, and we have grown so accustomed to it that the nation as a whole accepts it and yields to it graciously. The practice is astonishing not merely because of the nature of the power that it concentrates in the judiciary, but because of the variety of situations in which it enables judges to say the last word. To an extent not always recognized, we in the United States are governed by our courts. This grows out of the nature of our fundamental law as expressed in written constitutions.

The Constitution of the United States gave the world one essentially new political concept—the “federal” plan. Under that plan we have a division of sovereignty. Each sovereign colony, when it became a state, yielded to the central government a specified part of its former complete sovereign power but retained the rest. The Civil War was fought to determine precisely what this division of sovereignty might mean.

But that was not the only difficulty. In addition to the federal Constitution, each state had adopted a written constitution of its own and added to it a bill of rights. All these constitutions were similar in one important aspect: Each provided a system of checks and balances, vesting specified functions of government in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, respectively. Then, after the Civil War, came a group of amendments to the federal Constitution, designed to perpetuate the principles settled by that conflict.

Meanwhile, as early as the year 1803 the Supreme Court of the United States had decided that when the validity under the

constitution of a legislative enactment was questioned, it was for the courts to say, and to say finally, whether the legislature or Congress had acted within or without its constitutional prerogatives. When the courts, many years later, began to exercise this power in relation to the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, the scope of judicial control over legislation was tremendously increased. Today there is scarcely a subject of legislative action which may not be subjected to judicial review and control; and this is emphatically true in the field of legislation for social welfare. Every legislative proposal for the amelioration of social hardship is likely to involve an invasion of somebody's rights of property. Every proposal for national action may trench upon the reserved sovereignty of the states. Every comprehensive plan you make, if you want to have it enacted into law, must first be made to fit into the complex pattern of both state and federal constitutions.

I have said before that we are concerned not so much with abstract law as with the legal mind. I shall be more specific. We are concerned with the philosophy of life that animates and controls the men who sit upon the bench in our high courts. For so great is the power of the American court, so comprehensive is the field within which it acts, and so flexible are the principles that control its decisions that we may say truly that the immediate destinies of the nation at any given time depend upon the personnel of the Supreme Court of the United States. That is an extreme statement, but I make it deliberately.

Year after year, as each important case, involving questions fundamental to the public welfare, has been decided by the Supreme Court, the decision has been rendered by a divided court. Remember the national child-labor law; remember the great cases dealing with the rights of labor unions; remember the war-time cases involving freedom of speech. Always a majority opinion; always a vigorous minority opinion. The first question we lawyers ask when an important decision is announced is: "Who dissented?" And very often we can guess correctly the answer to our own question; for we have learned

to know the legal minds of the several justices, and frequently we can line them up even before they announce their decisions.

The reason for this striking condition is easily comprehended. The principles of law that control decision upon these constitutional questions are so broad that of necessity they are vague. I challenge any logician to find greater logical merit in the majority opinions than in the dissenting opinions of the justices of the Supreme Court. Grant the emotional premise—or the philosophical premise, if you like that word better—of the writer of either opinion, and he proves his case by the book. So it comes down to this simple formula. We elect legislatures and governors and members of Congress and a President. More or less clearly we give them a mandate of government. But, under our system, the courts can nullify the legislative will and the administrative will; and only by the clumsy process of constitutional amendment can the people undo the action of the courts.

Please do not think that I condemn this system. Described baldly, it may shock those who have not before thought it through. But, tested pragmatically, the system has worked wonderfully well. The real test is coming soon, very soon; and you and I, all of us in America, will find out within the next few years if this part of our scheme of government is sufficiently elastic to stand the strain of an economic and social revolution.

For, I repeat, the acceleration of events since March 4, 1933, means revolution. A strong executive has met a condition approaching chaos with bold plans to revamp our whole economic structure. Congress has hastily passed laws that shake every preconception of the conventional legal mind. State legislatures have been equally vigorous. The principle of the inviolability of contracts has faded out of sight in a haze of radical legislation. The owner of an insurance policy is told his contract does not mean what its words plainly say it means. Depositors in banks are subjected to regulations promulgated by commissioners of banking that compel the banks to ignore the terms upon which deposits were accepted. Holders of bonds, even of bonds issued by the government itself, do not know whether their

debtors will pay according to the terms of their obligations or in some quite different kind of money. Farmers are told what they may plant, manufacturers what they may produce, workers how many hours they may labor. Employers cannot fix wages without governmental sanction. With a swiftness that staggers the imagination, we have plunged out of laissez faire capitalism into something so closely resembling socialism that we have had to invent a new name for it—"state capitalism."

Shall we be granted an opportunity to discover whether this "new era" can perform its promises? That depends upon the courts. What will the judges say? Specifically, what will the nine men who comprise the Supreme Court of the United States say? In the last analysis, that little group of elder statesmen will have to decide either that it will permit 120,000,000 of us to try out the boldly conceived plans we have so enthusiastically initiated or that it forbids the experiment. If the court says "No," the greater part of the presidential program will be cut off before it gets fairly started. Then we shall have recourse to the slow process of constitutional amendment in order to establish a new starting-point. I am assuming that the nation would submit to this delay—that our economic structure could survive it. But I do not know.

Nor do I—nor does any other man—know what the answer of the Supreme Court will be. The phrase "economic emergency" has already proved the sire of judicial opinion that amazes lawyers. In two cases the Supreme Court ranged itself behind the leadership of former Justice Holmes and gave unanimous approval to opinions of that great judge which drove a four-horse team through seemingly insurmountable constitutional barriers. These opinions were rendered in cases decided in 1910, upholding laws to provide the guaranty of bank deposits in Oklahoma and Nebraska. They point a way the Supreme Court may follow in the important cases it will soon have to decide. On the other hand, the court may prick like a toy balloon the work of President Roosevelt and his "professors." I dread the explosion that might follow.

The far-flung program of the national administration is largely a program of legislation for social welfare. The spirit of the bar, as exemplified in the *Proceedings* of the American Bar Association, reflects a legal mind less hostile than formerly to this kind of innovation. Again—what will the courts say? I, for one, dare not predict. Is this, then, a situation that falls altogether outside Justice Cardozo's definition of "law"? Predictability, you will remember, is of the essence of that definition. Perhaps the trouble is with me; perhaps I am a poor predictor. I think it lies much deeper than that. I think the present situation is the result of revolutionary forces before which legal concepts formerly thought immutably fixed have given way as before the blast of a tornado. Again—what will the courts do about it? What will be the considered judgment of the legal mind? How elastic, how responsive to social demands, will our system of law prove itself to be? Nine great judges, nine oracles of the law—who are nevertheless nine human beings, with human minds, human emotions, human frailties, and human limitations—hold the key to the riddle. May they be guided wisely.

REALISTIC REFLECTIONS ON LAW AS A CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL FORCE

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PERHAPS there is no greater obstacle to effective governmental activity than the prevalent notion that the "law," at any given period of time, is moderately well known or knowable. That notion reeks with fallacies. And the prime fallacy is the belief that we know what we are talking about when we use the word "law." I venture to say that there are not less than a dozen definitions of that word, each of which is irrefutably correct. The truth is that there are at least a dozen more or less distinct subject matters which by usage may be designated correctly as "law." A label which can be used to mean so many different things is of little use; worse, it can be dangerous because its ambiguity creates and yet conceals stubbornly dogmatic but erroneous thinking, which often leads to socially dangerous conduct.

A government is as good as the men who operate it, and no better. To obscure that fact is to foster corruption, stupidity, and inefficiency in government. No more deadly obscuring agent has ever been devised than the slogan that we have, and should have, a government of laws and not of men. And at the core of the vice of that slogan is that fatally ambiguous word "law."

Government is what it does. It consists of the acts of human beings. It does not consist of inert entities known as laws, but of human activities—activities of the men who at the moment constitute the government.

I want to discuss briefly the social dangers lurking in the glib use of the term "lawlessness." The term is usually applied to the behavior of a social group which is said to be consistently refractory, and to be habitually breaking "important" legal

codes. The Italian colony in Chicago, or the Chinese in San Francisco, or our American pioneers, or the southern Europeans—any of these might be labeled a social group, and designated generally lawful or lawless.

The judgment that a group is violating important rules and is therefore lawless does not ordinarily come from a member of that group. It comes from someone outside. This outsider, when he calls a group lawless, seldom, if ever, as a matter of fact, possesses any reliable information as to the group's actual habits, for statistics of "offenses known to the police" are virtually nonexistent in most countries, and where they are available they reflect not the extent of criminality but merely the degree of police efficiency.

The outsider says that this social group—which, remember, is usually not his own—is lawless because it does not behave toward his standards and prejudices as he behaves toward them. Thus Mr. Ghandi and his fellow-Indians are lawless, judged from the norm of their English administrators, because they persistently prefer to disobey English laws. An Englishman does not marry at the age of twelve, does he? He does not try to wreck the textile industry by making his cloth at home, does he? Of course not. The London bobby is his friend, enforcing his laws. The British soldier in India is simply the London bobby away from home, enforcing English laws in India. Clearly, to the conventional Englishman, those Indians who disobey those laws are lawless.

Not long ago a good many Americans characterized the nationalists of Nicaragua as lawless. Sandino and his cohorts fought against the established order. Because American Marines were sent down there to help preserve the established order, Sandino felt called upon to shoot at them, too. In the eyes of Americans with a financial stake in Nicaragua, Sandino and his nationalists were a lawless group, no better than brigands. So quickly do we forget our own revolutionary history!

The truth is that the entire concept of lawlessness is confused by the narrowness of group attitudes, by the prevalence of self-

ish interests, and by the relativity of legal standards—especially the last. As Pascal has remarked: "Three degrees of latitude reverse all jurisprudence; a meridian decides the truth," and "Theft, incest, infanticide, and patricide have all had a place among the virtues."

The term "lawlessness" is thus more often used as an epithet charged with emotion than as a sober description of fact. Everyone is familiar with the generalization that in certain races or nations there is an "instinct" or a "tendency" to lawlessness. When a gangster in this country is discovered to have been born in Sicily, say, the generalization comes to light: "Aha! He was born in Sicily. All Sicilians are brigands. The Sunday rotogravures prove that. Lawless, that's what they are!" Or if a man is arrested for making alleged wild-eyed remarks before a crowd in a public place, and is discovered to have been born in Russia, he is obviously a communist, and therefore probably worse than a brigand. A convenient rule of thumb, you see; and as accurate as most rules of thumb.

The generalization that in certain races or nations there is an "instinct" or "tendency" to lawlessness is patently absurd. It is peculiarly absurd when it purports to be based upon the fact that in a given country acts frequently occur, which, while within the law of that country, would be criminal if committed in many other countries. That form of "lawlessness" merely means that not all social groups have the same criminal code.

The notion that there may be national or racial tendencies to lawlessness appears, at first glance, to become a little more plausible when it is asserted that some nations are peculiarly accustomed to infringe their own laws. It is possible, though there are no adequate statistics to confirm it, that the French are less given to obedience to the provisions of the enacted code than the English. And much has been made of "American lawlessness"; it is frequently observed that our Constitution was adopted in direct violation of the articles of Confederation, that our "best citizens" in some sections proudly defy the Eighteenth

Amendment, and that every American infringes numerous penal laws every day.

But it must first be noted that in this habit of ignoring their own laws the French and Americans are not unique: every group violates not only the rules that other groups consider important but even some of its own rules. All groups have their pseudo-standards, their "pretend rules." It is part of the rules of any group to break some of its own rules. Greeks and Trobrianders, New Yorkers and Hottentots, not only preserve but currently produce apparently significant rules which they circumvent or openly violate, but which they refuse to abandon. It may possibly be true (although I doubt it) that France and the United States are more addicted to the enactment of "pretend rules" and more reluctant to repeal them than England. It is probably true that national modes of dealing with un-repealed pseudo-standards differ; the French and Americans perhaps prefer openly to break such rules, while the English prefer to circumvent them by deft use of legal exegesis, subtle judicial interpretations. But the alleged pseudo-standardism of the French or Americans may be fully as conducive to group welfare as the much-praised civism of the English. Regardless of these differences, in all groups the pretense of strict obedience to the law is customarily maintained as an ideal; and even when statutes have been enacted which go beyond the point where widespread enforcement is possible, the cry of "law enforcement" is continually raised.

Since the violation of some laws is a normal part of the behavior of every member of every group, "lawlessness" reduces to a charge of a mistaken selection of the existing laws which are to be ignored. It is evident that the notions of what constitutes such a mistaken selection vary from group to group and are not uniform even within any particular group. Religious, political, and economic stratifications cut across each legal community; the attitudes of any individual are conditioned by a complex of influences impinging upon him from his various relationships.

His conception of what laws may be violated or ignored without serious hurt to his "moral sense" is likely to be a resultant of these influences. By appropriate selection any subgroup can prove that some other subgroup is lawless. Thus the lawlessness of the "lower classes" is likely to run in terms of crimes of violence, that of the "upper classes" in terms of crimes involving fraud.

The seeming lawlessness of any group is the result of the gap between the legal standards apparently set by the political community and the more exigent ethical standards and psychological drives operative within that particular group. That part of the "law" that is placed on the statute-books rests at best on a narrow base, which is made all the narrower by the successive selective processes that are at work in modeling it. What is placed on the statute-books is in theory the expression of a "general will"; in actuality it is the expression of the wishes of the dominant political group or economic class, or (most frequently) the result of the interaction of various pressure groups, or, sometimes, the notions and verbal habits of the lawyers who drafted the legislation. Which of the statutes that are thus enacted will appear to be broken depends on further selection through the activities of the law-enforcing agencies. If a police chief or a public prosecutor determines to enforce a specific statutory provision, then violation of that provision will become "law-breaking," while other statutory provisions that are not thus enforced remain in obscurity. In this way discrimination in the arrest and prosecution of the foreign-born will make those groups seem unusually lawless. Still more important there remain, as the final selective agencies, the judge and the jury. No matter who violated the statutes, only those whom the judge and the jury (correctly or incorrectly) find guilty will appear as law-breakers.

The modern state brands direct private vengeance "lawless," and claims a monopoly of crime punishment; the judicial process has become the lawful substitute for private war; it supplants the quarrel with fists, or with lethal weapons, by the bat-

tle of the courtroom. But in that battle there are elements that may be of incalculable harm to the group spirit. The barbarity of third-degree police methods is notorious. And even in courtroom procedures such "lawful" devices as the failure to reveal important evidence, the deliberate obscuring of issues, the brow-beating of foreigners, the appeal to the crude prejudices of a jury are not unknown. Added to this is the unequal financial capacity of the various classes for a prolonged court battle. Together these factors may make of court procedure an instrument of chicane and of the oppression of the innocent and the submerged. And as the state monopoly of crime punishment is often inefficiently administered, many criminals are protected from harm at the hands of law-abiding citizens who obey the law which forbids private vengeance. Such results may be more subversive of group welfare than is the "lawlessness" of open brigandage or outright murder.

Once it is recognized that relativity, ethnocentrism, and egocentrism are inherent in the concept of lawlessness, the problems of so-called frontier "lawlessness" and immigrant "lawlessness" change their character. The frontiersmen faced a social situation which seemed to them to demand that the laws prohibiting self-help, made in more settled communities, should be selected for non-enforcement. Those pioneers were no more lawless than are New Yorkers, who seldom if ever seek to enforce the statute making male adultery a crime. Alleged lawlessness of any subgroup when carefully scrutinized usually turns out to be the breaking of laws made elsewhere or by someone else—the someone else being sometimes a past generation. Often the subgroup accused of lawlessness, acting under the pressure of a specific social situation (often involving too rapid social transition), is making a revised choice of these rules, which are to be treated as "pretend rules." In these terms modern urban racketeering, the Mafia and Camorra in America, and the seeming lawlessness of the second generation of immigrants or of Negroes in the United States are in some considerable measure explicable. In the same way one finds a key to a

product of capitalist society: the violation of the criminal code in the exploitation of the huge chances for profit under individualist enterprise where the stakes are high is an instance; the situation is a rapidly shifting one, and the slow-moving legislative and judicial machinery has left what some business men consider "irritating obstacles" in the way of business enterprise.

To summarize, then, little help and much hindrance in dealing with the problems of social control are rendered by the use of the word "lawlessness." At its best it connotes an absence of "law." But, as I said at the outset, the symbol "law" is itself fatally ambiguous; since by usage it may properly be employed to symbolize a large number of different subject matters, there is a slowly growing inclination to abandon it as a useful label. Lawlessness as a symbol is still more vague and confusing. It should be excluded as far as possible from the vocabulary of careful students of society. Whenever it is encountered, it should be subjected to wise skepticism, washed in what Mr. Justice Holmes called "cynical acid."

To maintain this attitude toward such concepts as law and lawlessness is not always easy. But this attitude is peculiarly important at the present time. Under the impact of catastrophe, the majority of people in our country are applauding the efforts of the national government, guided by our President, to bring about important changes in our economic organization. Those changes, in so far as they are embodied in legislation, will be challenged in court by selfish and shortsighted interests. To the extent that the judges fail to recognize that "law"—and especially so-called "constitutional law"—is not a rigid thing but a concept vague in its meaning and adjustable to meet changed circumstances and altered social requirements, the new political and economic program may be frustrated. But public opinion, adequately informed as to the true nature of legal institutions and concepts, can create an intellectual atmosphere which, directly and indirectly, will have its effects on the judicial response to that program when it comes into court.

EMOTIONAL RESPONSES TO ECONOMIC CHANGE

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EVERY thoughtful person interested in the human aspects of our economic upheaval has been asking: What effects are these changes having upon the mental and emotional life of adults and children caught in the whirlpool where an unprecedented number of people have been deprived of their chance to earn? It is quite unnecessary for me even to mention the changes—they have affected everyone to a greater or lesser extent. All I need to do here is merely to state that back of them we have the individual, alone and in groups, reacting and adapting to conditions over which he has little control and which have been forced upon him.

We live in a civilization where economic upheavals do effect the lives of human beings in intimate ways. The possession of money plays an important influence on where and how we live. Few aspects of human life are not influenced by it. Money insures the possessor of food, clothing, and shelter. But it does a great deal more than this. In no small measure the value of the individual to the community is expressed in money. Our educational philosophy has stressed also the meaning of money, and the child early in life learns that it possesses great potency—to gain desired objects, to bring pleasures, respect from others, etc. Money acquires a symbolic value in our culture that is related to self-respect, place in the community, and determines the capacity to control not only our own future but also the destiny of others.

It is quite natural that human beings should require as much certainty in life as it is possible to get; they do not like uncertainty, although it is as much a part of everyone's reality as certainty. But we crave certainty in our affectional lives, in our

jobs, in the continuity of income, etc. There are not many individuals who get their satisfactions by seeking out the unknown and leaving behind those things with which they are familiar. Money and the continuity of earning capacity represent one of the common sources of certainty and therefore of security. Usually we think of the person with funds, "He has nothing to worry about." The possession of money does symbolize certainty and a control of the future to most human beings.

What does my present earning capacity mean to me emotionally; how much of my security comes from the fact that I am employed or that I have the means to provide the basic needs of living; what would be my reaction to being deprived of these resources? Through such questions we get some appreciation of the meaning of these things in our own situations and come to recognize what an important element money and its possession play in our lives. This seems to be particularly true of the continuity of income.

I wonder if the following poignant example does not illustrate a common feeling. A man without work gets a regular monthly allowance from a relative. He has a small amount saved which he is not using, but when sickness comes into the family he is asked if he could forego temporarily his monthly check and live on his savings. He prefers turning in all his savings to meet the emergency rather than forego the monthly check, which to him symbolizes continuity and was the source of far more comfort and security than the savings ever could be. These represented something fixed and were part of the past; the income represented his future. Giving up the savings involved more money than giving up the monthly check, but that amount carried an emotional value which the other did not have.

This example illustrates a basic attitude. It is the attitude of the man, the woman, or the family toward the Saturday-night pay check, the monthly salary check. This represents themselves in the present and carries their hope for the future; it is the thing which continues. Banks can close and thieves can

steal the stocking and the emotional response will be different and less disturbing than when Saturday comes around without an envelope. It is his symbol of being part of the world as well as the means to procure for self and family the things which make life possible and durable. Little wonder that the readjustments required by an indefinite discontinuation of this symbol of security arouse crippling emotional responses in many.

There can be no doubt that during periods of prosperity the reliance placed on money for acquiring satisfactions and pleasures of life is enhanced greatly. Then a period comes along when money is less abundant or even disappears and individuals are confronted with forced curtailments and changed standards of living. These changes have caused, and will continue to cause, tremendous suffering, and this fact may blind us to the fact that some constructive values have arisen out of the efforts stimulated to meet the conditions forced on people. There can be no question but that many people have been required and have been able to develop emotional and intellectual resources never utilized during more prosperous days. In many instances security of a different and more valuable type has resulted.

There accrues to many people a real sense of achievement in meeting realities forced on them by the loss or marked reduction of income. The pride that is exhibited by certain family groups over the accomplishment of living on a few dollars a week is indicative of this. They are meeting a situation forced on them, and satisfaction comes from being able to do it and to accept restrictions and take on tasks never required in a more prosperous period. A family of six adults, all of them having had good incomes, found themselves cut off from most of their earnings. They pooled their resources and found they had about six dollars a week for food. The woman, with real pleasure, told how she had maintained the appearance of the table, giving daily fresh vegetables and fruit acquired by careful shopping. As this story was related to me, I was struck by the real sense of satisfaction that had resulted from maintaining the home on this basis.

A young woman makes a smart outfit for two dollars and her picture goes in the paper. This is an achievement that would have created an attitude of apology a few years ago. Similarly, the pride previously associated with having some expensive luxury has been replaced by a feeling of apology for having the same thing. Most women giving a party today are as proud of its simplicity as they formerly would have been of its luxury. It has become bad taste to give expensive prizes and to lavish favors on guests.

These simple examples illustrate a basic shifting of values. There is a universal desire to share some of the deprivations forced so drastically on many. A large number of families and individuals are reordering their standard of values and mode of living, and are adapting themselves to frustrations beyond their control. Many are getting the same satisfaction that accrues when individuals challenged to meet a difficult problem find they have the capacity to do it. There is real emotional growth stimulated by these efforts.

I feel that these constructive aspects have been limited to those who have retained control of their situation and have not been reduced to a state of impotency and inaction. I can see nothing constructive in placing an individual in a situation where he is helpless to control his own destiny through being deprived of a chance to earn his own living. The scars left on those confronted with this situation may never be visible to the outside world, but it is hard to conceive of any constructive influence on the mental life of the individual following any long-continued state of helplessness. But conditions which reduce one person to a state of impotency will stimulate another to action. The emotional and intellectual resources which an individual can utilize may determine as much as does the situation whether or not the individual feels helpless.

It is probably true that individuals do react and adapt to serious modifications in their lives in somewhat the same way. They utilize the same resources within themselves when required to adapt to an important change. One who is reduced to a state

of helplessness and fear by the death of a person intimately woven into his emotional life will probably be rendered helpless by a radical shift in his economic base.

However, there does seem to be something intrinsically different in the quality of anxiety stirred by changes which are forced on the individual by outside influences and of which it can be said, "I did not bring this about." While economic difficulties do affect the personal lives of people, yet there is a definite impersonal element in the influences which have brought about this condition. Anxieties associated with economic worries are related to definite things which are real and tangible. In fact, the impersonal and tangible nature of such worry frequently makes possible a displacement of anxiety belonging to other things and enables the individual to handle this feeling with less evidence of disturbance. On the other hand, the anxieties of a more intrinsic type—those intimately woven into the emotional fabric of the individual—have not the same tangible externalized form and meaning, and can be more disrupting on behavior. It seems quite significant that a relatively small percentage of mental disease is directly related to economic worries. This etiological factor is given as the most prominent one in 6.3 per cent of the first admissions to the New York state hospitals in 1932 as against 2.2 per cent in 1929.¹

Menninger recently reported a study made on 646 cases of functional illness and found financial losses as an important causative factor in 6.2 per cent of the cases, and concluded that "financial reverses play a minor rôle as a causal factor of mental disease." In fact, he found this cause operating more commonly during prosperous periods.² There seems to be general agreement among state-hospital authorities that there have been no significant increases in admissions during this period of strain and that economic worries are more commonly precipitating factors than etiological factors. This type of strain enables

¹ Personal communication, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene.

² Menninger and Chedester, *Jour. AMA*, May 6, 1933, p. 1400.

other influences held in check during periods of economic security to become active enough to precipitate a psychosis.

The strain of living even during prosperous times is contributing to the increase in mental disease, and today mental sickness constitutes one of our largest medical social problems. At present, we have the strain of living increased and conditions imposed upon people favoring the release of unhealthy emotional responses. There is reason to believe that during the next decade conditions of the last few years will tend to increase the number of mental breakdowns.

Some of the same considerations apply to suicide. There has been a definite increase in the suicide rate during the last three years. In 1931 the suicide rate in the registration area of the United States Public Health Service was 16.8 suicides in each 100,000 of population as compared to 13.3 in 1927. The figures have been steadily climbing since 1928, but they were equally high between the years 1908-15.³

Large numbers of suicides are precipitated by economic reverses. Periods of economic strain do stir fears and feelings of despair that lead to this result, and yet other influences usually are found that have been brought into activity by the effects associated with economic reverses.

The number of suicides and the admissions to mental hospitals tell little about the struggles and feelings of great masses who find this common situation the focal point around which revolve anxiety, fear, despair, rebellion, and other emotions disrupting in their effect. There can be no doubt that crippling emotions of this type have been released by conditions of the last few years.

We have to rely on observation for many of our facts. One difficulty with facts of this type is the tendency to read our own imagined feelings. Most of us feel that a person without job or money has every reason to be bitter, depressed, rebellious, because we think we would feel that way under similar circum-

³ Figures obtained from the U.S. Public Health Service and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

stances. But there are many who are meeting this situation with little outward disturbance. At least, they are keeping up a front. Observe people in the street, particularly in sections affected heavily by unemployment, and watch their actions and facial expressions. There is little evidence of any disturbed feeling. How very little such casual observation may mean! A patient once told me, "I want people to think I am a stoic—cold and without feeling, and most of my friends think I am"—and in answer to my comment, "But that is not the way you really feel," she said, "Decidedly not." This probably represents the situation of many who maintain a good front.

But that such a large mass of people faced with poverty and no prospects of an income can retain any perspective and some degree of cheerfulness is a tribute to the capacity of human beings to adapt and to accept responsibility for themselves under extremely difficult circumstances.

Several common emotional reactions are being stirred by strains related to economic distress, particularly in those rendered helpless to control their situation. The most common reaction is anxiety and worry—feelings which become exaggerated into fear, panic, and despair in more serious manifestations. Present changes have aroused some anxiety in nearly everyone whose income is in jeopardy. Uncertainty arouses this feeling. But anxiety may only be a natural part of the planning which goes on as people meet the changed situations which have been forced on them. The more violent expressions of this feeling grow out of helplessness and not being able to see anything ahead, feelings which do have a paralyzing effect upon human effort. Fears of this type certainly are being aroused now.

The sensitiveness and feelings of shame have been exaggerated in many, not only by the loss of job, but by some of the conditions arising from lack of funds. Shame does become associated with receiving help—with not having proper clothes to wear and with other evidences of a changed economic status. The very nature of these feelings means they are concealed and the world never knows the extent of them.

The first reactions to a loss of job and reduction of income usually are quite severe and for many it is a personal affront. This naturally is the first reaction and frequently is regarded as evidence of personal failure. Later it becomes a less personal affair and the universal and impersonal nature of the condition is recognized and accepted, and life goes on at a different level with a restoration of values.

The third group of reactions, frequently growing out of the first, are those characterized by apathy, indifference, and feeling of "What's the use?" In the summer of 1932, Philadelphia went for three months without any relief funds. Thousands of families were left without any visible means of support. Several workers, interested in knowing how people were meeting this situation, visited many of their families and were impressed with the amount of apathy they observed. Many seemed like lost children who had passed through a period of anxiety and were now dulled into a state of little feeling. A man, previously energetic, dulled into a state of helplessness by continued efforts to find work, stays in bed a good share of the day until prodded by an irritable wife to get out, and then he wanders around the neighborhood. Many individuals in this state will have lost the capacity to work even when it is made available.

The fourth group of reactions is quite different and is characterized by action and aggression. In the milder forms there are irritability and quarreling, particularly in the family groups. In the more exaggerated expressions there are rebellion, bitterness, and hatred.

Physical conditions around the home favor the development of these reactions. Everyone is on edge. Husbands, out of work, are around the house during the day and to preserve their feeling of self-respect many become autocratic with wife and children. Wives, in turn, worried about the situation taunt the man because he is not working and urge him to get out. Children, sensitive to tension, become fretful and quarrelsome and frequently become the target of the adult irritability. Large numbers of families have doubled up, bringing all into close physical

proximity to one another and making it much harder for anyone to have any privacy. Doubling-up of families constitutes one of the most important sources of disturbed emotions and has made it much harder for individuals and family groups to retain their sense of unity and individuality.

There are two factors at least which have probably diminished the intensity of the emotional upheavals growing from present conditions: First, conditions have been forced on people and have reduced the element of personal blame for the loss of a job. This has not entirely removed the critical attitude toward the unemployed on the part of other members of the family. But it can be said with truth by an unemployed person, "This is not my fault. I am not to blame." For many, on the other hand, this reasoning helps them to shed all sense of responsibility and to assume that they are owed a living, and personal efforts to reconstruct their own independence are diminished or even eliminated. Second, the other factor is the widespread amount of distress and idleness. There are many to share each other's misfortunes, and this makes the situation a more impersonal one. During the early days of the depression there probably was more sensitiveness, which, however, became less as difficulties were shared in common.

On the other hand, there are certain reactions which make it more difficult for the individual in economic distress to retain the remnants of his self-respect. A person dependent upon the funds of others does lose many of his natural rights. There are several illustrations of this. The discussion of the commissary plan of giving relief rests upon the assumption that a person or group no longer has the right to choose even the kind of food to be eaten. They are told what is good for them. The horror that is stirred up when the subject of cash relief is mentioned indicates a common feeling that a person in need of relief has no right to cash to spend according to his own judgment. There is the common expectation of some expression of gratitude from those receiving funds.

These are the common attitudes which exist; they make it

more difficult for the retention of self-respect which, when present, does diminish the effects of crippling emotional responses.

Severe economic reverses offer some people a justification to escape from the world of activity and to accept idleness and dependence with little show of feeling, even with a sense of relief. An impersonal and understandable influence has brought about a situation which they had hoped for, probably unconsciously, but could not justify. They return to the homes of parents, resume the dependent-child rôle, and are contented.

The effects of present economic strains on the emotional life of the child seem to be harder to evaluate than the effects on adults. If the child is influenced emotionally by present changes, it will be largely because of changes brought about in adults and the resulting conditions within the home. Those adults who are meeting present situations with little disturbance are not modifying the reality of the child in any way by their own reactions. On the other hand, when adults are reacting with fear, irritability, bitterness, and apathy, they are creating a home atmosphere hardly conducive to the healthy growth and development of the child.

As yet there is not a great deal of tangible evidence in the overt behavior of children to indicate how these conditions are affecting children adversely. Child-guidance clinics are not getting many problems directly traceable to economic causes. Many juvenile courts report a decrease in delinquencies, and truancy rates in many communities show no significant increases. But these are gross measures and reveal little of the anxiety and perplexity created in the mind of the child when he is surrounded by uncertainty and insecurity in some of his basic needs.

There are some influences under present circumstances which partially have protected the child. Present conditions have created a tangible and, in some ways, an impersonal reality upon which adult anxieties have been focused and drained away from the child. The child has been left somewhat freer to develop, unhampered by excessive anxieties focused on him.

Another fact might be mentioned as lessening some of the emotional strains on children. Children do have great capacity to adapt to a common situation. The depression has been the main source of conversation, the topic uppermost in the minds of both children and adults during the last few years. For many a child it has become a part of living, and finding his lot shared by others means it is more readily accepted by the child. But in spite of these other influences, the total effect of placing a child in a situation where he is uncertain of his next meal, fearful of having a home, forced to stay in a dreary house week after week because there are no shoes or clothing, must be harmful and destructive of those qualities which are the measure of a healthy child.

Older boys and girls, however, ready and anxious to enter the working world, find themselves faced with a peculiarly difficult and potentially destructive emotional situation. They have gone through school; they have at times become restive to get into earning. They have been enthused by the prospect of applying their abilities, and then find a world which says there is nothing for them to do. Their enthusiasm is punctured and their emotional reaction frequently is one of discouragement and disillusionment. It is hard for a youth to get the feeling that he is not needed by anyone.

With a high percentage of the graduating classes of colleges, teacher-training institutions, vocational schools, unable to earn, youth is being forced, at a moment of eagerness and enthusiasm, into a serious emotional deflation, with a development of cynicism, bitterness, and a questioning of all values such as might be summed up in the "Oh, yeah!" philosophy. To me, this seems like one of the more serious products of the present economic chaos.

A study was made by Miss Rosemary Reynolds, of the Family Society of Philadelphia, of the adolescents in 80 families that were partially or wholly dependent on this organization for funds. There were 118 boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen in this group. Several important observations concern-

ing common attitudes were made; I have condensed some of them.⁴

First, open criticism of youth by parents for not being employed was the most common attitude. Those youths who had been employed regularly are blamed more and with greater intensity than those who have never worked. A considerable number of these youths were made the scapegoats for the family's distress.

Second, only 14 of the 80 families were glad to have the opportunity to have their children return to school. The idea of returning to school was not being considered by most of this group.

Third, a large proportion of the girls in this group were staying at home, helping with housework, caring for younger children, and kept under the eye of the mother. Their social life was very limited.

Fourth, the boys in these families eat and sleep at home and spend the rest of their time "hanging around." They are not able to amuse themselves with movies, baseball, dances, because these activities require money, which they do not have.

Others have noted the changes in the social life of youths. Boys are not taking girls out because they have no funds and girls are going out less because of the lack of suitable clothes. The social habits of youth in the lower economic groups are being influenced markedly by the absence of money.

Only a small number had become involved in serious delinquencies. Only five of the group had been to court, in spite of the fact that they were in situations favorable for lawless activity.

Fifth, most of the group were accepting their idleness complacently and did not describe being bored. Once adjusted to being without spending money, they described being fairly content.

Many of this group are forced by parents and their own de-

⁴ Unpublished document written by Miss Rosemary Reynolds, of the Family Society of Philadelphia.

sire to be doing something, to accept totally unskilled jobs at low rates of pay, and are getting "stuck" at that level. There is a common superstition which several youths have told me that you always return to the first job you take. Hence they hesitate to take a job that offers little opportunity. There is some truth in it, and many a youth and adult does become a slave to a poorly paid and stunting job because of the fear to give it up. Present conditions can increase this feeling and thus help to perpetrate a type of industrial slavery that is created by a fear of changing and finding nothing else to do.

The value of youth, probably more than most people are willing to admit, is still measured in terms of economic values by their families, especially in times of acute distress. The value of youth as a wage-earner gets stressed above other values. This emphasis places a greater adaptive strain on youth during periods of stress. Conditions bring more into the foreground a measure of their worth in economic terms, and at the same time it is more difficult to achieve a justification of this value in these terms.

At present we have the situation of millions craving an opportunity to work, to maintain their own integrity, and no one wants them. To millions this is a grave injustice. It is so obviously unfair. There is a resulting release of antagonism and hatred which, when multiplied enough, can lead to social revolution. No social order has been able to survive any long-continued régime where injustice affected large masses of people, particularly those in the middle groups, and these are the groups who have suffered most from conditions forced on them in the last few years.

My final thought is this—that out of the struggle and suffering of the last few years there may emerge a keen sensitiveness to the needs of human beings for healthy living and a quality of courage and vision that may provide the leadership for a social order when conditions which favor such upheavals will be kept under better control.

In conclusion, I recognize that anyone mentioning any con-

structive influences growing from conditions which have caused physical and mental suffering to so many does place himself in danger of being misinterpreted, I hope no one will get the feeling that I have underestimated the chaos which has been created in the emotions of millions who have been forced into the condition we see on every side. No one will ever know the degree or the extent of the suffering except those who have been most seriously effected.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC REFORM

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THERE could scarcely be a more appropriate time to discuss the problems of economic reform than the present moment, when our whole economic order is in process of reorganization and a national administration in Washington goes on record with a declaration that the economic depression is as serious a matter for the country as a war. This recognition of the responsibility of government for the general welfare of the people marks a revolution in political thinking in this country.

Before attempting to analyze the Roosevelt program in detail, I must digress a moment to examine three distinct schools of economic thought with reference to the causes of, and the remedies for, the present depression. There are, of course, a vast multitude of economic ideas circulating at the present time. These three have been selected because their adherents are the most numerous, the most influential, and, generally speaking, the best informed.

I. THE THREE SCHOOLS OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT

The first viewpoint is that which might be called "laissez faire," a school to which a good many conservative economists belong. If you read the writings of Dr. Benjamin Anderson, Jr., economist of the Chase National Bank, in the *Chase Economic Bulletin*, you will get an excellent presentation of this point of view. I wish to use a few extracts from a recent issue (XIII, No. 3) entitled "A Planned Economy and A Planned Price Level."

One of the most dangerous of the proposals of the new economics is that of a so-called "planned economy." Economic life as we have known it has

been, in large measure, an unconscious thing in the sense that no mind or no group of minds has seen the whole picture, and certainly no one mind or group of minds has directed the whole picture. Intelligence runs through it, but it is the intelligence of individuals or of organizations seeking their own particular wages or their own particular profits, seeing their own sources of supply, seeing their own markets, but not seeing with any great clearness the movements of the system as a whole [p. 7].

Under this system of free, private enterprise with free movement of labor and capital from industry to industry, the tendency is for an automatic balance to be maintained and for goods and services to be supplied in right proportions. A social order is created, a social cooperation is worked out, largely unconscious and largely automatic, under the play of the impersonal forces of market prices and wages.

This system obviously predicated a sound money which men can trust. The success of this system, moreover, depends upon its flexibility and the quickness with which readjustments can be made, and this, in turn, depends largely upon the extent to which it is *competitive and free from unified conscious control*.

There is a second school of thinkers who might best be termed "monetary theorists." In general, they are quite in agreement that the price system is inherently a good system. They agree that demand and supply should regulate the prices of individual commodities, but they think that the general price level of all commodities is subject to other important influences.

The main thesis of this group is that *money itself is a causative and initiating factor in producing price changes*, and, more particularly, in the present situation it is the most important factor.

In response to the theory that overproduction brought about a fall in prices, these economists cite the fact that there was no overproduction in 1929. Production and prices both fell together in 1929, but the former was not the cause of the latter.

The obvious implication of this line of thought is that something should be done to stabilize the general price level; there should be a reorganization of our money and credit structure.

The third group of thinkers are those who advocate a "planned economy." Their argument runs something like this:

There is indeed a lack of balance in our economic life, but it is not a special phenomenon due to the war, to post-war international policies, to money, to credit inflation, or to any other of the immediate causes. The lack of balance

is inherent in the system itself; it has occurred over and over again in the past, and it will occur in the future. Prices are not efficient guides to the right production and consumption of goods; in fact, the unregulated price system that we know just won't work. Even had it worked fairly well in the past (which it hasn't) it would be bound to fail in the future, because of the increasing complexity of our economic structure. When everything else has been tried we shall still have to come back to planning.

II. THE REPRESENTATION OF THE THREE SCHOOLS IN THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

All three of these viewpoints are represented in the completed Roosevelt program. Some one may have seemed to dominate the others at various times in the last three months, but they are all there in one form or another.

First, laissez faire. What would the laissez faire economists do in the present emergency? They have often been unjustly accused of not having a program, "do-nothings" who want to sit tight and let time heal all. They do have a program which can be summed up in a sentence—*take off all restrictions and regulations and let business take care of itself*. To be specific their program would include the following: cancel the war debts, lower tariffs, restore the international gold standard, reduce taxes, cut wages, reorganize the capital structure of corporations.

For the most part they are "rugged individualists," "confidence" theorists, who speak of "healthy deflation," "sound money," "inflated wages," etc. Note that this viewpoint is essentially international in its scope.

Second, the monetary theorists have two objectives: an immediate one—inflation; and an ultimate—stabilization. They insist that above all else this is a debt depression; the fall in the price level has overwhelmed us with a heavy burden of debt. It is clear that at the present level of income and property values the burden of fixed indebtedness simply cannot be paid.

From this impasse there are only two modes of escape— inflation or deflation. Either we must cut our debts by the long and costly process of bankruptcy to a level which can be supported

by the price level, or we must raise prices and incomes so that the debts can be paid. Theoretically, there is little to choose between the two. In practice, few can doubt which is preferable. No one who has seen the tragedies of deflation over the last three years—the unemployment, the business failures, the foreclosed farms and homes, the ruined careers, and the general prolonged suffering of the people—can doubt that if any better way can be found we ought to use it. The money economists suggest that a controlled inflation will accomplish the same results at a fraction of the social cost.

The Roosevelt program contains ample provision for inflation. Attached, oddly enough, as a rider to the farm bill, the inflation law gives the President power to raise prices by any one or all of a variety of measures: acceptance of silver in payment of war debts; open-market purchase of government bonds by the Federal Reserve banks; direct discount of United States Treasury notes by the Federal Reserve; reduction of the content of the gold dollar by as much as fifty per cent. So far, aside from the suspension of the gold standard, very little has been done on inflation. A few millions have been received in silver on the war debts and the Federal Reserve has begun the open-market purchase of government bonds.

Third, despite all the powers granted and the moves made on the two preceding points, it is plainly evident that the administration program is heavily weighted in the direction of economic planning. They have concentrated upon devising methods of social and economic control which will revive and maintain prosperity, put men back to work, raise wages and purchasing power, etc. I wish to discuss briefly three of these measures.

THE FARM BILL

The Farm Bill states that it is the definite policy of the government to restore agricultural prices to the parity they enjoyed in 1909-14. When the balance between agricultural and non-agricultural commodities is restored, then the operation of the bill will cease. These results are to be achieved by means of

the old, old principle of restriction of output, and the administrative method is that of laying a processing tax upon the processors of certain agricultural commodities. That is to say, the millers, in the case of wheat, would be required to pay a tax of so much per bushel on all wheat processed by them. They would be free to pass this tax on to the ultimate consumer in the form of higher prices. Meanwhile, the money yielded by the tax would be used to lease wheat land, thus retiring it from production. This last step should have the effect of raising the price of wheat by restricting the supply.

Will this method have the effect of increasing farm income? The answer is "Yes." If a 10 per cent reduction in supply results in a 50 per cent increase in price, then clearly the farmer's total income is larger when there is restriction. Recent market events have amply demonstrated the electric effect of a short crop upon the price of wheat.

Looking to the future, we can say that the Farm Bill is definitely a long-time planning measure. It involves the manipulation of the supply of wheat, cotton, and various agricultural commodities in such a way as to raise the prices to that level which will yield the farmers the highest net return. This is a far cry from "laissez faire."

THE INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT

The theory back of this legislation is that industry is sinking into a state of paralysis. Their enthusiasm and energy chilled by continuous price declines, the profit-makers who manage industry have lost hope and are merely biding their time. Price declines are followed by lay-offs, and lay-offs in turn by further price declines. Somehow this deadlock must be broken, and the normal forces of the market seem helpless to effect this result. It is therefore proposed that our disorganized and disarranged industrial order be set in motion by more or less artificial means. The new methods would attempt to introduce a limited amount of planning into the economic processes instead of leaving industry at the mercy of the price system.

The methods by which these results are to be obtained are essentially two in number: the limitation upon competition and the maintenance of prices. Note how closely these two parallel the methods employed in the Farm Bill. The limitation upon competition is brought about by the organization of trade associations and the establishment of codes of fair competition. It is further provided that if certain industries fail to organize themselves into associations the President may, on his own initiative, investigate such industries and establish a code for them. This code would have the full force of those established by the industries themselves.

The enforcement of these codes of fair competition is attained by means of a licensing system; the President has the authority to institute a system of licenses whenever he sees it necessary to do so. It is in this connection that prices are mentioned.

The limitation of competition and the maintenance of fair prices are designed to benefit the business man, the profit-maker of industry. However, there is a second aspect of this problem which must not be overlooked. It is not enough that industry should become profitable again; it is essential that the proper balance between all the factors engaged in production should be established and maintained. Some provision must be made, therefore, for labor. No permanent prosperity can be achieved until labor's purchasing power is restored. What does the Act provide on this point?

In general, labor's interests are protected by provision for three things: collective bargaining, shorter hours, and minimum wages.

Labor has two sources of protection. Provision is made for the development of its own strength through collective bargaining; the theory here is that powerfully united action would enable the workers to obtain from employers a fair share of the product of industry. But if this fails, the government itself steps into the breach and helps prescribe hours of work and rates of pay which shall be fair to the workers. The President may, on his own initiative, investigate an industry and establish such hours and rates of pay as he deems necessary.

It is rather difficult to present a simplified economic analysis of this bill. It is with some timidity that I even attempt any economic summarization. However, I might indicate briefly a few simple points. In the first place, industry is going to find itself operating with costs and prices somewhat fixed. Wages constitute one very important cost and they are certainly going to be fixed in relation to prices. Selling prices themselves must not be cut unduly or the business man may find himself in difficulties with the association. Under such circumstances profits will be determined by the volume of business done, and there might be an incentive toward overproduction, with eventual piling-up of stocks and final price collapse. Almost certainly, however, the trade associations will attempt to limit the production of the individual firms, perhaps even by some quota system. It is hard to see how restriction of output can be kept out of the picture. This would mean that we might never again reach the feverish productive activity of 1929, but on the other hand, it might prove that stabilized and regulated production are giving the best results in the long run.

How will labor fare under this régime? It will probably mean greater total man-hours of employment but, by means of the shorter week, this employment will be spread more equitably over the total laboring population. Purchasing power will be maintained by increasing wages. Our actual physical production will be less, and there will be fewer goods to distribute, but labor will gain greatly in leisure time.

THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE ACT

The problem of getting the unemployed back to work is not necessarily solved by the provision of additional jobs. We have to insure that the workers will be able to find those jobs which become available. It is to this aspect of the labor problem that the Employment Office Bill is directed. Briefly stated, this bill provides for a federal employment service which is designed to supplement, co-ordinate, and stimulate the activities of the public offices in the various states. The government itself is taking a hand in improving the mechanism of the labor market.

There is plenty of placement work to be done in the immediate future in finding jobs for the millions of unemployed at the present time. When this major task has been completed, there will still remain the permanent problem of placing the workers who lose their jobs even during the best of times. And undoubtedly this normal rate of labor turnover is going to be higher in the future than in the past, if for no other reason than that the volume of so-called technological unemployment will be greater than ever.

At this point I must digress to clarify some of the misconceptions which are widely held on this subject. It is no wonder that the average person is greatly confused in his ideas; many of the economists themselves talk as though they were confused. One day you read in the papers that technological unemployment is growing apace because of the rapid introduction of machinery. The technocrats have intimated that in the near future nearly all of us will be technologically unemployed. At the same time, and even on the very same page of the paper, you may read a statement by a prominent economist to the effect that "there is no such thing as permanent technological unemployment; in the long run machines create as many jobs as they destroy." Between these extremes where does the truth lie?

Let me see if I cannot partly reconcile these contradictory statements. The conflict arises, I think, from a misconception as to the meaning of "technological unemployment."

Industrial change is continually producing labor turnover. The movement of plants from one section to another, the decline of old firms and the rise of new ones, the introduction of machinery and improved processes, etc.—all these result in the firing of some workers and the hiring of others. Perhaps the best way to put it is to say that labor is continually being displaced from old jobs and continually being reabsorbed in new ones. Where does unemployment come in? The answer is, of course, that the finding of the new jobs takes time; there is a certain volume of unemployed labor always in transition from one job to the other, and the longer it takes to find work the larger this

volume of unemployed is. We may say, then, that the amount of unemployment existing at any one time is dependent upon two factors: first, the rate of displacement; and, second, the rate of reabsorption. If these two rates are equal, then the pool of unemployed in transition remains constant. If the rate of reabsorption exceeds the rate of displacement (as is the case in the country at the present time), then the pool of unemployed is drawn down. If the rate of displacement exceeds the rate of reabsorption, then the pool of unemployed grows larger.

Now if we want to keep our minds clear on this point we should talk about technological displacement and not technological unemployment. Mechanization has its immediate effect in the displacement of the workers, and here its importance can scarcely be exaggerated. In fact, it seems likely that the more advanced our economic system becomes the higher will be the rate of displacement. However, this need not lead to a large volume of unemployment if the rate of reabsorption increases proportionately. Society must center its attention upon this aspect of the problem and speed this rate up as high as possible. This is better social policy than attempting to slow down the rate of displacement. It is in this connection that we think of employment offices.

III. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

In any program of such far-reaching import there will almost certainly be many theoretical and practical difficulties involved. And considering the extremely short period of time in which this program has been evolved, it would be almost miraculous if there were none. For purposes of analysis, I should like to classify all these problems into two major groups: first, those arising out of logical complications—logical inconsistencies, inherent contradictions, erroneous assumptions, etc.; and, second, those growing out of the actual contact of the program with the existing institutional economic structure. All of these I have

elected to call practical problems. First, let us review a few of the logical difficulties.

International and domestic policies.—Worst of all is the serious contradiction which exists between the exigencies of the domestic American situation and the necessities of the international situation. The cry at the London Conference was for stabilization of international exchange rates and for the restoration of the gold standard. Almost equally imperative was the demand for lower tariffs and the removal of restrictions on the international exchange of commodities. But the adoption of this program would immediately place our domestic inflation and planning programs at the mercy of other countries. The stabilization of the American dollar might halt the rise in prices in this country and might even cause a resumption of the deflation which was going on prior to March 4. In like manner the prosecution of the domestic program will almost certainly involve the use of measures which hamper and restrict international trade and co-operation.

Inflation and planning.—Clearly, these two phases of the program do not follow the same road. If inflation is resorted to, business may revive, owing to the monetary stimulus. In proportion, as this revival takes place, there is less immediate need for any comprehensive economic planning. On the other hand, a planning system, with its slow and ponderous adaptations to economic change, would be speedily disrupted by uncontrolled monetary expansion.

Inconsistencies of planning.—Even within the planning program itself there are certain logical difficulties. The clearest example involves prices in industry and agriculture. If agricultural prices are badly out of line and must be raised in order to restore the balance, then industrial prices must either be held stable or probably lowered. However, the wage program and limitations on competition will both work in the direction of raising industrial prices also. Yet if this takes place, the balance between agriculture and industry will not be restored and the economic situation will be as precarious as before.

Relationship of wages and prices.—The purchasing power of the consumer (chiefly labor) is considered to be too low. It is suggested that this purchasing power be increased by raising wages, but of course the effect might be largely nullified if prices rose proportionately. I might add that I do not take this problem as seriously as some people do. There has been a lot of nonsense written on this point in the last few months. I must not take time to examine the question here, but I should like to indicate briefly that I do not expect retail prices to rise faster than consumer purchasing power. A lot of people are confusing the present situation with that which existed during the war, whereas there is no comparison between the two periods. At that time we loaned billions of dollars in purchasing power to the allied nations, and this money was used to buy American products which were then exported. Of course, under those circumstances retail prices could rise faster than the purchasing power of American consumers because the export demand was competing with the domestic. At the present time I see no prospect of any such tremendous demand from abroad, and my conclusion is that retail prices will follow the rise in consumer purchasing power, not precede it.

I might go on with a number of other points but I think the foregoing will be sufficient. It should be clear that the Roosevelt program has not yet been integrated and unified. It still contains contradictory and conflicting policies which will sooner or later have to be resolved.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Under this heading I should like to discuss the question of what will actually happen. The fact that there are certain logical complications in a program is no indication that it will not somehow work itself out in concrete results. One of the conflicting policies will be dropped overboard and then the other can find an outlet. It is my conviction that in the immediate future the international policies of the administration will give way before the demands of the domestic. I do not look to see any great

changes wrought by the London Conference. I am quite sure that the necessity for speed at home is so great that this will take precedence over everything else. So I am inclined to think that we are at the beginning of an era of supernationalism engineered oddly enough, by the most internationally minded administration we have had in Washington since the time of Woodrow Wilson. This is merely another illustration of the logic of circumstance.

So, too, I should expect the various conflicting aspects of the domestic program to be somehow ironed out. As this program comes in contact with the hard realities of our economic structure (I am thinking particularly of our institutional realities), it is certain to undergo some decided changes. Hazardous as it is to forecast under present conditions, I am going to suggest some of the things that I think will survive in the long run.

In the first place, the great inequality in power of the trade associations representing the employers and the labor organizations representing the workers will prevent the most effective operations of the Industrial Recovery Act. The trade associations have been looking forward to this for years. They will soon be powerfully integrated organizations, too powerful to be disregarded within their own sphere and perhaps powerful enough to dominate the government itself. The anti-trust laws are gone for good.

On the other hand, labor organizations at present are for the most part weak and ineffective. They are in no position to take advantage of the law as the employers are. I read in one of the papers that for the first time since 1892 the employees of the Carnegie Steel Company were being allowed to choose employee representatives on a board to deal collectively with the management. The plan will run for the duration of the Industrial Recovery Act. This is a simple company union which will have very little independent bargaining power on behalf of labor. If the trade unions were able to organize effectively, then the balance between workers and employers might be maintained. As it is, labor will get what it does get largely through the help of

the government. Hence, if the government eventually shifts to the side of the employers, labor will cease to play much of a part in the program.

Another long-run difficulty is that of flexibility. The program may work nicely, but only in one direction. It will be easy to organize industry, to raise prices, to restrict output, etc.; but how will we get changes in the other direction? What industry will be willing to sanction a lowering of its prices in order to bring them into line with those of other industries? There is the danger that over a period of years a system may become more and more brittle, more and more mercantilistic. If the restriction is severe enough we might, in spite of all our efforts, build up another large volume of unemployment, and the total output of goods would certainly continue to be far below our productive capacity.

Still further, there is a serious threat to our present political system. If the economic balance is to be as unstable as I indicated above, there is certain to be a political drift in one direction or the other. The employing groups will strive to elect their representatives to the governmental offices so that in time they might control the government itself and we would have something approaching industrial Fascism. On the other hand, the workers, having learned to rely upon government, might turn from economic to political action, hoping to use the powers of government to change our economic system over into Socialism.

Finally, we cannot ignore the implications of a policy of economic isolation. It will mean the development of great super-nationalistic states, each endeavoring to be economically super-ficient. Mr. J. M. Keynes thinks that this would not necessarily lead to war, but no one can deny the grave dangers involved in it.

All in all, it seems that the Roosevelt program has great potentialities for ill, at least so far as our present economic and political order is concerned. The sad part of it is that these potentialities seem to be more in the nature of probabilities if we let things drift. Let us look, therefore, at the other side of the pic-

ture. In the light of this situation, what are our possibilities? In what way might we—you and I and all other people interested in the common welfare—bring our influence to bear upon future developments? What should we strive to accomplish?

IV. ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES

The first and most important principle which has been established by the economic program of the present administration is that of governmental responsibility for a more stable and orderly economic system. Regardless of how well the economic planning program turns out in detail, I think that the principle itself should and will survive. It may take years of study and experimentation to determine just what controls should be exercised by government, but we have every reason to hope that we can discover the effective methods of control. We certainly cannot look forward to a return to the system which has worked so badly in the past.

Second, it seems to me that one of the most important controls with which we are now experimenting is that of money and credit. I for one am not willing to take a position that the price system cannot be made to work effectively. I do feel sure that society will not long countenance the instability of the last fifty years, an instability which is largely due to violent swings in prices. If and when we achieve a reasonable stability of the general price level, then we shall have a real test as to the possibilities of the price system. If it will not work under those circumstances, then I shall be among the first to recommend its abolition.

However, let me record here my firm conviction that reasonable stability of general prices can be obtained, and that this can be done by money and credit control through some central agency. Certainly the Senate investigations of recent weeks should amply demonstrate the extent to which industry is dominated by the banks. Even if I were striving for a planned production, I can think of no better way of obtaining my objective than by controlling the credit which the producers could get.

I cannot conceive of an effective planning system which does not involve this money and credit control, and if we have that I think we shall need little else. It is this part of the administration program that I am watching with the most intent interest.

Third, another basic principle which is definitely implied in the program (and which should be supported by all of us) is that of economic security for the mass of the people. Wage-earners need security on the job, the family needs security of income whether the wage-earners are employed or not, all classes need security for their savings, and the business men must have a reasonable security for their businesses. This does not mean that the government can guarantee everything to everyone, but it does mean that the full weight and power of the community as a whole will be thrown in the direction of keeping the economic machine running smoothly on the road of progress. Every step which enhances this security marks a step toward the goal. We may not arrive at an economic order which gives us the maximum possible production, but I feel certain that we shall be a much happier people.

Finally, I am somewhat concerned about the political and economic government under which we shall get this stability and security. Can democracy survive? Or should some system of class government supersede it? If the latter, which class shall dominate—the employers as in Fascist Italy, the middle class as in Nazi Germany, the proletariat as in Soviet Russia? Shall we have Socialism, Communism, or Fascism? I cannot predict; I do not know. I can only hope that the democratic process will not only survive but will extend its influence in both the political and the economic orders. Never in our lifetime have the opportunities for reform been greater, yet the dangers are equally great. We are in the midst of profound economic and political changes, and it is for us to do the best we can in the emergency. The future is in our hands—what shall we make of it?

CONTRIBUTION OF RECREATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF WHOLESOME PERSONALITY

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THE advent of the new era so confidently predicted by students of social change will bring us an accentuated problem of the use of leisure time. It seems entirely likely that the emphasis in education will shift largely from preparation for vocation to preparation for recreation, and with the shift in emphasis from work to leisure we may expect a new interpretation of recreation.

Heretofore recreation has often been regarded as the type of leisure-time activity which renewed the energies of the worker, depleted by his daily task. The strong probability is that the use of automatic and semi-automatic machinery, the routinization of vocational activity, and the shortening of the working week will mean that workers will no longer be so fatigued at the end of the workday that they will crave the type of recreations which give escape from drab reality. In so far as machinery and organization continue to remove the drudgery of brute labor, to that extent will working people approach their free hours with a sense of expectancy and zest for activity as distinguished from mere amusement.

The absence of fatigue may be the crucial factor which will change the expectancies and readinesses of people for recreational activities. Stuart Chase's part-truth that Americans are a race of people who take their recreations sitting down should prove even less true in the new era than is now the case. It seems likely that people who now can be satisfied in their few free hours with the saccharine sentiment of stage, screen, or story, or with attendance upon athletic spectacles, or with oft-repeated

sessions around the bridge table, will experience the need for types of recreation which can utilize long hours of leisure.

The first contribution, then, of recreation toward the development of wholesome personality in the coming era is the supplying of challenging activities, which, as they are carried on, develop ever moving goals. Recreation so conceived as personal growth in skill, power, and appreciation becomes synonymous with education.

But the realization of this high goal for recreation will depend in large measure upon the furnishing of trained leaders of generous outlook and adequate training, and this will hardly be achieved unless the public, taxpayers, and contributors be educated to see in recreation not a pleasant and trifling diversion, but a social force of tremendous consequence for the personal character and national culture. The leadership in such a process of enlightenment must come from educators, psychiatrists, and social workers who have themselves apprehended the present values in recreation and who can anticipate the implications of recreation which exists in and for itself rather than as a utilitarian preparation for further economic activity.

It must be obvious that any discussion of the contributions of recreation to the development of wholesome personality will contain large elements of personal philosophy for two reasons: in the first place, the volume of research information upon the effect of recreation is wholly inadequate to support strong pronouncements, however much the amassing of personal experience may lead one to sharp conclusions; in the second place, the concept of wholesome personality is largely a normative grouping of values set up by psychiatrists, laymen, and accepted by the person carrying on the discussion. With this recognition of the personal bias in mind, let us proceed to a consideration of the bearing of recreation upon personality.

Long before the launching of the mental hygiene movement, certain advocates of recreation were proclaiming the value of a sound mind in a sound body, and were pointing out that recreation produced sound bodies. Sometimes there was a naïve be-

lief that strong bodies, capable of efficient gross physical functioning, automatically contributed to mental wholesomeness. The more astute, however, recognized that while there was interaction between physical health and mental efficiency, the playground and gymnasium still left something to be desired as agencies for developing sound mentality. People might be not only beautiful but dumb, but husky and dumb.

A sound mind in a sound body at best expressed the ideal that the body should be kept in condition so that the purposes of the sound mentality might be achieved in action. Horace Mann has well pointed out that one of the tragic facts of life is the failure of men and women of marked intellect and social spirit to carry through to completion tasks which would enrich community life because they lack physical fortitude in the crises which inevitably arise.

As the understanding of mental hygiene developed, the dichotomy between mind and body tended to disappear as well as the mystical faith in the interaction of the two. Personality was conceived of as the dominant organization of traits and habits, and it was recognized that emotional reactions were as important as the more overt physical and mental reactions. Indeed, the notion grew that probably all of the reactions which are components of the personality, whether they be called mental, physical, or emotional, are basically physiological and as such are capable of training or re-education in accordance with the principles of habit formation.

The wholesome personality is variously regarded by various authorities, and concerning these views, as concerning other values, there can be little profitable dispute. However, agreement upon some elements appears to have been reached. The wholesome personality is that in which the various elements and trends have been so organized that conflict within the individual does not obtrude so as to interfere with health and efficiency. The wholesome personality is one which can carry on the ordinary business of life with efficiency and zest.

A wholesome person is vocationally adequate; he has inter-

ests which keep him occupied in his free time and which leave no aftermath of self-condemnation or doubt; he has resources with which to meet disappointments and disaster, and he gets along with his fellows without undue friction and, in the main, with positive pleasure.

Recreation, apart from formal training, can hardly render a person vocationally adequate, either now or in a new era. But to the degree that recreation sends a person back to his work with his body invigorated and his spirits refreshed, it contributes to vocational adequacy. There are, however, definite possibilities of achieving vocational values in the recreation of children. The vast range of interests and hobbies, including individual and group projects, may serve to quicken an interest which becomes an educational and vocational goal. In fact, such movements as the Scouts' offer as a justification of their merit-badge work, that the sampling of a wide variety of intellectual and hand-craft activities gives a body of prevocational experiences which may help a child to discover an aptitude leading toward a satisfying vocation.

We are inclined to believe that one of the chief values of the coming leisure will be the possibility of adults engaging in types of informal education which possess definite recreational values, but which nevertheless make possible the redirection of vocational life into new channels.

The application of the project method to recreational work, especially among children, makes a contribution of first-rank importance to the development of wholesome personality. Modern recreational leaders, especially in group work, are rejecting superimposed programs of activity and are, instead, studying the interests of people for the purpose of helping individuals engage in leisure-time ventures which enlist their whole-hearted activity.

As Frederick Lyman Wells has said, a prime requisite for mental health is the possession of sets of interests which act as balancing factors in times of stress. Religion and philosophy constitute such factors, but so do golf, chamber music, clay-

modeling, swimming, and amateur chemical experimentation. When the storms of life break over the heads of people who have no interests outside of their jobs and their emotional ties with relatives, they are in danger of going to pieces. But those who possess even a single absorbing interest, whether it be stamp-collecting or travel, are in a better position to stand bereavement, disappointment in people, or financial ruin.

Since the schools have not as yet caught the vision of the kind of life which modern people are undoubtedly going to live, and since, to a large degree, they follow stereotyped ideas of teaching subjects which presumably have utilitarian values, they constantly thwart present interests and crush enthusiasms. The result too often is that students emerge with a sense of boredom and a determination never again to have anything to do with history, literature, drama, music, science, or the arts and crafts. If these people are to be aided to see that

The world is so full of a number of things
I'm sure we should all be happy as kings,

it will be the task of recreational leaders to bring this about.

The acceptance of the project principle in recreation is particularly sound from the mental hygiene point of view because of the recognition that the feeling of enthusiasm for the activity is more important than the mere performance of the activity itself. Performance gives an experience of activity, but zest furnishes the motive power by which one can carry on to ever widening areas of experience, despite the lack of leadership.

The combination of achievement with zest is important to the development of sound personality. Without success in the achievement of one's purposes there can be no sense of confidence and self-esteem, and the psychiatrist will testify to the centrality of adequately based self-esteem in the make-up of sound personality. Some degree of success is necessary in the major areas of life, but if the individual is frustrated in vocational, sex, or social endeavors he may still obtain a measure of fulfilment in leisure-time activities.

The experience of success is particularly important in the emotional life of children, and a society which recognizes that personality does not just happen, but that its development is susceptible of intelligent direction and control, will provide for all of its children's opportunities for graded achievements in formal education and in the areas of recreation.

While we would not deprecate the substantial value of home and school experience, it nevertheless is true that the child's highest valuations are usually placed upon success in those activities of which his fellows see the worth. The youngster, seeking status in his group, finds that he can achieve recognition and attain social security more surely in the recreational areas of experience. Such abilities as running, climbing, swimming, diving, hitting home runs, camping, and canoeing seem more important to children than excellence in school work, punctuality, or faithful performance of home duties.

The child who achieves social security because his worth to the crowd is recognized is on the way to sound adult social adjustment. The researches of Professor W. I. Newstetter and the staff of Wawokiye Camp, as well as the findings of the staff of the Institute of Juvenile Research in Chicago, remove any doubt regarding the high value which children set upon achievement in leisure-time pursuits which bring them the favorable attention of their fellows.

An important instrument in the reshaping of the personality of the child is the leisure-time group. If an adjustment can be made to a group whose values are socially sound, the process of wholesome development is aided. But too often psychiatrists, social workers, and recreational leaders, recognizing the essential values of group adjustment, attempt to place an unadjusted child in a group of children already formed. Nothing can be more cruel than the experience of rejection with which an in-group sometimes greets an outsider who appears strange, inept, or queer. Experience seems to demonstrate that the best way to secure for a child the benefits of group experience which have heretofore been denied him is to fit him into an interest rather

than a sociable group, choosing carefully a group formed for an activity in which the child has already expressed an interest or demonstrated some capacity.

It is important to recognize the tremendous power of the group of leisure-time cronies in misdirecting the aspirations of a child. If status is to be achieved by exploits which his friends value, and if they already have admiration for the child who lies, steals, swaggers, commits sex offenses, plays truant, or runs away from home, these activities will appeal to the youngster. The import of this fact for character development has already been pointed out in the researches of Hartshorne and May, and in the later work of Sorenson.

Communities that are concerned first with the development of ethical character in their citizens will not be misled by petty considerations of economy into depriving their children of recreational opportunities under trained leadership. They will recognize that times of social stress and rapid transition to new social values are precisely the times when false economy proves most costly.

Communities with the long-range view will recognize that if codes of action gain sanction from the recreational group, the sensible thing to do is to give the group such leadership and opportunity for wholesome recreation that socially acceptable values dominate. Herein lies the wisdom of the more recent use of the patrol method in the scouting organizations, and of the clubs formed by the Y.M.C.A.'s, the Y.W.C.A.'s, settlements, churches, and community centers, from groups of friends who habitually play together. It would also seem apparent that group workers would need to recognize the value of bringing social influences into groups of children formed for such special purposes as art or music.

The study of present social trends seems to indicate that within a decade or two the pace of economic life will very definitely have moderated; that people will live in better houses, with more conveniences; overcrowding and concentration in centralized urban areas will largely have disappeared, and physical

mobility will have improved markedly. Greater social security will be offered through insurance and social legislation. The net effect should be to reduce, and even eliminate, many of the strains which now serve to disintegrate personality.

Security and leisure, however, are likely to be achieved at the cost of skill in the performance of challenging tasks; for industry, commerce, and even agriculture appear to be moving inevitably in the direction of specialization, subdivision of tasks, and of necessity toward routine and repetition. The professional man and the small independent craftsman may find fulfilment in their daily work, but for the great majority of men and women the substantial values of achievement will have to be secured outside the walls of the shop, store, or office.

Unless we are to have a generation of people whose sense of achievement rests largely upon the watching of dials, lights, and gauges, and the manipulation of levers, pedals, and buttons—a generation superficially sophisticated because it controls power even though it does not understand its source and nature—we shall need to capitalize the cultural values of recreation as a matter of public policy.

We must provide *now* opportunities to learn those skills which result in personal satisfaction, for the larger leisure is upon us. To complain that increased leisure means the menacing of character because men do not now know the profitable uses of leisure is to forget that the only sound way of learning is by doing. Men will learn to use leisure by having leisure to use, but the community that has learned the lesson of social analysis and planning will prepare its citizens for richness of life and fulness of interest by a sweeping program of public recreation which embraces the whole range of human interest.

An adequate preparation for the use of leisure time would include the teaching of those skills in physical recreation which serve to relax the body, refine its controls, and give a sense of exhilaration through achievement of grace and form. Such activities include swimming, diving, riding, tap and social dancing, tennis, handball, squash, and similar sports. The sense of physi-

cal well-being will not insure sound personality, but it does furnish the pervasive undertone of physical competence and self-respect.

Physical recreation will not suffice to furnish all the elements for a sound personality. The need to achieve security will dictate the establishment of friendly relations with other people. We recognize that among children the success of these relationships depends largely upon athletic achievements and relatively simple social exploits. We may hope, however, that as the tide of American cultural life sweeps on, status will more and more be accorded to people who possess competence in the arts and crafts, and in social relations which affect fundamental community forces. Already we see that in experimental schools the recognition value of mere athletic exploits is being diminished; and that substantial achievement in science, music and art, literature, debate, and social organization gains ascendancy. If we can educate a generation of people to value constructive ability, and sensitivity to beauty, goodness, and truth, the culture of America will be assured.

Finally, we must not overlook, in our emphasis upon social values, that a recreational program which nurtures the whole personality must develop within an individual tastes and interests which he can carry on by himself and for himself. No man is genuinely a free personality if he carries on his activities solely for the approval they bring him from others. Unless he can achieve some interests and tastes which are purely personal in their reference, he will not have the resources for the enjoyment of solitude, and without the ability to think and work occasionally in solitude, he will live life on the basis of superficial reaction to multiple stimuli. His personality will then not be an integrating center for values and drives, but will itself be a chance resultant of social forces, drives, and stimuli. The prophets, mystics, artists, and philosophers have always known the secret that only in the quiet of solitude can a man work out his own values and become his own master. Unless the leaders in mental hygiene and recreation rediscover that truth and help

achieve its realization in human life, their work will be a vain busyness with many things.

Broadly conceived and socially planned recreation will make contributions of inestimable worth to the development of wholesome personality, but we must not expect it to achieve its results in a chaotic social and economic system in which anti-social motives are so largely dominant. We are reminded of the Italian gardener on the Pacific Coast who came to his employer with the statement that he wished to quit his job. Pressed for his reason, he answered that he wanted to go to work for Uncle Sam. He said the government would pay better wages. With regret his employer released him. Six months later the gardener was back, applying for his old job. "Why, Angelo," his employer remarked, "I thought you said Uncle Sam was a better employer. Why did you quit?" Angelo answered, "Uncle Sam, he one big a fool, he don't know what to do. He build a big a light-house in the bay. We put a de stones in de water and build a de house, den we put a de light in de house, and a bell in de house and a fog horn in de house. De bell she ring, de light she shine, and de fog horn go 'Woo, woo'—but de fog, she come in just de same."

Do not expect recreation to stem or reverse the antisocial forces of an unplanned society, but look to it to illuminate personal and social life and to make the world a somewhat better place in which to live.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF THE NEW STANDARD MINIMUM WAGE BILL

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IN THESE days when men of conservative ways are sponsoring legislation that frankly aims to curb the free play of economic forces, a statute that has as its objective the mere prevention of the undercutting of wage standards established by and for an industry for the very weakest group of its employees surely must appear as ultra-conservative. There may be difference of opinion as to the propriety of the particular standard set or the procedure outlined in such a statute, even as to the ultimate effectiveness of its means, but the power over industry that it seeks to exercise in co-operation with industry itself cannot by the most irresponsible fears be pictured as a menace to any economic class.

While it is important that the constitutionality of any measure be judged in its setting of time and circumstance, it would be a mistake to suppose that the constitutional character of our form of government may be ignored. The Constitution survived the World War, and it will survive the great depression. But the depression did bring to all thinking men in March of this year (1933) an experience—emotional, psychologic, and economic—which they can never forget and which cannot help but have a profound effect upon constitutional development. It was of course commonplace to talk of the interdependence of man in our social system, but in the first week of March of 1933 this interdependence was dramatized in a succession of profound events. The theory of social interdependence was forged in the fire of burning reality. Men's property, savings, and means of livelihood suddenly evaporated; men's security depended on government action and government action alone. To let nature

take its course meant chaos. *Laissez faire* would have meant the destruction of the constitution.

Of course the government acted. But that action betokened that our individual security and liberty in this industrial age depended upon the government and were not things apart. The recognition of the responsibility of government to act affirmatively for the protection of individual interests does not, and should not, impair our constitutional liberties; it does give them a new meaning and a new vitality. The naked bond of a contract, though it stipulate for payment in a metal cherished since the mind of men runneth not to the contrary, is no longer the measure of our individual liberties. The tasks of the Marshalls of our day is to find new weights and measures that will preserve not the shadow but the substance of our ancient liberties in the new social ordering. In this new ordering the worth and dignity of the individual should have a new significance and not be lost in outworn forms. The value of social legislation in maintaining the worth and dignity of the individual will undoubtedly be accorded increasing recognition.

If recent events have emphasized the new needs that a constitutional government must meet in a changing world, it cannot be said as a matter of principle that the Supreme Court has ever consciously denied these needs and the adaptability of our Constitution in meeting them. The justices have differed in their views as to the propriety of various adaptations, but Marshall's statesman-like canon of constitutional construction stands: "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional" (*M'Culloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheat, 316, 421 [1819]). In recent years the court has time and again reminded that its decisions relate to the particular statute and the particular application of the statute to the particular facts in controversy, that it is no function of the court to lay down abstract principles valid *semper et ubique*. Because one statute is deemed by the court

to exceed constitutional limitations has in no way prejudged the court against a subsequent statute designed to meet the same evil but within constitutional limitations. This attitude of the court is strikingly evidenced in the cases seeking to regulate dealing in grain futures (*Hill v. Wallace*, 259 U.S. 44 [1922] and *Chicago Board of Trade v. Olsen*, 262 U.S. 1 [1923]).

Constitutional problems are not today to be solved by the display of glittering generalities and word pictures, though they be culled from the pages of supreme-court opinions. Mr. Justice Butler put the matter in *Highland v. Russell Car Co.*, 279 U.S. 253, 261 (1929) as follows:

It is everywhere recognized that the freedom of the people to enter into and carry out contracts in respect of their property and private affairs is a matter of great public concern and that such liberty may not lightly be impaired. *Steele v. Drummond*, 275 U.S. 199, 205. Generally speaking, that right is protected by the due process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments [citing cases]. It is also well established by the decision of this court that such liberty is not absolute or universal and that Congress may regulate the making and performance of such contracts whenever reasonably necessary to effect any of the great purposes for which the national government was created [citing cases].

The vital question is, then, just what is this standard minimum wage bill which forms the basis of legislation already passed in five states? What is the economic situation with which it deals? What are the means by which it attempts to deal with that situation? Is the situation one that it is a legitimate end of government to deal with? Are the means adopted reasonable to effect that end? Are the means prohibited by the letter or spirit of the Constitution or by any binding authority?

The essential economic facts on which the legislation is predicated are recited in the bill itself in the first section, which reads:

The employment of women and minors in trade and industry in the state at wages unreasonably low and not fairly commensurate with the value of the services rendered is a matter of grave and vital public concern. Many women and minors employed for gain in the state are not as a class upon a level of equality in bargaining with their employers in regard to minimum fair wage standards, and "freedom of contract" as applied to their relations with their employers is illusory. Since a very large percentage of such workers are

obliged from their week-to-week wages to support themselves and others who are dependent upon them in whole or in part, they are, by reason of their necessitous circumstances, forced to accept whatever wages are offered them. Judged by any reasonable standard, wages are in many cases fixed by chance and caprice and the wages accepted are often found to bear no relation to the fair value of the service rendered. Women and minors employed for gain are peculiarly subject to the over-reaching of inefficient, harsh or ignorant employers and under unregulated competition where no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation and maintenance of minimum fair wage standards, the standards such as exist tend to be set by the least conscientious employers. In the absence of any effective minimum fair wage rates for women and minors, the constant lowering of wages by unscrupulous employers constitutes a serious form of unfair competition against other employers, reduces the purchasing power of the workers and threatens the stability of industry. The evils of oppressive, unreasonable and unfair wages as they affect women and minors employed in the state are such as to render imperative the exercise of the police power of the state for the protection of industry and of the women and minors employed therein and of the public interest of the community at large in their health and well-being and in the prevention of the deterioration of the race.

The evidence in support of these recitals in this section is virtually common knowledge in any industrial community.

What are the means by which the standard bill attempts to deal with this economic situation? The bill does not attempt to regulate the wages of women and minors generally. It does not fix a living wage irrespective of the work done or the value of the services rendered. Only where a substantial number of women and minors in an occupation or industry are receiving less than a subsisting wage may an investigation be made to determine whether the wages are fairly commensurate with the value of service rendered. If the investigation shows that such wages are not only insufficient to maintain the workers in health, but are not fair and reasonable for the services rendered, a representative wage board, acting on convincing proof, may recommend to the industrial commissioner minimum fair wage standards—standards that may fairly be regarded as the minimum reasonable pay for the work done. It is important to note that the wage to be fixed is not a living wage as such but a minimum wage that is reasonable under all the circumstances for the work done. After hearing all those interested, the Industrial Commis-

sioner may put into effect such minimum fair wage standards. For at least nine months such standards remain directory only, that is, they can be vindicated only by the force of publicity and public opinion. If after such trial period, non-observance is so persistent as to threaten the maintenance of the standards established, the industrial commissioner may, after another public hearing, make the standards mandatory and their violation subject to the penal law.

The standard bill permits appropriate classification of services and localities, lower minimum standards for learners and apprentices, and special licenses for those whose earning power has been impaired, while employers are free to pay, and employees are free to demand, more than the minimum standards established. The rights and interests of every group are in consequence scrupulously dealt with and safeguarded. To paraphrase the language of Mr. Justice Butler in *Highland v. Russell Car & Snow Plow Co.*, *supra*, page 262, the standard bill "will be deemed to have deprived" an employer "only of the right or opportunity by negotiation" to pay less than the fair value of the service received.

The standard bill sets up no arbitrary wage standards. In determining a fair wage, a wage fairly and reasonably commensurate with the value of the service rendered, all relevant circumstances affecting the value of the service may be considered. This accords with the traditional method of Anglo-American law in applying the standard of reasonableness. It is the practice that has governed the determination of rates for common carriers and of suits upon a *quantum meruit* for centuries. It is a practice that has guided wage boards for decades in other English-speaking countries, with our own traditions of fair play and of due regard for the relevant scope of freedom of contract.

The wage board drawn chiefly from the industry itself may classify the workers and their classes of work as the practical conditions of the industry dictate. The wage board may base their standards on time rates or piece rates or a combination of both as the habits and customs of the industry warrant. The

bill throughout is conceived with the idea of affording a practical instrument to industry itself to maintain order and stability. It seeks to give the force of law to rules and regulations that the more advanced employers themselves have long sought to maintain in their own establishments, even as against the undercutting of wage costs by their less scrupulous competitors.

The standard bill is the result of a conscientious and mature effort by counsel to meet the objections which a majority of the Supreme Court found against the District of Columbia law in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525 (1923) notwithstanding the very vigorous dissent of Chief Justice Taft. Mr. Justice Sutherland, speaking for the majority of the court, stated:

The feature of this [the District of Columbia] statute which, perhaps more than any other, puts upon it the stamp of invalidity is that it exacts from the employer an arbitrary payment for a purpose and upon a basis having no causal connections with his business, or the contract or the work the employee engages to do. The declared basis is not the value of the service rendered, but the extraneous circumstance that the employee needs to get a prescribed sum of money to insure her subsistence, health and morals. . . . A statute requiring an employer to pay in money, to pay at prescribed and regular intervals, to pay the value of the services rendered, even to pay with fair relation to the extent of the benefit obtained from the service, would be understandable.

A statute requiring an employer to pay in money has been held constitutional by the Supreme Court (*Knoxville Iron Co. v. Harbison*, 183 U.S. 13) as has a statute requiring wage payments at prescribed and regular intervals (*Erie Railway Co. v. Williams*, 233 U.S. 685). It is consequently difficult to understand the references in the majority opinion by Mr. Justice Sutherland save as a plain intimation that a properly drawn fair wage statute, such as that embodied in the standard bill, would not run counter to the decision in the *Adkins* case or the requirements of our fundamental law.

PROGRESS AND ADMINISTRATION OF MINIMUM WAGE LAWS IN 1933

Lucy Randolph Mason, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York City

THE dark cloud of misery which has hung above the sweatshops of many states the past year, had after all, its silver lining, for when the public attention was at last directed to the return of conditions we had thought left behind twenty-five years ago, it became possible this year to launch an effective campaign for the revival of minimum wage laws for women and minors. The sudden revival and success of minimum wage laws is probably the most significant event of 1933 in state legislation. The passage of the New York minimum wage law in March marked the turn of the tide, and within a short time New Hampshire, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Ohio passed the same bill with minor changes, while across the continent Utah enacted a law similar to that of California. The standard minimum wage bill passed the House in Pennsylvania only to die in the Senate, while a similar bill is now before the Legislature of Illinois.

Early in this century, under Mrs. Florence Kelley's magnificent leadership, the National Consumers' League began the campaign for minimum wage laws. After years of effort to maintain decent wage standards in a number of industries, through voluntary agreements and publication of a "white list" of employers who met standards, it was evident that only the solid basis of law could prevent wage exploitation. By 1923 the campaign begun in 1909 had resulted in the passage of minimum wage laws in thirteen states, the District of Columbia, and Porto Rico. By an adverse decision of the Supreme Court and through legislative repeal, the laws of five states, Porto Rico, and the District of Columbia were annulled. In Colorado no

decree has ever been entered, leaving seven states in which the law was in force before the six above mentioned brought the total to thirteen early in June, 1933.

Checked by the United States Supreme Court decision in the District of Columbia case, but never abandoned, the minimum wage campaign was continued by efforts to pass non-mandatory or directory laws similar to that of Massachusetts, but the blow dealt in 1923 crippled the movement for ten years.

The situation last fall presented an opportunity for renewing the attack for minimum wage legislation, which was seized by the National Consumers' League. Unemployment, hunger, want, the stark deprivation of their dependents, reduced millions of workers to impotence and made them willing to take work under any conditions and for any wage, or even the promise of wages after a payless period of apprenticeship. There was abundant evidence that many thousands of women and minors were working for pittances that could not provide a bare subsistence. The material on sweated labor collected by the National Consumers' League shows wages varying from \$0.20 a week to \$4.00 or \$5.00. Stories of wages around \$2.00 or \$3.00 a week for adults in the garment trades were plentiful. The experienced seamstress who remonstrated at \$2.50 a week in a dress plant for timework and who was then put on piecework and received \$1.89 the next week for doing the finishing work on 74 silk dresses was a typical example of what could and did happen.

The wage *débâcle* was not confined to the garment trades, but sweated workers were found in cotton, silk, and woolen textile mills; shoe factories, hosiery and knit-goods mills; canneries; restaurants and hotels—in industries too numerous to name. For instance, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports for March, 1933, show an average hourly wage of 21.4 cents for all workers, skilled and unskilled, men and women, in selected plants in the cotton-textile industry. With this strikingly low average, the lowest wage levels here must have shrunk to a miserable pittance. Underlying all these shrunken wages is

a situation of the utmost human misery for those who held these sweated jobs and for their dependents.

There is a popular but economically unsound fallacy that any job is better than no job at all. The principal contributing cause to prolonging the depression is loss of purchasing power by masses of wage-earners. Employers are compelled to meet ruthless competition in wage-cutting or they will be forced out of business. Thus it may be truly said that every sweated worker either displaces a better-paid worker in a competing plant or lowers the wages of that other worker. The most unscrupulous element in an industry drags down the standards of the whole group. When left to the free play of unrestrained competition, wage-cutting leads by a vicious downward spiral to an industrial and economic morass. Even in the better-type industries, competition is so keen in a depression that unless the bottom level of wages can be pegged, we find ourselves in the evil circle of wage- and price-cutting.

Whenever mandatory minimum wage laws have been effectively administered there is abundant evidence that lower wage levels are raised and maintained at a decent standard, that minimum wages do not tend to become the maximum but rather that bargaining power of skilled workers is increased, that unscrupulous competition in wage-cutting is prevented and industry thereby benefited. There is also ample proof that minimum wage laws for women do not discriminate against their employment opportunities. In California employers in all types of industry continue to support the minimum wage law. When it was proposed this spring to withdraw the appropriation for enforcement of the law, spokesmen were unanimous in support of the law. A number of employers, labor representatives, and social workers appeared at the legislative hearing and strongly opposed any move to weaken the law's enforcement.

Fundamental changes in the industrial system and in public opinion have taken place since Mr. Justice Sutherland delivered the adverse opinion in the case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* which held unconstitutional the District of Columbia wage law.

Some of the rugged individualism of that period has been rubbed off by the course of events. "Freedom of contract"—the "equal right" of employers and employees "to obtain from each other the best terms they can as the result of private bargaining"—becomes a travesty upon justice when mass unemployment, hunger, and want deprive people of all bargaining power.

Mr. Justice Sutherland went on to say in his opinion, "The line beyond which the power of interference may not be pressed is neither definite nor unalterable, but may be made to move, within limits now well defined, with changing *need and circumstance*." Surely changed circumstance today points the economic and social necessity for minimum wage legislation to protect that group of workers most open to exploitation.

Following the conference on the breakdown in labor standards held by the National Consumers' League in December, 1932, a committee of minimum wage experts was appointed to draft a standard minimum wage bill designed to meet the test of constitutionality. Members of this committee were Mary W. Dewson, Josephine Goldmark, Felix Frankfurter, and Benjamin V. Cohen. The bill was completed by February and received the support of labor-standards committees organized in a number of states. In New York seventy organizations pooled their strength in support of the bill, with the result that powerful pressure was brought to bear on legislators. In Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois the same combined attack was used. Through a barrage of newspaper and magazine publicity, public interest and support became widespread and enthusiastic.

Both federal and state administrative support of the minimum wage bill has been a powerful ally. Governor Lehman, of New York, introduced the bill with an exceptionally strong special message. In New Hampshire Governor Winant took an able and active part in every step of the bill's progress. Governor Green of Rhode Island supported the bill but it was defeated. The governors of Pennsylvania and Illinois also gave active support to the bill.

President Roosevelt indorsed this bill when he wired governors of industrial states urging them to support a minimum wage bill similar to that passed in New York. Miss Frances Perkins presented a copy of the same bill to the Labor Committee of the House of Representatives with the statement that she had lifted from it provisions for her suggested minimum wage amendment to the Black and Connery thirty-hours-per-week bills then before Congress. Educational campaigns are already under way in a number of states preparatory to the introduction of the bill in future legislative sessions.

The chief provisions of the Consumers' League standard bill are as follows: Wages are to be regulated when it is found that a substantial number of women or minors in any occupation are receiving an oppressive or unreasonable wage, such a wage being defined as "both less than the fair and reasonable value of the services rendered and less than sufficient to meet the minimum cost of living necessary for health."

The commissioner of labor, upon sufficient evidence that a substantial number of women and minors are receiving oppressive wages in any occupation or industry, shall appoint a wage board. A reluctant commissioner may be forced to act by interested citizens through a provision that upon the petition of fifty or more residents of the state the commissioner is charged with the responsibility of making a wage investigation preliminary to appointing a board.

The wage board shall consist of three representatives each of employers, employees, and the public, one of the latter to be designated as chairman. Representatives of the employers and employees shall be selected so far as practicable from nominations submitted by employers and employees. Because of the present condition of state budgets and the impossibility of securing additional appropriations, the bill provides that members of the board are to serve without remuneration, though they may be reimbursed for traveling expenses. It is recognized that as soon as financial conditions permit, appropriations should be made for administering the law, and that a permanent minimum wage division in the department of labor is desirable.

In establishing a standard minimum wage the board "may take into account all relevant circumstances affecting the value of the service or class of service rendered," and "may consider the wages paid in the state for work of like or comparable character by employers who voluntarily maintain minimum fair wage standards." The best standards voluntarily maintained by employers can thus be recognized in determining a reasonable wage for services rendered.

The board may differentiate and classify employments in any occupation according to the nature of the service rendered and recommend appropriate minimum rates for different employments. Minimum wage rates may vary with localities if conditions make such differentiation proper. Ample provision is made for review of recommendations and for public hearings.

The commissioner of labor is charged with the responsibility of issuing orders based upon recommendations of the wage board. For the first nine months an order shall be directory and the only penalty for non-conformity the publication of names of employers. At the end of nine months, upon evidence that the directory order is not being observed, the commissioner has authority to make the order mandatory after a public hearing has been held. Thereafter violation of the wage order constitutes a misdemeanor and upon conviction is punishable by a fine or imprisonment or both. Penalties are also provided for discrimination against employees who serve on or testify before the wage board, and for failure to keep proper records.

The bill makes the usual provisions for learners and the handicapped. Nevertheless, it is most desirable in the opinion of several minimum wage experts that every precaution should be taken to prevent abuse of these provisions and the undermining of the standard minimum wage. Experience has shown that permitting a lower wage for beginners, particularly when a long learning period is permitted, makes it possible to discharge employees about to complete their apprenticeship and replace them with other beginners. In any event, the number of learners permitted in an industry at one time should not exceed a

reasonable percentage of all employees and should be kept to a small proportion of the total.

Another significant detail in administration is to establish a rate for minors just as it is established for adults—upon ability and output and not upon the age of the worker. If a child can produce as much and do as good work as an adult, he should receive the same minimum wage. By using the production test without reference to age in setting a wage, one of the chief incentives for employing children would be removed.

Minimum wage laws can control the proverbial evil of low-paid home work by establishing a piecework rate for contract work sent out of the shop which would insure a home-work wage at least as high as for work done in the plant. In view of the fact that the employer saves overhead expenses—rent, heat, light, equipment, tools, water, soap, towels, etc.—it seems fair to set a slightly higher rate for home work. This would tend to discourage home work and certainly prevent the payment of substandard wages for work done out of the plant.

The same public interest which is responsible for enactment of a statute must be shown in its administration if it is to be of the fullest practical value. What has happened in New York, the first state to pass the new law, furnishes an excellent example of effective use of public opinion in both the passage and the administration of a law. The State Labor Standards Committee organized by the Consumers' League of New York was composed of representatives of seventy organizations and several interested individuals. The total membership in the co-operating organizations, which included both men's and women's groups, is about two million. Letters, telegrams, and personal interviews convinced legislators from every part of the state that constituents really wanted them to vote for the bill. The resulting extraordinary amount of pressure on lawmakers by voters was a powerful support to the lobbying done at Albany. Because of this, legislators who had never supported a labor measure cast their votes for New York's minimum wage law.

The administration of minimum wage laws is more difficult

and complex than that of hours laws or other types of labor legislation, and great care should be taken in setting up administrative machinery. The New York Commissioner of Labor formed an advisory committee of eleven persons, representing many interests, among them such notable leaders as Dr. Leo Wolman, research director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and professor of economics at Columbia University; Walter Hammitt, vice-president of one of the largest metropolitan department stores; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, H. E. Ashby, manager of the F. C. Huyck Textile Mills, and Mark Daly, secretary of the Associated Industries; and representatives of the Consumers' League and the Women's Trade Union League.

In this committee important matters of policy and administrative technique are being discussed preliminary to setting the law actually in motion. Commissioner Andrews discussed with this committee which industry should first be studied, and it was agreed that the first minimum wage board should be set up in the laundry industry. Among others the following considerations determined this choice. Laundry work had been known for years as a low-wage occupation. A considerable number of women are involved. The industry is suffering acutely from a competitive wage and price-cutting war. The two most important Laundry boards of trade of the state petitioned for a minimum wage board to be set up.

As in the passage of the law, the services of the New York Consumers' League executive secretary are being loaned to the Labor Standards Committee, through whose co-operating organizations information on laundry conditions and living standards are being gathered on a questionnaire which will be filled out by workers. This information is to be given the public's representative on the wage board and to Frieda Miller, director of the Division of Women in Industry of the Department of Labor, who will administer the minimum wage law.

Nominations are also being secured from every part of the state for a panel of public representatives from which members

of successive wage boards may be chosen as they are set up in other industries. Labor organizations are performing a similar service in securing a panel of labor representatives.

Even with a very efficient Department of Labor such as that of New York, effective enforcement of labor laws is too vast a task to be accomplished without interested and active public co-operation. Reports of labor-law violations make inspection doubly effective. Therefore, centers of information are being organized throughout the state to which workers can go and report violations of the law or conditions which justify investigation.

Another important service is to inform workers, particularly the foreign-born and those in more remote sections, of the law and its value to them. For instance, Y.W.C.A. groups in the labor-standards committees are describing the operation of the law in articles printed in the foreign-language press.

The campaign for minimum wage laws has only begun and will be carried into new fields as rapidly as possible. Already the Consumers' League of Kentucky has begun the organization of a labor-standards committee and is conducting an educational campaign in support of a bill which will be introduced in the legislature in 1934. Women's organizations and the state departments of labor in Missouri and Oklahoma expect to support minimum wage laws when legislatures meet again. Inquiries come to the National Consumers' League office from many states and interest grows rapidly. Thirteen states now have minimum wage laws, and it seems safe to predict, in view of what has happened this year, that the number will constantly increase.

The employment-standards features of the National Industrial Recovery Act should be a positive help in securing permanent state legislation, while, at least temporarily, the fear of competition from other states with lower labor standards is removed.

CAN THE CITY BE ADAPTED TO THE NEW LEISURE? AN ANSWER

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THE October, 1932, number of the *Survey* was devoted to a symposium labeled "Obsolete Cities." Said the author of the leading article: "The metropolis is breaking down financially, going the way of overproduction, overbuilding, overcrowding, obsolescence." "Let the cities perish!" he cried. Other writers have also proclaimed the city's morbid condition. It is an arresting question. Is the city dying? Let us admit at once that it is diseased. It is not adapted to the leisure we now have, to say nothing of the more spacious days that are coming. But is it going to disappear?

A moment's thought will convince one that the destiny of the city cannot be decreed by any human tribunal, no matter how powerful its composition. Whether or not the city will live will be determined by the actions of masses of human beings. What the masses are likely to do is best learned by soundings as to what they are now tending to do. Not long ago a careful examination was made of the tendencies in respect to the grouping of places of business, or occupations, in America's leading metropolis. The findings are reported in the first survey volume of the *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs*.

Can occupations be decentralized?—For four years elaborate studies of the major economic tendencies in the New York region were carried on under the direction of Professor Robert M. Haig. Only some of his main conclusions can be mentioned. It was found that on the whole manufacturing was already being crowded out of the center of New York. Large plants devoted to the manufacture of cigars, silk garments, men's clothing, are gradually withdrawing from Manhattan. In other words, those

industries which require a low grade of skill, whose processes are standardized, and which are not subject to sudden changes in work schedules are withdrawing from the center of the metropolitan district. The plants which are staying are mainly those devoted to the manufacture of foods or other products of a highly perishable character and those, like women's clothing, in which style is an important factor. It is evident that establishments on Manhattan will more and more be limited to manufacture for local consumption. As regards storage, except where quick access is important, warehouses and other storage buildings will be gradually shifted farther from the metropolitan center than at present.

Respecting wholesale markets, the survey indicates that those remaining on Manhattan will more and more be limited to places where buyers and sellers can make selections and set prices on the basis of samples. The offices required for the handling of securities will continue to remain in the metropolis. In a word, activities such as managing and administering, buying, and selling, financing and risk-bearing, investigating and advising—those are the activities which will continue to find the large city a congenial home.

The slightest observation of modern life shows a strong tendency to huddle together on the part of individuals in similar occupations, in the professions which serve them, and in all callings in which frequent conferences are desirable. Even social agencies tend to gravitate into the same neighborhood. Can anyone foresee a period or a kind of life in which the need for comparing notes, for observing rivals, and for the discussion of common objectives will cease to exist? The reason why hundreds of thousands live in cities and will continue to live in cities is dependent upon the intrinsic and irreplaceable advantages of proximity. Only those occupations which can be decentralized without interfering with the efficiency will, so far as our evidence goes, submit to dispersal.

Can city residences be dispersed?—If urban occupations cannot be wholly scattered, how about residences? Why must

dwellings be crowded together now that we have the automobile and rapid-transit systems? It must be admitted that decentralization as to homes is in a measure now taking place. City suburbs are growing. They will continue to grow. But an end will be reached when the distance of the day's travel to and from the office becomes greater than the individual can endure. Thousands are now rebelling over the daily imprisonment in train or car for so large a part of their precious leisure.

The city's answer to the need of living near the job is the apartment house. According to *Recent Social Trends* (p. 475), the tendency toward the multi-family dwelling is more evident in the larger cities than it is in the cities of twenty-five to fifty thousand, where the tendency is comparatively slight. This study says: "Despite fluctuations of varying degree, the general long-time tendency in residential construction is definitely toward the multi-family dwelling." According to Robert Whitten's analysis of the Bureau of Labor statistics quoted in this study, the permits for multi-family dwellings increased during the period 1921-29 from 34 to 64.4 per cent in the fourteen largest cities, with populations of five hundred thousand or more.

It seems evident, then, that for a long time the apartment house is to form an important element in the central sections of our large cities. Since the suburb, with its open development, is little different from the village so far as the living environment goes, our main question comes down to this: "Can the congested residential core of the large city be adapted to the more spacious leisure of the future? Can city apartments be adapted not alone to the future but to a wholesome kind of life for any time?"

The refashioning of apartment districts.—Obviously, the question takes us into the realm of city planning. At any rate, the answer I am going to offer comes from that field. Our city buildings are constantly deteriorating, being torn down and their sites being rebuilt. Why should not the city—since it has constantly to be renewed in any case—be rebuilt in a manner that will make possible a vitalizing and rich leisure, in the vicinity

of the home, not miles away? What it is my privilege to present to you is a glimpse, a sort of preview, of a study which has been carried on for several years by the Regional Plan Association of New York, in co-operation with the Department of Recreation of the Russell Sage Foundation. In reality, it is the picture of an elementary-school district as it might look if completely re-planned and rebuilt. On paper, we have taken a particular deteriorated district in the central part of Greater New York, completely erased the present buildings and internal streets, and then, on paper, constructed it as a neighborhood unit in the light of modern architectural and landscape standards.

The district selected is in the borough of Queens, five miles from Broadway, and is reached by a ten-minute ride from the Pennsylvania Station. It is less than a mile distant from both the geographical and the population centers of the Greater New York City. Since this section is not far from railway yards and large industrial plants, and because it is in the proximity of several cemeteries, it is blighted for residential purposes. The tract is only about one-half built up. Three-quarters of the buildings are of wooden construction. Only a few apartments have as yet appeared, the rest being single-family and two-family houses. The value of a house and lot on the average in 1930 was approximately \$5,900. In that year there were 170 houses, holding a population of 980 persons, or, 5.76 persons a dwelling, only 39 per cent of the houses having garages.

The future of the development is not promising. Few of the vacant lots are large. The houses now erected are so scattered throughout the tract that extensive apartment developments are not practical while the conditions of the existing improvements are not such as to encourage new construction of any sort. But the population of Queens borough is growing rapidly. During the last census period, 1920-30, Queens borough increased 130 per cent, but the increase in the tract selected was only 40 per cent. All the signs indicate that our district is bound to have a heavier human load. But how it will carry its larger

burden of families and what it will do to them, if ordinary real estate practice follows its natural course, is a cause for anxiety.

The question we put to ourselves was this: "Would it be physically possible, within a reasonable economic basis, to remodel this tract and convert it into a wholesome and attractive environment for ordinary family life?"

An apartment neighborhood—modern style.—Of the plans we made, I shall present only two, and of these only the main features. Functionally, both plans are much alike. Because we were able to disregard existing lot lines and existing streets, we were able to distribute the apartment structures around the periphery of the development, and thus achieve a great gain in open space. The open space thus gained was divided into play areas and landscaped courts. In the low-cost plan, the recreation spaces amount to 9.15 acres, or 22 per cent of the 41 acres which are covered by the development, while in the high-cost plan, one-fifth of the whole area was devoted to play spaces. As to the garden courts, which enable the sunlight and "skyshine" to reach the ground-floor suites, the provision is remarkable. Such open space reaches 32 per cent of the total area in the low-cost plan and over 27 per cent in the other. The fact is that in both plans practically all the suites receive direct sunlight during an appreciable portion of each fair day, and all enjoy a view of 45° or more of sky.

Both plans provide convenient shopping districts at the points where the residents would naturally go in and out of the development. These business zones are so imbedded in the layout that they can never expand and exert a blighting effect upon residential quality.

In the center of each plan is an elementary school. Sites are also fixed for a church and a branch library. A residential hotel, devoted mainly to small suites, but provided also with the facilities required for a community, social and athletic club, is also centrally located. The school, playgrounds, shops, theater, and hotel—all the institutions within the development—can be

reached by the residents with a minimum of risk of street accident. In one plan automobiles are not allowed in the center of the development at all, while in the other the street system is such as to render careless driving practically impossible.

In a word, both plans have been designed with the needs of a definite population in mind. So far as the requirements of twelve or thirteen hundred families can be met by the physical environment, as it is known to and under control of the city planner, they have been incorporated in these plans.

The economic aspects.—The calculations of our Regional Plan engineers show that neighborhood unit developments, like the two which have just been described, are entirely within the range of normal, financial possibilities. That is to say, the low cost plan, with rent at \$10 a room, is feasible under the same conditions as the seven or eight developments which have already been erected under the regulations of the New York State Housing Board, with one proviso. The other, the high cost plan, bringing in \$21 a room, is feasible without the benefit of tax exemption on buildings on a commercial basis yielding 7 per cent dividends, with one proviso. This condition is the same in both instances.

It must be possible to assemble the land, to buy the individual parcels which make up the whole tract, at a reasonable market price. Assemblage on that basis is not now ordinarily possible. In the buying process, the first parcels can generally be obtained at a reasonable figure. But when news of the development spreads owners raise their prices until they reach the "hold-up" level. When the Fred F. French Company began to assemble the property, now known as the Knickerbocker Village development in the lower East Side, New York, the first parcels were obtained at the price of \$2.40 a square foot. He used dummy corporations and took the most elaborate precautions to prevent his purchases and identity from becoming known. Nevertheless, news of a gigantic real estate development leaked out and people still in possession of needed parcels began to raise their prices. To obtain certain plots required to

fill out a block the French people were compelled to pay as high as fifty dollars a square foot. They had set out to buy forty-five acres. After they had obtained fifteen acres, they were stopped by "hold-up" prices. Here we have the chief obstacle that today confronts unitary, large-scale, housing operations.

The right to hold up a housing improvement.—At this point I want to pause and contemplate for a moment the private ownership of land. In the situation just described many owners, of their own free will, accepted the terms offered by the developer. Their actions set the level of the fair market price. They were not philanthropists. The money they got they valued more than the existing income from the plots. But here is an owner who has heard of the big project and knows it cannot succeed without possession of his lot. Therefore his price goes up. He has a "corner" on an article that is vitally needed. He is a monopolist and, under our present laws, he is able to "hold up" his victim and take from him an exorbitant price—or defeat the project and rob the public of whatever benefit that enterprise would have conferred.

The question may be asked: "Has not an owner a right to more than the existing income value of his property? Has he not also a right to a share of its prospective value? If he has evidence that the land is going to have an increased yield, why should he not try to get his share of it? Certainly, he has a right to his share. But what is his share? The new increment of value is conferred by the development, not by any act of his own. In reality, his lot may be worth no more to the development than any of the others the developer has already purchased. The truth of the matter is that the ordinary hold-up owner is not content with "his share." He demands all he thinks he can get. The result is that in many of our large cities today selfish and greedy landowners are effectually blocking housing developments which, if carried out, would confer benefits of incalculable significance to harassed urban dwellers.

Housing a public improvement.—Private-property rights give way before matters in which there is a clear public interest. If

land is needed for a bridge or a railway, the state exercises its right of eminent domain and takes it. Then the owner receives the price that is awarded, not necessarily that which he demands. In most cities, if an owner found it to his advantage to convert his dwelling into a grocery, he might be prevented by the zoning regulations. The uses of properties have become matters of public interest.

A beginning has been made in the movement to place housing in the public improvement class. In a few states the right of condemnation can now be exercised in certain types of housing developments. So far, however, this right has been little used. A practical technique has not yet been worked out. The public character of housing is still not recognized—widely enough—especially by the real estate people. Before a practical method of large-plot assemblage can be put at the service of society, the public in general will have to be converted to the view that housing for families, especially in crowded city sections, can no longer be permitted to proceed under the restrictions of lot-by-lot rehabilitation. The gains to society achievable, and possible only, by unitary, large-scale developments are so transcendent that they are now required by the public interest.

If the state does make possible large-unit developments, it must make sure that society gains, in the process, commensurate benefits. Such projects, it is plain, must fit into a master-plan by which the city as a whole can progressively adapt itself to the new and more spacious era now dawning. The question then arises: "Do developments of whole school districts, such as the one which has been described, produce enough benefit to humanity to warrant their being classed as public improvements?" Let us examine their values.

In the first place, a large unitary development can supply what lot-by-lot construction cannot provide, and that is an environment for the individual family dwelling. It is that environment—that collection of things we all need near our homes but not in them—which the apartment district does not often

have and which the unitary development can provide. For the sake of precision let us call this environment the "neighborhood." What should a neighborhood furnish to its families if they are going to make the most of the new leisure? As I see it, they fall under three heads:

Human physical adjustment should be feasible in the neighborhood.—The first function of the new leisure is to enable an exercise of those parts of the body and mind that are not required in the machine age in the process of making a livelihood. For many people, recreation has something to do with a ball or a club, or with both. I suppose it is a heritage from our earlier tribal life.

I remember being very much struck by the fact that when the American forces in the Philippines tried to civilize the head-hunting tribes, they won a striking success by introducing a tug of war between rival bands. In these sports the head-hunters found an activity which was quite as satisfactory as their former occupation. Another American game that has become popular in the Philippine Islands is baseball.

Primitive passions are still fundamental to our own physical well-being and, accordingly, every neighborhood should supply, as our plans do, opportunities for baseball, football, and tennis within easy and safe access from the dwelling.

Cultural training in the neighborhood.—The second need which should be more adequately met in the new leisure is the opportunity for the development of special talents and abilities that are not utilized by the daily occupation. Neighborhood life is peculiarly adapted to the discovery and stimulation of embryo talents. The actor usually first discovers himself through a childish performance. The reactions of the audience encourage his parents to further his training. All the expression arts—music, dancing, public speaking—these all flower most easily in the neighborhood because it can supply audiences. As shown in our plans, a neighborhood unit has in its school classrooms, shops, stage, halls, clubrooms, and community house—all of the spaces and facilities in which the occasions occur through which

talents are discovered, nurtured, stimulated, and finally matured. In a natural neighborhood life, such occasions occur spontaneously and have little or no need for a paid leadership.

The neighborhood community a natural civic nucleus.—The third great advantage made possible by a unitary development is of a civic or political character. All readers of Bryce realize that our electoral system was based upon the assumption that men would know either directly, or by reputation, the candidates for whom they would vote. One does not need to enlarge upon how that condition has disappeared in our large cities.

It is perfectly evident to the most superficial student of politics that the whole basis of the political machine which now dominates and exploits municipal government exists in the necessity of having a permanent organization to bring out the vote. Thousands of persons, respectable citizens, vote yearly for candidates about which they have little or no knowledge.

The organization picks the nominees and gathers in the votes. Its laborers are considered worthy of their hire.

In the neighborhood, where residents are brought together to administer and enjoy their common facilities, local acquaintanceships naturally develop. They come to know the candidates for office. There is no need for a canvassing and vote-getting machine. It loses its hold on the municipal government.

One of the most serious defects in our present political system is due to the fact that many citizens who are high in financial and business life contribute so little to the conduct of government. Their offices, their large affairs, are centered in the city, but their legal residence and their voting district is out in the rural country-estate district. They may have an apartment in the city, but they have no civic or political status in the municipality. Obviously, this is politically an unhealthy state. It would seem that men of great property, to which the government gives so much protection, should bear a larger part in carrying on the affairs of government. Our state needs their brains as well as their taxes.

The neighborhood is the natural environment for political apprenticeship. In such a community the youth just home from college can go on local committees, can practice the art of conducting public meetings, and can help in the formulation of local public questions. Political life, like other professions, requires training. The neighborhood is the place where it can be obtained.

In human bodies, when the cells become diseased, the whole system becomes sick. Can we expect to have a healthy nation when city wards are corrupt?

The remaking of our cities will, it is true, take years, but why not start now? Can we think of any better way of helping toward the development of the new political morality, which we must acquire if we are to have the new leisure, than by promoting physical well-being, intellectual vitality, and civic competence in the cores of our large urban bodies?

A SURVEY OF THE RECENT BARTER AND EX- CHANGE MOVEMENT WITH IMPLICATIONS

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SWAPPING marbles and tops, horses and farm labor, has survived from the earliest ages. Unorganized barter naturally becomes more extensive and important during periods of depression and scarcity of money, but there is no method of measuring it and perhaps no valid reason for trying to evaluate it. But last year barter began to assume organized form, occupied the front pages of newspapers, became the subject of magazine articles and books, and even engaged the attention of international trade groups and of governments. "Barter Plan Wins Widening Interest"; "Movement Gains Daily"; "More than 200 Units Active in Nation"; "Pigs and Cows Pay College Fees"; "One Million Americans Learn To Get Along without Money"—such headlines featured the daily news throughout the country. Many items of news dealt also with barter in the realm of international trade. A deal between Italy and Czechoslovakia was reported to involve fifteen thousand tons of wheat. Federal Farm Board wheat was bartered for Brazilian coffee. An English firm exchanged its food products for twenty carloads of Canadian wheat. Soviet Russia is reported to have made a contract with the Aluminum Company of Canada to exchange petroleum for aluminum. The London Chamber of Commerce proposed a barter plan for trade with thirty-five nations having curbs on monetary exchange. These casual citations from thousands of news items indicate the widespread interest in the subject during recent months.

Sponsors of barter have enthusiastically enlarged upon its possibilities. We are told that unemployed workers, by combining their skills and resources, can exchange their work for the

goods and services offered by farmers, town producers, and professional people, and all will be benefited. Those who have surpluses of goods or labor which they are unable to sell for monetary profits can exchange their surpluses for a profit in the sense of the mutual advantage of use. By means of barter credits, evolved from the ancient practice of issuing due bills, the surpluses can be pooled by a central exchange; and from the pool a variety of goods and services can be drawn at will by holders of barter credits. It has even been asserted by a prominent economist that a system of consumption certificates in place of money could be used for restoring to activity our major industries and for virtually abolishing unemployment.

When one turns from neatly formulated plans and from the "good stories" in the newspapers to a survey of what has actually been done, the contrast may well bring disillusion. On the other hand, in the limited field of supplementing emergency-relief work, the results are not without importance. Barter groups have displayed a heartening ingenuity and morale in the terribly difficult work of self-help; and barter, aided by a considerable minimum of cash, has performed several emergency functions in widely separated communities.

Probably the simplest and most primitive function has been the organizing in a few communities of a periodical barter day, reminiscent of the ancient market days. The organizing group has furnished a nucleus of goods and the people of the community have brought in their surpluses. A limited measure of success has been reported, but this phase of the movement is insignificant.

Nearly all barter organizations have served as clearing houses of information for the making of private deals for the exchange of both goods and labor. A few of the organizations have practically limited themselves to this function. A notable instance is the Service Exchange Bureau of Cleveland, which maintains efficiently indexed records of a large variety of goods and especially services and undertakes the work of establishing contacts

either by interviews in the office of the exchange or by telephone and correspondence.

Some of the exchanges have tended to become not merely clearing houses of information for establishing barter relations, but employment bureaus for securing jobs for cash as well as barter. This means a departure from barter, and there is no net gain in employment unless the work contracted for is on a barter basis and would not have been available for cash. In some communities there is a belief among workers that employers have engaged employees on a barter basis at a low rate when they could easily pay on a cash basis, and would have done so had the facilities of the exchange not been made available to them on a barter basis. A dentist, for example, may decide to re-decorate his house, and instead of engaging workers on the regular cash basis he takes advantage of the barter exchange at perhaps a lower rate than he would otherwise have paid in cash. Employers may fill vacancies through a barter exchange, or even dismiss regular employees to whom cash wages have been paid, merely because of an opportunity to secure cheaper labor through the exchange. There is also a feeling in some localities that exchanges have been used as a club by administrators of direct relief to force the unemployed to accept work under any conditions offered by employers.

It is probably true, however, that most of the barter exchanges serve a useful purpose in maintaining clearing houses of information for the making of contacts between persons who can exchange their goods or services only on a barter basis.

Another function of many of the barter organizations has consisted of the direct handling of goods. In some cases the group has been virtually restricted to the conducting of a barter store. The Dayton Mutual Exchange, for example, carries on very limited production activities, but is essentially a barter store. The larger groups have usually maintained supply stores or dépôts for distributing group goods to their members. The members or registrants receive goods or services in return for work, but in some cases help received is based not on the amount

of work done but on comparative need. The distribution of supplies in the Dayton Production Units, for example, is by a needs committee in each unit, subject to review by a complaints committee.

Goods handled by barter organizations have been secured in various ways. The labor of members or of persons registered with the organization has been bartered for goods, especially farm produce. Surplus goods of a particular kind, as potatoes, have in turn been bartered for a greater variety of goods, such as staple groceries. Occasionally the members of a group are able to secure cash wages for the group or the group is sometimes able to sell a portion of its surplus goods for cash. This in turn has enabled such groups to secure goods not obtainable directly by barter, such as gasoline, fuel, electric light, and certain staple groceries. Many organizations have issued barter credits or scrip in payment for goods, the credits or scrip being redeemable in other goods or services furnished by the organization. The use of scrip can hardly add directly to the volume of goods, but it does facilitate exchange and promote diversification of stock in trade. Another source of goods, in some cases the most important source, consists of donations. These have promoted barter mainly by making possible more extensive production enterprises, which, in turn, have increased the value of gifts and added to the store of goods available for barter.

Production enterprises form a third function of barter groups. In a few instances, regular manufacturing enterprises in factories have been undertaken, but with little success. The most promising lines of production have been in the direction of the simpler types of work, such as sewing, repairing, woodcutting, gardening, canning, and baking. Many of the larger groups sometimes classed as barter organizations are in fact mainly concerned with the handling of donated goods and services. But the handling and especially the processing of donations add to their value, and labor thus expended is genuinely productive. To the extent that donations are thus increased in value, the labor of the recipients of such donations is in a sense bartered

for their added value. In this way the amount of necessary direct relief is reduced and those receiving relief are able to engage in a restricted but desirable form of self-help.

The most notable examples of this limited form of production work and of self-help based on donations and the salvaging, processing, and distributing of goods are to be found in the region of Los Angeles. It is estimated, for example, that in September, 1932, 44 units of the Unemployed Co-operative Relief Association distributed 4,730,000 pounds of produce to 24,716 families.

Many groups produce goods which are distributed directly to the members in return for their work for the group. This of course is an elementary form of barter. Some groups produce goods which are bartered to other groups, as cord-wood for canned vegetables and bread for clothing. An example of a production enterprise which has been publicized widely is the clothing department of one of the larger organizations commonly classed as a barter group. This group undertook the repair and remaking of donated clothing on an extensive scale. It engaged in the making of new clothing, paying twenty cents an hour in scrip for forty-four to forty-six hours of work a week. It also entered into arrangements with certain manufacturers for supplying them with labor from persons registered with the group, the manufacturers agreeing to pay a minimum wage of a dollar and a half a day in scrip redeemable in goods handled by the group. It can hardly be said that this particular case exemplifies production activities on a purely barter basis, or, from the point of view of the members of the group, on a particularly successful basis. In some cities self-help organizations have established bakeries and secured flour partly in the form of donations and partly by barter. These have proved to be comparatively successful production enterprises of considerable scope, although not entirely on a barter basis, inasmuch as some of the flour and much of the equipment have been donated. It may be said in general that barter production enterprises of any considerable size have failed. The degree of success achieved has depended

largely on donations. There has been, however, a great variety of small-scale miscellaneous production work that has proved serviceable as a substitute for direct relief and as a mode of enabling the unemployed to contribute something toward their maintenance.

In summary it may be said that the three principal functions of barter groups have consisted of, first, serving as clearing houses of information for the making of private barter arrangements; second, the direct handling of goods, either in ordinary barter stores or in supply-houses or commissaries; and, third, production for barter. Many of the barter groups have performed incidental functions not in the nature of barter: first, serving as employment agencies; second, collecting and distributing donations; and, third, providing social contacts and some experience in self-government and community life. Membership in barter groups has ranged all the way from mere registration to active participation in group government.

Barter groups have been sponsored in various ways. Some of them have been organized by individuals or small groups of interested citizens, with no active participation in their government by the persons for whom the organizations were designed. In other cases groups of unemployed have more or less spontaneously banded together for self-help. In such cases self-help has usually not been limited to barter, and has almost always included the collecting and distributing of donated goods or money. Because of lack of resources to finance definite projects for absorbing their energies, democratic groups have often tended to become mere discussion groups, and to fall a prey to controversy and factionalism. In some communities business men have undertaken the sponsorship and organization of such enterprises, as in the case of the Midwest Exchange, the Dayton Mutual Exchange, and the Oklahoma City Self-Help Exchange. Civic and social agencies have in some cases taken the lead. The Dayton Co-operative Production Units, for example, which form one of the most interesting examples of the entire barter movement, arose out of discussions among civic leaders at Day-

ton, and the initial financing of the units was largely by means of funds secured through the social agencies. At the same time the units are democratically organized. In several cases public funds have been appropriated for the use of such organizations. But funds thus appropriated have usually been regarded not primarily as aids to the barter movement, but rather as an economical method of administering unemployment relief.

Organized barter assumes the existence of a mechanism of interchange other than such as is found in the case of swapping among individuals. To a considerable extent bookkeeping suffices. But in the case of organizations which carry on extensive retail operations or distribution to members on a large scale, bookkeeping alone becomes impracticable, and some form of barter credit is adopted. Simple duebills are sometimes issued; in other cases more elaborate forms of scrip are used. The issuing of scrip, however, does not necessarily imply barter. A city, for instance, may issue what is called scrip in payment of wages and salaries of its employees. A league of independent grocers may issue scrip to their employees redeemable at any of the stores in the league. When bank deposits are temporarily tied up, certificates of deposits or other forms of credit instruments may be issued and circulated as money. These substitutes for money may facilitate trade, but are incidental and not essential features of the institutions which have used them.

It is commonly recognized that barter scrip to be soundly based must be issued only in return for goods or on the basis of goods donated or purchased for cash. In other words, in order that adequate provision may be made for its redemption, there must be a stock of goods on hand of sufficient value and variety to enable all holders of scrip to have reasonable opportunity to redeem the scrip. Many barter organizations have failed to observe this basic requirement, and in consequence their scrip has depreciated in value. Scrip issued by barter organizations has had an extremely limited general circulation. In a few instances it has been accepted by professional people who, instead of personally making use of it, commonly use it in paying their em-

ployees. In a few instances stores in the community of the barter organization have agreed to accept small quantities. But the use of scrip based on goods has been limited substantially to persons who are members of barter groups or who have direct dealings with such groups.

The limitations of the mechanism of barter are so serious that a self-sufficing economy is impossible even in the crudest form. An irreducible minimum of cash has proved to be necessary for various purposes, such as transportation, public utility services, rents, fuel, equipment, raw materials, and many of the staple manufactured commodities. An incidental but vital problem of the mechanism of barter is to be found in the difficulty of balancing accounts and of satisfactorily measuring the value of goods or services offered for barter.

The measure of success that has been attained seems to have depended upon meeting certain fairly definite conditions. One of these is a recognition of the limited possibilities of barter. This implies a restricting of efforts to specific and practicable objectives; for example, the bringing together of individuals for barter, the exchange of urban labor and of its products for farm produce, the exchange of repair and maintenance work for rents, and arranging for limited group-production work, such as cutting wood, gardening, canning, baking, and sewing. Second, the mechanism of barter must be carefully guarded, whether in the form of simple but accurate bookkeeping or of adequately based scrip. Third, in order to secure co-operation and necessary financial backing, conflicting elements in the community must be conciliated. Working-class indifference or resentment must be avoided by discouraging cut-rate pay and excessive hours. Employers and business men must be conciliated by refraining from the competitive production and sale of goods, unless the group is able to compete without depending on gifts or taxes. This means a severe restriction of effort but leaves a margin of activity which business men themselves are unable to maintain because of the marginal absence of purchasing power in terms of cash. The most natural sources of financial support appear to

be the social agencies and the public-relief organizations. Social agencies and public officials alike might well consider the advantages of encouraging barter, because of its possibilities for economically supplementing direct relief if not proving a substitute therefor, and because of its socially desirable possibilities in promoting self-help, self-respect, and community morale among the unemployed. Finally, an essential condition of success is the human element of leadership. And here again social agencies have opportunities for valuable community service.

Soul-stirring and almost incredible have been the efforts of the unemployed to live without money and also without charity. For in our economic system, from beginning to end, monetary income remains the impelling motive. Even farming is no longer a way of life but a part of what has been called the "cash nexus." The farmer must produce for the markets in order to secure cash to supply himself with what is produced by others, to buy equipment and transportation, and to pay interest and taxes. Without a profound and nation-wide economic revolution hardly contemplated even by barter enthusiasts, exchange by barter has extremely narrow limits.

The all-important problem of industry at large is escape from the spiral of deflation caused by inability to produce at a profit. For this problem, barter offers no solution. It is essentially a reversion to primitive economy, and for the handling of the intricate details of production and of trade between communities and sections, its method is hopelessly crude. In some communities it has aided in mitigating the rigors of the depression, but it is fundamentally insignificant except as a symptom of economic and social malady.

This critical view should be somewhat qualified. If economic recovery is long delayed, it is conceivable that organized barter may mark the economic beginnings of the Middle Ages in America—a long-continued reversion to a primitive, self-sufficing economy. Another qualification is the connection of barter with the co-operative movement. Co-operation is a well-established economic system, which can use either barter or the customary

mediums of production and exchange. Opinions differ as to its value, but it has an organizing principle, an economic philosophy, and a definite alternative to business for monetary profit. Some of the groups organized for barter have adopted many of the ideas and methods of the co-operatives. To this extent the barter movement has come under the influence of an integrating principle and may well survive the emergency which has given rise to barter.

THE CONSUMERS' AND THE PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND THE SOCIAL WORKERS

Jerome Davis, Yale University

THE barter movement is an emergency reaction to the depression. It is temporary in nature. It can largely function only on the sufferance of the business interests who will tolerate no encroachment on their quest for profits. In fact, the barter movement may be actually detrimental to fundamental change. It may lull the unemployed into subservience to the many inequities of the present economic order. Again barter may become a respectable device which to some extent relieves the propertied few from contributing relief through stage taxation or through private agencies.

In spite of these dangers, we can recognize the emergency value of the barter movement. If it can be steered into channels which will create a fundamental change in the productive and distributive mechanism, it will be of incalculable worth. If the depression and the barter movement can be used so as to build a permanent co-operative movement of larger and larger proportions, it will be of permanent value.

Let us review briefly the record of the consumers' co-operative movement. If we take the Rochdale Pioneer Society as roughly the first to start in 1844, the movement is less than ninety years old. There are now some two hundred and thirty thousand consumers' co-operative societies in the International Co-operative Alliance, scattered through forty-two countries. They have a membership of some seventy million consumers with a business of twenty-billion dollars a year. In England the movement has spread to such an extent that nearly every town has its own co-operative store. All retail systems are federated in a Co-operative Wholesale Society, which has its own factories, banks,

flour mills, etc. Roughly, the English societies handle about one-tenth of the country's total retail trade.

In the United States we are far behind the rest of the world in the matter of co-operatives. In fact, as recently as the World War we were still in the Dark Ages so far as co-operation was concerned.

The Co-operative League, a federation of consumers' co-operative societies in the United States, was established only in 1916. Today it has a total of 469 dues-paying societies, with 150,000 members, doing about \$30,000,000 business a year. Its purpose is educational and its membership is open both to societies and to any interested individuals. The dues for the latter are only a dollar a year.

In the course of time the consumers' co-operative movement has found that certain fundamental principles have helped to make the movement successful. The first three are generally recognized to be absolutely essential, but the others are observed in the majority of successful co-operatives:

First, one member, one vote.

Second, legal rate of interest, only, on capital.

Third, surplus after fund for interest on capital stock, reserve, and education is returned to members in proportion to patronage. In other words, the organization is conducted on the basis of service to all its members, not for profits to the few.

Fourth, unrestricted membership, although each individual is expected to invest some money. If he has none, his investment can be deducted from the surplus which would otherwise be returned to him.

Fifth, cash sales at the market value.

Sixth, constant education in the principles and aims of co-operation.

Seventh, federation as soon as possible with the nearest co-operative societies with the ultimate purpose of national and world co-operation.

The first principle is in striking contrast to that of a capitalistic enterprise, where the number of votes depends on the

amount of money invested. Co-operation is trying to go back to the ancient principle that humanity is of infinitely more worth than property. The principle of one vote per person is essential for the subordination of property to life. Under co-operation, *humanics* becomes more important than *mechanics*. For the same reason, the co-operative movement does not allow those who invest their money in the business to secure speculative profits; all profits are returned to those who use the business in proportion to their patronage.

In the United States the obstacles to the spread of co-operation have been many. America is a land of great area. It is often difficult to federate societies because of geographical isolation. The capitalistic, materialistic spirit which is dominant in America is sympathetic with the efficient and egoistic individual who seeks to dominate for his own selfish profit. In fact, the people of the United States as a whole have been infected with the profit motivation. They want to make money quickly and easily in capitalistic enterprises. There is fear on the part of many business men that a co-operative society succeeding in one line may eventually encroach on their own profits. The result is unrelenting opposition from the private retailer and wholesaler.

The laws of the United States discriminate against business carried on for service and on the whole favor business carried on for profit. The competition of the great chain stores, such as the Atlantic and Pacific, and the mail-order houses such as Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck, make co-operation especially difficult. Up until 1929 the American people were not used to practicing thrift, and even today have not become habituated to saving small amounts. The conglomeration of different nationalities makes it more difficult for all to join together wholeheartedly and co-operatively.

The co-operative movement is also severely handicapped because so many questionable concerns are able to do business under the co-operative banner. The exploitation practiced by these concerns tends to throw discredit on the genuine co-operatives. In the depression over fifteen million people were thrown

out of employment. There was likely to be considerable migration from one state to another. This makes it difficult for the co-operative store, which must be built on a solid educational foundation. Neither the religious forces of the country nor the social workers have on the whole supported the co-operative movement. Americans have been taught to laud the spirit of individualism, self-help, and "mind your own business" which militates against effective co-operation.

In spite of these difficulties there are approximately two thousand consumers' societies in the United States. Roughly, half of these are farmers' stores which handle farm supplies and general merchandise. Some six hundred are co-operative gas and oil associations, and the balance are divided between restaurants, bakeries, dairies, groceries, meat stores, apartment houses, banks, insurance companies, etc. In addition, there are 1,650 co-operative banks among which failures are comparatively rare and the percentage of losses of capital much lower than in capitalistic banking. It is a striking commentary on American life that the societies which have had the greatest success are those founded and carried on by foreigners.

In 1931 the Federal Farm Board reported that 392,000 farmers, organized in about 1,600 societies, did co-operative purchasing to the extent of \$215,000,000, whereas including all the town and city co-operative consumers the total urban sales would only run to some \$30,000,000.

There has not been any great development of the consumers' co-operative movement during the depression. Possibly this is due to the low purchasing power of the consumer, to the competition of capitalistic concerns selling below cost, and to unemployment among the members. The chief growth of the movement has been among the farmers of the Middle West. The depression has taught many of them the nature of co-operation and has stimulated their loyalty to it.

On the other hand, the long continuation of the depression has had a rather disastrous effect upon the finances of many co-operative organizations. They have had to borrow heavily from

the Revolving Fund of the Federal Farm Board and in many cases have not been able to repay their loans. The fact that they are indebted to the Board makes them less vigorous in asking for the continuation of the educational and research activities of the Board, and these may soon be discontinued. If so, this will be one of the unfortunate concomitants of the economy wave which is sweeping the federal government.

Where there has been growth in co-operation during the depression, it is difficult to tabulate since the farmers' associations are so scattered and isolated; but in the co-operative purchasing of gasoline and petroleum products especially there has been a substantial increase.

The oil associations have undoubtedly been the most successful among the farmers. Usually each society serves one county district, selling gasoline and oil and certain accessories such as tires through service stations. There is a total of about six hundred such co-operatives in the United States today.

In Nebraska, according to L. S. Herman, the editor of the *Nebraska Union Farmer*, the effect of these co-operative oil stations has been to reduce the price of gasoline three to four cents. In spite of this, the co-operatives have been able to make a patronage refund of from 12 to 20 per cent to purchaser members.

Something of the value of business done can be realized when one considers that fifty co-operative oil companies in Minnesota and Wisconsin alone in 1931 did a total business of over \$2,500,000 and realized a net profit of 12.32 per cent.

The depression has tended to decrease the dollar volume of consumers' co-operative stores while increasing the volume of the business. For example, the co-operative mercantile associations in Michigan with 650 members had a shrinkage in the value of the products sold from \$686,514 in 1929 to \$400,000 in 1932, although they were actually selling more articles than ever before. In this society member customers received a patronage refund of 8 per cent and non-members received 4 per cent. This society is unique in paying 17.4 per cent of the net

earnings to its employees as a bonus. It also paid them 8 per cent of their total wages as a bonus if they were members of the society.

In the cities there have been a number of specialized societies which have also sprung up. To cite one example, consider the organization called Co-operative Distributors of 128 East Sixteenth Street, New York City. This is a national co-operative purchasing and mail-order distributing association owned by and operated primarily for non-profit organization and the ultimate consumer. It attempts both to distribute and to produce articles of proper merit on a non-profit basis to the consumer. Their first-order blank lists such supplies as inks of various sorts, mimeograph stencils, memo pads, lubricating oil, various polishes and cleaners, moth control kits, etc. Experience shows that it is extremely doubtful whether this type of co-operative organized "from the top down" can permanently survive. If every social agency would purchase even part of their office supplies through this co-operative, it would at least permit its having a fair trial.

Industrial producers' co-operatives in the United States have been few and in general short-lived. Even those which have existed have been hard hit by the depression. While they cannot discharge their employees, they have to meet the competition of the profit enterprises who have not hesitated to cut their labor force to any extent demanded. The Columbia Conserve Company at Indianapolis, Indiana, which is perhaps the outstanding example in this field, has, during the depression, been forced to reduce salaries 75 per cent so that the workers are only getting a quarter of their present wage. Although 63 per cent of the stock is owned by the employees, during the present year serious disturbances have occurred between the workers and the management. These finally culminated in the bringing-in of a committee of four to solve the difficulties. This committee took the power out of the hands of the council of the workers and placed it in the board of directors, but with the proviso that all discharges should be protected by the right of appeal to Dr.

Leiserson of Antioch College. After the management had attempted to discharge some of the workers, and two of them had been reinstated by Dr. Leiserson, the management induced a large majority of the workers to go back on the original agreement, which was supposed to run until April, 1934, and arbitrarily discharged the committee and Dr. Leiserson. This leaves the status of the Columbia Conserve Company in actual practice as not so different from the average concern which is run for profit although their products should still be purchased in preference to others. Sixty-three per cent of the stock is held by the workers, but there is a larger indebtedness ahead of their claim to any equity in the business than there was ten years ago when they started to purchase the stock. In other words, after all their financial sacrifice—they are now getting only 25 per cent of their former wages—they find themselves under the constant fear of receivership and with a management which is continually threatening to resign unless the workers are subservient. Thus the Columbia Conserve Company becomes one more testimonial to the difficulty of establishing a genuine producers' co-operative within the framework of a capitalistic economic order. In general, either the workers or the management become infected with a profit psychosis or they fall victims to the general difficulties of a depression period.

In other words, producers' co-operatives outside of the rural area have not proved themselves strong enough to withstand the shocks of the ups and downs of the capitalistic system.

Social workers have a peculiar responsibility in this depression to see to it that their work is not simply ameliorative or even solely preventive in the narrower sense. It should be promotive. So often social workers have attempted to meet individual need, using the routine case techniques without analyzing the social causes which have produced the family maladjustments. Without minimizing in the slightest the biologic or individual causes for dependency and delinquency (as well as the entire family situation), we must nevertheless recognize that our economic order is itself partially responsible.

The profit system of distribution is estimated to cost the American people roughly thirty billion dollars in 1929.¹ This is perhaps half the total retail bill. The labor cost of many commodities is infinitesimally small in comparison with the selling price. A scientific analysis of our productive and distributive mechanisms will show that individuals are exploited at one end as producers and as consumers at the other. In many of our sweatshops in Connecticut workers have been getting two dollars a week or less. At the same time we are paying outrageously high prices for many products, especially for electricity, gas, and, in New Haven, for water. What have the social workers done about all this and what can be done?

One of the ways of meeting the failures of our economic order is to substitute a consumers' co-operative organization whenever possible. The present depression presents a golden opportunity for action along this line. It is conceivable that the barter movement might be translated into a permanent consumers' co-operative movement. Social workers should lend their aid to see to it that these barter exchanges become permanent co-operative agencies. This can be done by keeping them open in membership, giving each member one vote and only one, and encouraging those who secure paid positions to retain membership in the barter co-operative exchange, purchasing their supplies with real money instead of scrip. If this could be done, it is possible that a transfer could be made from the barter system to the co-operative movement. It seems probable, however, that the pressure of the profit organization within the community will be so great that the barter movements will be allowed to deteriorate and decay if and when conditions improve.

Even now these organizations are often disintegrated and ruined because of selfish interest. For example, it is reported that the United Producers League, operating in the state of Washington, was unable to make a success of large industrial projects such as saw mills, brick plants, and bakeries because they did not control the raw material. They had man-power

¹ Estimate of leaders of the Co-operative League of America.

enough and to spare, but the natural resources were in the hands of those who were out to make profit and did not propose to lose their advantage.

Under conditions as they are, the social agencies should aid those of the unemployed who wish to organize to bring political pressure and to demand adequate relief, unemployment insurance, and other social measures. This action on the part of the unemployed will probably in the long run accomplish more than mere organization into temporary barter societies. As we said in the beginning, barter may be an opiate preventing the unemployed from asking for fundamental reconstruction. Barter may become merely a means of reducing the necessity for taxes for relief or in reducing the necessity for charitable gifts from the wealthy. On the whole, barter is antiquated and parasitic. Very few of the barter organizations are able to give their membership decent citizenship standards of living. On the contrary, in city after city, in spite of a fairly good organization, a large number of members are constantly being evicted from their homes. In Los Angeles in September, 1932, the unemployed co-operative relief association, which is a federation of forty-five local units, was able to secure housing for only 20 per cent of their families who were evicted. It would seem that more co-operative agencies of the unemployed should be started. There should be more and more unemployment citizens' leagues to promote unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, minimum wage laws for women and children, laws to stop eviction, to stop shutting off of gas and electricity, and to secure other legislation which will actually give the same favors to the laboring class that are now being given to the men of property and privilege. The whole movement of barter is a subterfuge and a sham, unless it definitely becomes a permanent agency to substitute something better for the present system of profit exploitation.

Like the farmer who never repaired the leaks in his roof because when it was raining it was impossible and when the weather was good it was unnecessary, social workers of the country have a tendency always to have alibis against taking any action

which is opposed to the capitalistic system. They claim it is not within their province to organize the workers into trade unions during periods of prosperity, and in periods of depression the relief problem becomes so acute and the pressure on their time and energy is so great that it is impossible for them to organize the unemployed to demand changes in our economic order. It is commonly said that it is not the business of the social worker to promote social reform. Nevertheless, the social workers throughout the country have recognized their obligation for social legislation. It seems probable that the next great forward step in social work in the United States will be the recognition of the definite responsibility of each social agency to do promotive work for changes along economic and social lines, which will lessen the necessity for ameliorative work.

Why should not every social agency be a fact-finding instrument to discover what are the basic causes of the maladjustments which they treat? If some of these are preventable, then should not social workers assume leadership in setting up new forces to promote the necessary changes? For example, if a birth-control clinic is an indicated need in a community, why should not the social workers organize one? Again, why should not social workers assist in starting consumers' co-operative societies for the poor? It is not necessary to secure unanimity in such actions; a minority should be able to move forward. It is not a valid excuse to say that social workers dare not take action for fear that they may lose their jobs. On this basis almost no one but unemployed communists can take action!

In the long run, in America we can never eliminate maladjustment and the dependent defective and delinquent classes as long as the profit seeking few are allowed to exploit. The common people must own and control the basic industries, utilities, banks, and distributive agencies if we are ever to eliminate unnecessary injustice, unemployment, crime, and exploitation. The social workers of the nation must assume leadership in promoting fundamental social change or they will fail even in their task of amelioration. Are social workers willing to run the risk and pay the penalties which this involves?

URBANIZATION AND THE NEGRO

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THE trend of various population elements in the United States toward urban centers provides an interesting study. In 1910 we were but 45.8 urban. By 1920 we had reached 51.5 per cent. In the South the trend of Negro population was coincident with and in the same direction as the cotton development, from the east to the southwest, continuing even after emancipation and up until the World War. For one hundred and thirty years the centers of population moved southwest until early in the present century. From 1910 to 1920 the trend changed abruptly and moved toward the northwest.

The peonage system, the boll weevil, introduction of farm machinery, mob violence, and desire for better educational opportunities have all had tremendous influence. For example, recent studies showed that in eight southern states the annual expenditure for education per colored child was \$12.50 against \$44.31 for each white child—in Georgia, \$6.39 for Negroes, \$35.42 for whites; in Mississippi, \$5.45 for Negroes, \$45.34 for whites. Booker Washington once referred to this disparity by saying he thought it too high a compliment to pay to the intelligence of the Negro child to expect it to do as much on \$1.00 as the white child did on \$10.00.

The tide of Negro migration northward and cityward is not fully explained by the demands of war industry and the shutting-off of foreign immigration. It is explained primarily in terms of a new vision of opportunity, of social and economic freedom, a determined effort to seize, in the face of overwhelming odds, a new lease on life—in spite of the extortionate toll made by overcrowding, disease, and exploitations. It was one last stand in his fight for a chance to improve his condition. It

is a fact worthy of note that in spite of this contribution to America in music and art, in the cultivation of rice, cotton, and tobacco, the Negro has had scarcely a pittance of the tremendous growth and prosperity achieved by America since emancipation.

Urbanization offered the Negro his one big chance to diversify his occupations. Of the 320 occupations listed in the 1920 census for New York City, Negroes were in 316 of them. While the Negro population increased from 7,500,000 to nearly 12,000,000 from 1890 to 1930, a gain of 58 per cent, the number gainfully employed showed a much greater increase — from 3,000,000 to 5,500,000, an increase of 79 per cent.

There was a marked increase in professional service. The number of janitors increased from 5,945 in 1890 to 78,415 in 1930—an increase of 72,470, or 1,200 per cent. Elevator tenders jumped from 4,999 in 1910 to 16,889 in 1930; cleaners, dyers, and pressers from 3,744 to 15,773.

The number of southern counties in which Negro population exceeded the white dropped from 300 in 1880 to 187 in 1930. Up to 1910 there was no city with a Negro population equaling 100,000. Only two—New York and Philadelphia—had a Negro population of over 50,000. Of the 7,500,000 Negroes in the United States in 1890, less than 1,500,000 were living in centers classified as urban. Today there are over 5,000,000.

It is a significant fact that while there was a distinct loss in both Negro and white rural farm population during the past decade, the land operated by Negroes decreased by 31,835,050 acres, approximately 5,992 square miles (an area slightly larger than the combined land areas of Connecticut and Rhode Island), between 1920 and 1930. At the same time there was a very substantial increase of 34,743,840 acres, or approximately 54,287 square miles for white farm operators.

From 1910 to 1930 there was an actual decrease in rural Negro population of 239,308, or $3\frac{4}{5}$ per cent; and from 1920 to 1930, 206,408, or 3 per cent. The 1890 census showed $55\frac{8}{9}$ per cent of gainfully employed Negroes engaged in agriculture, 31

per cent in domestic and personal service, while all other occupations accounted for only 13 per cent. By 1930 "all other occupations" had increased to 34⁷₁₀ per cent.

Urbanization on a large scale is comparatively new among Negroes. Up to 1900, 77 per cent of Negroes were rural dwellers. Since 1910, they have been making up for lost time. The indications are that well before 1940 Negroes will have passed native whites of native parents in their degree of urbanization. In spite of the fact that many of the forces pulling the Negroes to cities during the last two decades have diminished in intensity, the drift has continued. Attempts to arouse interest in the "back-to-the-farm movement" have generally fallen on deaf ears. The story is told of a labor agent from the South who went to Chicago some years ago to recruit workers in lumber mills. He was asked, "Mister, where did you say them logs is?" When told "Mississippi," his reply was, "If you'll bring them up here we'll saw them for you." The Negro in the North was predominantly urban before the opening of the present century. In 1920 he was 70 per cent urban in sharp contrast to native whites, who were only 38.6 per cent.

The movement was primarily to the four centers—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit. The small numbers of Negroes settling in the West is deserving of study. Whatever influence Horace Greeley may have exerted on the Negro question before and during the Civil War, his advice to young men to go west has apparently not been taken seriously by the Negro of the present generation. For in 1930 there were only 130,000 Negroes in the entire western area. In about fifteen years Detroit's Negro population jumped from 6,000 to over 100,000. New York City rose from 150,000 in 1920 to 327,000 in 1930—an increase of 115 per cent against a 20 per cent increase for its white population.

What has been the effect of this new, unassimilated group on the community life? Everywhere this concentration of Negroes in segregated colonies has been followed by an aggravation of social problems.

According to the White House Conference on Child Health, tuberculosis among Negro children under five years of age is double that of white children; for those between the ages of five and nine, it is four times as great; and from ten to nineteen years of age, it is five times that of whites.

In Chicago, Negro girls and young women have constituted nearly one-third of females confined in the jails. The Department of Correction of New York reported for 1930 that of 59,000 males arraigned in the four courts, 16,391, or about 28 per cent, were Negroes—five times as great as the population should warrant. One would think that Negroes are especially fond of going to jail. According to studies made by the National Urban League, unemployment runs all the way from four to six times that of the city as a whole. In juvenile delinquency, crime, disease, and the other ills that so vitally affect family life, the story is generally the same. Harlem is referred to in a report of the New York Vice Committee as a place where whites go on a moral vacation.

The causes are not far to seek. A study of 4,000 Negro families of Harlem in 1920 revealed that one-half the income of the heads of these families (\$102 per month average) was expended for rent. To supplement this income, over 80 per cent of mothers worked away from home; 65 per cent resorted to taking in of lodgers.

Restriction to definite areas and denial of opportunities to work at the more remunerative jobs were the main contributing factors. A study just completed by the New York Building Congress divides Manhattan into four rental zones. Although the majority of the Negro population falls within the lowest-income group, 75 per cent of them live in the fifty- to one-hundred-dollar-per-month rental zone—the third highest rental section for the city.

It is a significant fact that the coming of Negroes has not disturbed, but aided, the natural evolution of the city, as they have usually taken over declining areas, houses abandoned as undesirable in the general forward movement of whites to other sec-

tions and supplying tenants for houses that would otherwise remain unoccupied. Strange as it may seem, these newcomers have been compelled to pay from 10 to 40 per cent more for these houses than was paid by white tenants who preceded them. In Chicago, Negro tenants paid from \$8.00 to \$20.00 for the same room for which white tenants formerly paid \$4.00 to \$5.00. In New York, Negroes were found paying, in some instances, \$110.00 per month for the same apartments for which whites had previously paid \$55.00. Similar conditions were found in Philadelphia and Buffalo. According to Woofter in *Negro Problems in Cities*, foreign-speech people have usually occupied the building before they are turned over to Negroes.

The mobility of the urbanized Negro within the city is also greater than that of whites. It is estimated that the average Negro tenant in New York moves once every fifteen months, while the average white family moves only once in five years.

It is rather remarkable, however, that the mobility of Negro farmers is less than that of white farmers. The 1925 census studies show a ratio of 10 to 7 in favor of the Negro. A study of 93 selected counties, by C. O. Brannen, show that 53 per cent of white tenants kept their farms less than two years, as compared with 39 per cent of Negroes.

A study of census tracts by the President's Research Commission on recent social trends shows a pronounced tendency for immigrants to abandon their colonies and disperse among the general population. Negro colonies, on the contrary, show a different history. Instead of scattering, they tend to become more compact and racially more homogeneous. The report says:

As immigrants have poured in from foreign countries and Negroes have migrated from the rural South the newcomers have formed colonies within the cities where they have maintained, as far as possible, their traditional ways of living. Now that immigration has receded almost to the zero point, the question arises as to what will happen to the older immigrant districts found in almost every city. Not enough time has elapsed since immigration slackened to give a final answer to this question. A study of census tract statistics, in the

few cities for which data are available for successive period, indicates, however, a pronounced tendency for immigrants to abandon their colonies and disperse among the general population. . . . As the immigrant moves up the economic ladder, he moves out toward the periphery of the community.

With two million whites deserting cities for farms in 1932, very few Negroes left the city for farms.

What effect is this merging of foreign population groups to have on the focus of welfare efforts? In the period of recovery these Negro communities are entitled to a larger share of the social engineer's efforts. Should not settlement houses consider moving to Negro sections rather than carrying on, out of traditional interest, even after the need has passed? In a large city a head worker recommended moving to a congested Negro area that in the last ten years has become recognized as a delinquency "hot spot." But the Board of Directors flatly refused to accede to these recommendations on the ground that their settlement-house program was not designed for Negroes.

Instead of facing the question courageously, some welfare agencies are either dodging it entirely or exploiting the Negro for furtherance of other projects. There have been instances where the Negro district with its high death-rate and its slum areas was played up as the sore spot—used as a sob story to secure funds only to be forgotten when those funds were administered.

Strange as it may seem, the Negro has fared much better at the hand of municipal governments than private industry or welfare agencies supported by private philanthropy. He has bartered votes for jobs. In New York it was for public school-teachers (nearly one thousand), policemen, executive and supervisory jobs in the Department of Public Welfare, and even a civil service commissioner.

Lest these Negro districts might become too powerful through concentration of Negro votes, however, they have been split up. In New York and Detroit the Negro sections were redistricted so as to guard against the Negro having a majority of the voting

strength in any congressional district. But for this there would probably be cities other than Chicago sending Negroes to Congress.

Can the Negro survive as a city dweller? Many students of urbanization forecast the ultimate breaking-up of cities. Improved transportation, labor-saving machinery, and other facilities that tend to make life in the country more livable may point to the early decentralization of the American city.

Sorokin and Zimmerman in *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* have pointed out that "catastrophes such as revolutions and financial depressions have generally led to disurbanization. From 1917 to 1920 Moscow decreased from 2,017,000 to 1,028,000; Petrograd from 2,420,000 to 1,469,000." They predict:

The wheel of Destiny rolls on to its end; the birth of the City entails its death. Beginning and end, a peasant cottage and a tenement block are related to one another as soul and intellect, as blood and stone. But "Time" is no abstract phase, but a name for the actuality of Irreversibility. Here there is only forward, never back. Long, long ago the country bore the country town and nourished it with her best blood. Now the giant city sucks the country dry, insatiably and incessantly demanding and devouring fresh streams of men till it wearies and dies in the midst of an almost uninhabited waste of country. Once the full sinful beauty of this last marvel of all history has captured a victim, it never lets him go. Primitive folk can loose themselves from the soil and wander, but the intellectual nomad never. . . . He would sooner die upon the pavement than go "back" to the land.

Many students of the race problem in America have looked to urbanization and northern migration as one possible solution. But in deserting the country for the city, the Negro appears to have merely jumped from the frying pan into the fire.

Education has served to make Negro youth more discontent in the army of the unemployed. Urbanization has accentuated the growing conviction that, regardless of efforts, the Negro finds it increasingly difficult to "make it on the level"; that he cannot beat the color line; that the barrier of race has condemned him to the lower level of life. Is it then any wonder that he responds to the call of class consciousness and revolution?

The curriculum of state educational institutions, built primarily to serve the needs of the rural population, has contained little of help for the farmer. Rather has it emphasized, unconsciously, the city as a place of refuge and salvation, draining the country of its best minds. Generally lacking in a program of vocational guidance, these institutions have influenced their graduates to set their compass for those centers that seem to offer the easiest route to financial and social success. Meanwhile, the farmer was left to fight the brave and hopeless battle without the aid of leaders trained in scientific agriculture.

No plan for recovery can be complete without recognition of the social problems that have grown up around these Negro urban communities. Any way out for the Negro is destined to fail unless it includes a program for making farm life more satisfying, and a workable system for supplying information, direction, and assistance with a view to influencing population trends instead of the present "hit-or-miss" drift now feeding the city slums.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF LARGE-SCALE HOUSING

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THREE have been numerous rumors floating about the nation to the effect that America is about to launch herself upon a career of large-scale housing development under the new National Recovery Act. There is a correlative rumor to the effect that Cleveland may be chosen as a laboratory center for such developments.

The providing of dwelling-places for American citizens has, in the past, been the happy hunting ground for real estate speculators and construction entrepreneurs. Rich have been the harvests from the unearned increment on land and from the sale and rent of dwellings. On the other hand, it has been apparent to social workers and sociologists that there is a definite correlation between poor housing and certain social pathologies. Consequently, there has been an increasing hue and cry for "slum clearance" and better housing for America. These two motivations, namely, the desire for profit in housing and the desire for a safer, more healthy community, have been at odds for some time, with the victory going primarily to the former. Whether adequate housing for all can be obtained under a profit-motivated economic system is perhaps a question. At any rate, it is clear that if we are to have adequate housing and sanely built cities, the social motive in planning and construction of dwellings must become more dominant. So far, we have made most progress in continuing to erect dwelling projects primarily for profit, which we ballyhoo as "slum clearance" projects.

That America is as poorly housed as any great industrial nation needs no demonstration. That many social pathologies of enormous cost to the nation are associated with this poor hous-

ing should be patent to a group of social workers. Why are we so poorly housed? Why have we been unable to make progress in this essential matter? Authorities on housing agree, in general, that we have never provided new and adequate dwellings for the lower two-thirds of the incomes. We have had much speculative building, resulting in an oversupply of dwellings for the upper one-third of the population, or in jerry-built structures for the lower two-thirds. The lower-income families have found it necessary to crowd into well-built structures which have long since passed their period of usefulness, or into cheaply built subdivisions, rapidly falling into decay.

As the social concept of housing has gradually permeated our thinking, we have developed devices to stimulate building, such as tax exemption for new structures over a period of time or the limited-dividend corporation. Devices such as tax exemption on new construction have resulted, in the main, in stimulating the erection of more apartments for the higher-income groups. Such buildings pay better. The limited-dividend corporation has achieved some success in providing dwellings for those farther down on the economic scale. None of these limited-dividend enterprises, however, has succeeded in reaching the slum dweller. As long as rooms must rend at from six to twelve dollars per room per month, fully 50 per cent of our families will be eliminated from inhabiting such dwellings, under proper conditions.

The President's Committee on Low Cost Housing agreed that adequate dwellings for the low-income groups could be erected only by the use of public subsidies, whether local or federal. Competent city planners and architects are, in general, agreed upon this conclusion. In this conclusion we have the beginning of the recognition that the providing of adequate housing for the greater part of the nation is a social problem. It should be viewed as a social welfare function. It can be accomplished only as the social motive comes to predominate in our planning. The profit motive, whether speculative or in the form of limited-dividend enterprises, cannot begin to solve the problem of pro-

viding adequate shelter for the lower-income families of our nation.

For the first time the necessities for recognizing this problem as social and for providing public subsidies have been recognized in legislation. The recently enacted National Recovery Act authorizes the President to expend federal funds for low-cost housing and slum elimination. Under the Act he may make loans at low interest and outright grants up to 30 per cent of the cost of labor and materials. The necessity for public subsidy is clearly recognized. We are now in a position to move forward into a new era in housing development, when the social motive may have a clearer recognition, when we may be able to begin to provide adequate shelter for the lower two-thirds of our families.

We must, however, take the precaution to guard ourselves at several points in our thinking. Undoubtedly, it was the great desire to put men to work as rapidly as possible which drove the Bill through Congress. Any program based upon the new Act must meet the desirable end of putting men to work, of reviving industry, immediately and over a period of time. Moreover, there is a vast amount of confusion still surrounding the Act and its interpretation. What initiative will the federal government assume? Will it, for instance, revive the National Housing Corporation, moribund since the war? If the desire for speed is to be met, the federal government should lead the way by setting up a national housing office, appointing local administrators where federal funds are to be expended. How will the Act be interpreted with regard to such issues as the granting of subsidies? The Act states that subsidies are to be granted to states, municipalities, or other public bodies. Will the phrase "other public bodies" be interpreted to include limited-dividend corporations? The limited-dividend organization cannot get rents as low as can a genuine public body. Such economies as tax exemption, the saving of the cost of financing, and non-profit management are possible only under public authority. The stated life of the Act is two years. At the expiration of that time, will

all the machinery for the maintenance and control of housing projects be automatically done away with? Unless some permanent control, some permanent social and educational policy, is set up and the proper administration provided, do we have any guaranty that new construction may not be providing the new slums for the next generation? Is a subsidy of 30 per cent enough to provide adequate housing for the lowest-income groups? Authorities seem to be uncertain as to the answer to this question. In any case, with a subsidy of 30 per cent, housing for families lower on the income scale than any hitherto cared for can be reached. With the additional economies of public management, we can reach groups even lower. In any case, also, the precedent for public subsidy has now been established. Larger subsidies may ultimately prove necessary for the lowest-income or no-income families, but with a 30 per cent subsidy we shall make substantial advances toward adequate housing for America.

The pressure of our thinking on this problem can be made effective as at no other period in our history. We can further the desideratum of economic and social planning by beginning to convince our communities and the nation that large-scale housing is a broadly social function, to fit into broad community and regional plans, to be managed from the point of view of general social welfare.

A group in Cleveland known as the Committee on Social Aspects of Housing has drawn up a statement of the possibilities, which, in their thinking, should be kept in mind, as large-scale housing comes to be regarded as a broad problem of social welfare. I present a review of this report, realizing that its details must be regarded as tentative.

A SOCIAL VIEWPOINT ON HOUSING PLANS FOR CLEVELAND

There has been active current discussion of proposed large-scale housing projects in Cleveland and throughout the nation. Two reasons are brought forward for believing that the construction of dwellings on large scale would be desirable at the present time. First, it is hoped that such developments would give a stimulus to industry which would be of great value in speeding

up the wheels of business. Second, it is hoped that the so-called blighted areas in many great cities might thus be eliminated, together with the terrible social problems of disease, ignorance and crime which these areas breed.

The importance of social factors.—Feeling that insufficient consideration has been given so far to certain human and social factors in dissensions of housing problem, a group of social workers and educators connected with agencies in Cleveland wish to present this report. We do not presume to speak for all educators and social workers. We bring forward a plan for the express purpose of stimulating thinking among social workers and educators as well as among architects, construction men and others concerned with housing. It is our hope that various social agencies and persons concerned with human problems will come together to express their points of view upon the fundamental problem of housing which must concern every citizen. We have attempted to enunciate certain general principles and policies which might be applied to any section of Cleveland, or any industrial city similar to Cleveland.

Fundamental premises.—There are certain premises upon which our proposed program is based. These premises are, first, that any housing projects for Cleveland should meet the desirable end of stimulating business. Second, we believe that a housing program for Cleveland should be regarded as a social welfare function. It should include actual re-housing of the lower income groups; the building of dwellings for the new conditions of life; the building of homes with regard to their effect on the whole community; and the planning of the housing project to contribute to permanent economic welfare. Third, we recommend that any specific project be a part of a broad social plan for the city and the region. A conscientious exploration of blighted areas, undeveloped land on the outskirts of the city, and semi-rural areas is indicated. A continuous planning of housing facilities in relationship to industrial areas, shopping centers, parks, transportation, sanitary facilities, is necessary to make for an orderly, healthy community. We recommend the necessity of a continuously revised regional master plan for the greater Cleveland area. Some of the social factors entering into such planning are indicated in our program.

A public housing authority.—We propose that a Public Housing Authority for the greater Cleveland area be set up. This authority should be a public corporation empowered to study the housing needs of the community, to purchase land, to construct and to operate dwellings upon that land. It should become a permanent, non-profit organization analogous to the Port of New York Authority in New York and New Jersey, the Metropolitan Park Board in Cleveland, or the Tennessee Valley Authority. It should be in a position to obtain loans and grants of money or materials from public or private sources. It should be in a position to cooperate with social welfare and educational agencies in the community as well as with construction corporations and the like. Its controlling board should be made up of architects, builders, city-planners, social workers and educators, as well as representatives of the public at large.

Setting up the public housing authority.—In order to make such an authority possible an act by the State Legislature might be necessary. A small amount

of money would be necessary to give the authority its initial start. Such a sum might be obtained by allocation from the Legislature, or by grant from a foundation or interested parties. Ultimate support after projects had been built might come from rents on dwellings or from special taxing privileges granted the authority. In any case, the cost of maintaining an office and a small staff should never be large. Such a development would parallel the growth and maintenance of the Metropolitan Park Board.

In case the Federal Government determines to set up a National Housing Corporation or similar body, with a local branch in Cleveland, the purposes we have in mind would still be served. The organization and financing of a local Housing Authority would be assumed by the government. There would still be need of representation on the authority of social and educational interests and local architectural patterns from local organizations, familiar with the problems here.

Private initiative and public authority.—Question may be raised as to whether a Public Housing Authority, whether created by state or national action, conflicts with private initiative in housing. First, private initiative has historically never provided housing for the lower two-thirds of the population. There is little evidence that plans proposed up to the present will meet the needs of the lower income groups. Second, private initiative will be given new business in bidding for construction contracts to house the lower income groups. This business would not be gained under present plans which can only transfer slums to new blighted areas, not clear slums by providing dwellings for those displaced. The Housing Authority, finally, would be able to develop projects for the middle-class group as well. Private industry would be better stimulated, and for a longer period of time under the proposed Public Housing Authority.

The finance of housing projects.—In order to construct dwellings to rent at a price within the range of the lowest one-third of the population, the Housing Authority should obtain loans and grants from the Federal Government. The National Recovery Bill (now pending in Congress) authorizes the expenditure by the president for construction of low cost housing and slum clearance projects under public regulation or control. The president is authorized to construct, finance, or aid in the construction and financing of low cost housing and slum clearance projects. He is further authorized to make grants to states, municipalities, or other public bodies not in excess of 30 per cent of the cost of labor and materials of such housing projects. Provision has already been made for the loan of additional funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This combination of grant and loan from the Federal Government affords the only opportunity to provide homes for the poorest families. We recommend that the National Recovery Bill be passed in order to provide funds whereby a public body such as the proposed Housing Authority may begin to eliminate the blighted areas of Cleveland.

Choosing sites for projects.—The Public Housing Authority should, by purchase or condemnation, obtain any land within the area for which Authority operates. Decision as to which areas might be chosen should be based upon study of the recently published Real Property Inventory and such other in-

formation as may be made available. If blighted areas are chosen dwellings would be erected upon this property to house a population which should have a density not exceeding, and in many cases should be less than, the present density of the population. Either single-family or terrace type dwellings may prove possible and sufficiently economical. But care should be taken to provide adequate light and ventilation, privacy for each family and an arrangement whereby a private garden and private play space are provided integral with each family dwelling. Other areas outside the present city might then be considered in connection with plans for a regional development. Plans for regional development should include housing projects for various income groups, from the lowest up to and including middle-class groups, as it became apparent that potential tenants were available.

Meeting social needs.—The Public Housing Authority, being cognizant of social needs, could build into the housing projects an arrangement of rooms and facilities such that the family would tend to become the functioning basic social unit. In addition, at a relatively small extra cost, provision could be made for nursery schools, playgrounds and athletic equipment, and the like. Moreover, as it became more apparent that the American citizen of the future will have an increasing amount of leisure, the Housing Authority could build into its projects a greater number of facilities for creative and participative recreation. The provision of space for little theatres, art and craft shops, rooms for classes, clubs and discussion groups, music studios, would all be in keeping with the social purpose of the housing projects. In cooperation with educational, social and cultural agencies of the Community, the Housing Authority could develop an educational program for the fullest utilization of the facilities available. For the lower income groups, a training in the correct use and proper maintenance of the structures might be desirable. A program of creative activities sponsored by other agencies would be possible, making for a full utilization of the facilities for leisure time built into projects. The projects would then take on significance as planned communities, providing the physical basis for a rich, satisfying life for tenants, looking toward a better adjusted, more self-reliant citizenry.

Economies to make slum elimination possible.—The Public Housing Authority, being a permanent body, would be able to exercise continued supervision over the various housing projects. It could shift the rental upon dwellings from time to time to guarantee that the facilities remain continually available for the tenants sought. Certain projects developed for those lowest on the economic scale would have rents at a figure much lower than those planned for a middle-class group. Various economies should make it possible for the Housing Authority to bring rents within the reach of the poorest third of the population. We recommend revision of the building code, Federal subsidies, and much experimentation with new building materials and methods as measures of economy. Additional economies possible under public authority, such as non-profit management, tax exemption of properties, and the saving of the cost of financing would create savings greater than any possible under commercial plans. If in the end it is found that even these economies are insufficient to provide adequate housing for a few of the poorest families, it must be

realized that savings in the social cost of crime and disease will more than compensate for the loss. The Public Housing Authority, providing the basis for ultimate slum elimination, will finally obviate many of the enormous costs of social pathologies. Other housing facilities for those higher upon the economic scale can be rented at a figure to meet cost or perhaps a little more. As rapidly as our economic life can be readjusted to pay living wages to all, the rent policy can be shifted by the Housing Authority. The Public Housing Authority as a regional planning body can realize the economies which are inherent in a flexible policy, constantly readjusted in different projects to meet changing economic and social needs.

Summary of the plan.—The plan as here presented does not pretend to be full in detail, or complete as to development. It is offered in the expectation of provoking further discussion. We hope that our point of view may be integrated with other points of view in a final adequate plan for the Cleveland area. To achieve some such final plan, we propose that a Public Housing Authority be set up, including representation of social and educational workers as well as those interested in building construction and city planning. Such a Public Authority would be in position to make full utilization of the proposed new Federal legislation for public works projects. It could plan a whole community, obtaining one parcel of land after another, to develop a series of housing projects for various income groups in keeping with a well-considered plan for the whole greater Cleveland area. It could build into projects arrangements making for an adequate family life and facilities for the kind of living which the future seems to promise. Under the Public Housing Authority certain economies should be possible which would provide housing for even the lowest income families of the community. The fact that the Housing Authority, a permanent body, could carry on a flexible policy as to rents makes the possibility of slum elimination even greater. In the end, the Public Housing Authority becomes a social planning body, providing the basis for a decent life, for a population, combining the aims of good housing and good construction with the aims of preventive social welfare, and integrating educational and cultural forces into a program of creative and cooperative living.

The plan as proposed represents a distinct forward-looking experiment in social planning. Cleveland has been in the forefront of social planning and experimentation in the past. Why should she not maintain that position of leadership in meeting the demands of a new day?

Much money will be spent under the National Recovery Act. Large-scale housing developments we shall have. Attempted slum elimination will occur. Under proper guidance, motivated by a broadly social point of view, these developments may provide a basis for an advance in social welfare beyond anything we have yet conceived.

THE VOLUNTEER IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY

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RURAL America needs help not only on its problem of crop surpluses, price equalization, and farming for a living, but on the eradication of its slums, its poverty, its ignorance, its lonely isolation. The intensity of these social problems is matched only by their extent and far-flung areas. For this community, according to the 1930 United States census, was comprised of 53,820,223 persons in rural areas and in towns of less than 2,500, or 43 per cent of the nation's population. And of the 3,098 counties, 1,419 have no town of 2,500 or more population. May not social work be as deeply concerned with this vast empire as with the city?

In so great an area, it would seem self-evident that the volunteer is indispensable to social progress, for the volunteer serves in a multitude of ways. He or she (and many more men serve proportionately than in the city) renders not only those services of the city volunteer, such as leadership in social activities, sponsorship of projects, membership on boards and committees, money-raising, and occasionally a little window-dressing, but also acts in administrative and executive capacities, in family investigations, in search of social resources, in clerical and drudgery duties, and in the daily minutiae of social work's details. Volunteers must perform these duties, for there are few professional workers in rural America and hundreds of counties have none. Resources are very scanty where even in "good years" Mr. Average Citizen, a farmer, never saw more than \$500 in cash, where delinquent taxes prevent payment of teachers' salaries, and where the highest-salaried person is the county judge getting \$150 a month—when he can cash his warrant!

This rural America is where people live on the soil and in small

towns. A good crop pays off the debts, even the mortgage; but a succession of poor crops, which seems the rule, means bare existence. The family is a close-knit unit; the father is the head. A few group interests predominate—the church, the school, the farm organization, the fraternal order. Personal resourcefulness is characteristic of the rural citizen. He is individualistic, yet has a sympathetic neighborliness. He customarily joins with his neighbor for harvesting and other farm labors. He aids when the need appears.

In this setting, the rural volunteer feels the intimacy of social problems. The local needs, once discovered, are "felt and seen" needs. Then there is an eagerness to help. A desire to be helpful is not criticized as in the city, for helpfulness in the face of need is considered neighborliness. When the task is generally apparent, a real community spirit is manifest. Community neighborliness becomes organized. The rural volunteer is the result.

These circumstances make the rural volunteer a very practical worker. He faces facts, not theories. He feels the jolts of the mountain road up the hollow to the needy family; and it is very real to him—quite unlike the city luncheon clubber who hears learned discourses on poverty and social theory. Striking capacities for leadership and execution of service are found and are developed on the realistic duties of daily performance. The rural volunteer cannot dodge his responsibility readily; the laborers may be few, and there may be but one professional worker, or none, to take up the slack. Trends toward the preventive and constructive side are evident in many counties as a result of these realistic experiences.

Understanding of these characteristics of the rural community and of the rural volunteer himself leads but to a recognition of the volunteer's vital place in rural progress. Social organization is slow and backward in much of rural America—in much over half of our states. The statements already made suggest the travail with which accomplishments have come. Many states, many communities, have had social advance through bitter experiences of great emergency and disaster. In Red Cross relief

operations in the Mississippi flood, in the 1930-31 drought in twenty-three states, and in activity in Red Cross chapters in unemployment relief, we have seen the call of the emergency, the appearance of leadership, the service of tens of thousands of volunteers, the close-up grappling for sheer survival, the discovery of problems on the doorstep not known to exist, the desire expressed through organized ways to do something about it.

Now in these efforts the volunteer is fundamental to success. The guidance and leadership of the professional worker are accepted where available as the partner's sharing of the burden. The team pulls together. There rarely is jealousy, or aloofness, or condescension. In fact, whether it be rural or urban, the united effort of professional and volunteer workers can only bring the greatest achievement. And the volunteer is the veritable base of community organization. He sponsors, he interprets, he secures support, he develops sentiment.

And, at the same time, the other half of the partnership—the professional worker—must plan, must discover, must show the method, must execute. He must be truly a partner, bearing his own responsibility, giving the volunteer his opportunity. There must be balance, for overbalance on the one side has often resulted in unintelligent, emotional, palliative efforts, while overbalance on the other has often resulted in a technical perfection that has left the community far behind in its understanding and support, and has retarded remedial gains.

The volunteer has a very important place, therefore, in rural social advance. Here are some of the parts he has played, some of the results largely to his credit: community consciousness of poverty, of pellagra-ridden sections, of bad rural housing, of cash-crop farming at the expense of subsistence farming. The volunteer discovered these problems for himself. He talked of them. He made others aware of them.

He has often brought the force of an understanding public sentiment back of adequate public funds for relief and back of adequate administration. Frequently, he has used his private agency as the only agency at hand to administer relief. When

public agencies were possible of organization he continued in advisory relations and found further service in his private agency. Then he has organized pellagra-prevention campaigns. He has promoted gardens, arranged for the family milk cow, the use of yeast as correctives.

He has brought diversified farming through his relief requirements. He has insisted on the home vegetable garden, and the feed crop for the stock along with the cotton crop, rather than all cotton to the doorstep. As a result, food for man and beast came from the soil rather than from grocery orders.

He has gone to the state capital to secure needed legislation. He has supported or appealed to the governor for effective public administration, etc., in actual, recorded experiences of leadership and service by the rural volunteer.

What of the methodology of rural volunteer service? Well, the problem, the cause, must be dramatized, understood, and felt. A flood, a drought, an unemployment crisis will do it; but also a scheme of local service promoted by a national organization or developed locally will do it.

The duty must be assigned with exactness. It must be manageable, not too large to discourage. Regular work and reports must be required. The stimulation of guidance by the local professional worker, the visiting field representative, or the skilful volunteer himself is needed. Training and instruction in institutes and through reading courses are essential. A primer on the question-and-answer basis should be developed.

County-wide organization, such as the Red Cross chapter, with branch committees in the various outlying communities, with committee assignment for certain projects, affords the rural volunteer a rallying-point. The private agency has generally been responsible for his interest and activity.

What a pity for the future of this rural community are some of the efforts to leap over this volunteer and his agency to an ideal of public administration by a professional worker assigned to a county board of commissioners whose primary interest is political! Every effort should be made to secure effective public

administration in this emergency. Qualified trained workers are needed. Public funds should carry the big load. But with all this the volunteer must not be overlooked. Through his private agency he will add strength to the new public body if given a chance. He will sponsor adequate public funds and effective administration. He will act as the buffer and interpreter for the new worker. And when the emergency is over, he will be there to carry on and assure continued service—provided he is given an opportunity today to take his part, and is not pushed aside or disregarded as of little service, when in fact he is the hub of the wheel of social advance.

The rural community will not get good social work by any outside laying on of hands, or by any molding into a fixed pattern of public or private administration. Rural America will get good social work when they of the country demand it—and to demand it they must understand it, feel it, participate in it, as is only possible through volunteer activity.

POSSIBILITIES OF VOLUNTEER SERVICE IN PUBLIC AGENCIES

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IN MY presentation I shall attempt to consider the volunteer in public work from a general rather than a specific point of view. In other words, today we hear nothing but relief, but there are other phases of public work in which the volunteer should be considered. There is a large influx of volunteers in the relief field at present, and I wish to determine just how valuable they are.

How generally are municipal, county, and state departments using volunteers? The last annual report of the State Charities Aid Association of New York indicates very active participation of volunteers who render varied service in almshouses in smaller counties, public hospitals, and homes in New York City. The Pennsylvania State Welfare Department has been rendered the continuing and devoted service of a board member of the Public Charities Association who has made an intensive study of the building program of our state institutions. I dare say but a few members of our staff are more conversant with every detail of our institutions and every future need in their development. Apart from the actual service given by such volunteers, the value of citizen participation is inestimable. Their intimate knowledge of public needs develops a type of "lobbying" and education not to be disregarded.

I have been told of a most interesting municipal project which is being carried on in one of our western states where police-women in their crime-prevention program are using a group of carefully selected volunteers, primarily members of women's organizations, who plan for and assist in vocational training and special education for talented girls.

I should like also to cite the use of volunteers by private agencies in connection with public departments. As, for instance, in a particular child-caring agency whose wards are committed to it by the juvenile court, at times a volunteer has been most successfully used as court-worker appearing at all sessions of the juvenile court and carrying the full responsibility for investigations, hearings, and placements. Naturally such service can only be offered to mature, experienced volunteers. The contacts I have cited and many more serve to break down intolerance of public agencies. In Pennsylvania boards of visitations to institutions "to which children are committed by the courts" are appointed by the common pleas court judges. They, therefore, serve as representatives of their counties, reporting to the courts.

Another service rendered by volunteers of Pennsylvania is that of trustees of the boards of our twenty-eight state-owned Welfare Department institutions. They are appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate, and, according to the administrative code, they are held responsible for the "general direction and control of the property and management of such institution. Subject to the approval of the Governor, they elect a superintendent or warden of the institution, and, on nomination by the superintendent or warden, appoint such officers and employes as may be necessary. They fix the salaries of employes."

Another valuable service rendered by volunteers is through their service on the boards of mothers' assistance funds. All states but four now have mothers' aid. For the most part, it is administered by four different types of agencies: through the courts, through the agency administering poor-relief, through special county boards, and through state boards. The system in Pennsylvania is ideal in that it combines the volunteer board with state supervision, which insures a degree of uniformity in administration and policies and the skilled service of the trained social worker. The Pennsylvania law limited the expenditure for administration to a maximum of 10 per cent of the total al-

location to the county. For this reason the type of administration varies. We have twenty-five counties in which the trustees assume full responsibility for the making of investigations and the supervision of families receiving aid. In each of ten other counties the trustees and a part-time worker share the responsibility, and in twenty-two counties the bulk of investigation and supervision is assumed by the staff, which may consist of one executive secretary up to an executive secretary with one or more supervisors and a staff of case workers.

Each trustee of the Mothers' Assistance Fund is furnished with a manual of mothers' assistance procedure, which is used as a guide. The manual contains a statement with reference to the necessary qualifications for eligibility. A chapter on responsibility of trustees gives the general duties and responsibilities of trusteeship under the Mothers' Assistance Fund.

The volunteer trustees of the Mothers' Assistance Fund bring to the work a disinterested devotion which probably could not be secured through any other type of administration. They are the educational force, interpreting the work of the Fund to the community, furnishing the data necessary for the administration of the Fund on a state-wide basis, assisting in the formulation of policies, and uniting to present the needs in mothers' assistance to the General Assembly and the public represented by its legislators. In addition, in more than half of the counties they are responsible largely for all details of administration under the leadership and guidance of state supervision vested in the Department of Welfare.

And now comes the question of the volunteer in a relief program. Buffalo, New York, has worked out a volunteer program in detail, for volunteers who deliver food checks and in addition have certain well-defined responsibilities to these families. They made 145,000 visits in a year.

The Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare, in its report on actual provision of relief, states that volunteers are indispensable. They are being used for the entire clothing service, collecting, sorting, altering, purchasing, fitting, and distribution.

The report indicates that volunteers are tactfully considering the clients so that no undue sense of inferiority exists. The report also clearly defines the qualifications for the volunteer director of this service.

The State Emergency Relief Board of Pennsylvania has drafted an exhaustive handbook for unemployment-relief work of county emergency relief boards and in it defines very clearly the program for volunteer workers. To quote briefly:

The service of volunteers is essential. A well-balanced combination of paid workers and volunteers makes for good administration; neither can handle the great volume of emergency relief work alone. However, everyone who wishes to "help" is not equipped to give useful service. Care must be shown in the selection of volunteers. The *confidential nature* of the work must be constantly emphasized. Volunteers should be urged to attach themselves to agencies already in the field rather than to form new groups. In this way their efforts will be kept closely coordinated with the activities of County Board and State Board.

Volunteers may be recruited from clubs, church groups, etc. Information as to his or her special experience and abilities should be kept on file in the office of the organization giving relief. Each volunteer should be assigned to the special tasks or forms of work only for which he or she is best fitted.

Some of the ways in which volunteers are helping are the following, a bit more extensive than the Buffalo plan: motor service, clerical work in the office, check-ups with employers and pay-rolls, sewing groups, garden projects, food conservation, distributing surplus food, canning, etc., home visits (only volunteers carefully selected because of their understanding of and ability to work with people may be used as visitors provided they work under trained supervision.)

Volunteers may be trained through conferences, reading lists, and by supervision of trained workers. That they may have a clear understanding of State Board policies they should be given opportunity to familiarize themselves with all instructions issued by the State Board and the County Board or its executive officers.

The volunteer should report regularly and promptly to perform the work for which he or she has assumed specific responsibility. Casual service by volunteers is of no real value. It may cause hardships to families, it frequently wastes the time of executives and lowers the office morale.

Several counties in Pennsylvania have turned the entire thrift garden project over to volunteers. In one county there is a

volunteer chairman who has organized township and borough committees and has a beautifully worked-out plan. In another county the Century Club, composed of seven hundred members, is entirely responsible to the County Emergency Relief Board for a similar project.

These two plans are, I believe, an indication of the value of making a group and its leaders responsible for a specific job, particularly one in which results can be obviously demonstrated and evaluated within a definite period, thus affording the volunteers the satisfaction of achievement and success.

Again, to cite from our experience in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, with seventy-thousand families on relief, has a very specific program for volunteers. The percentage of volunteers to paid workers is $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent and yet there has been most careful planning. Only certain sources for recruiting are used, qualifications are practically the same as for paid workers, service is restricted, and all work is under supervision. One interviewer is allocated to selecting volunteers, and special training on the job has been provided.

Dorothy Kahn, executive director of the Philadelphia County Relief Board, reports, "In any set-up using volunteers it seems necessary to have a separate person who is responsible for them and who can give them the appreciation and personal attention they seem to require."

A county relief director in a small rural county writes:

Almost without exception the fundamental qualifications of these people for the services they are volunteering are very good, but their assurance that they know so well the people who are being helped and that they have so well in mind the dangers of promiscuous giving of food orders, have blinded them to the value of recorded facts, of uniform routine and efficiency. They frankly state that they "haven't the time for that sort of thing." As is natural, their chief interests are in their own homes and lives.

A more general picture of the use of volunteers in Pennsylvania shows that of the sixty-seven counties fifty-seven are using some volunteer help. This volunteer service is either individual service or made up of local committees.

In administering as broad a program as the unemployment-

relief program, it is absolutely necessary to have volunteer service. Such service, however, should be supervised by a trained worker in order to make it effective. Unless there is someone over the volunteers who understands the distribution of relief, the relief costs rise.

A state-wide plan for child health has been organized in Pennsylvania directed by Dr. Samuel McClintock Hamill, chairman of section 1 of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Every county is being organized so that all children on relief may have thorough physical examinations. It is hoped that the program may be extended to permit similar examinations for all children. The only expenses covered for this mammoth program are traveling expenses and secretarial service, the money having been appropriated by the State Emergency Relief Board out of federal funds. All medical, nursing, nutrition, and local secretarial service is being provided by volunteers.

Over and over again the need for training is emphasized. Both the State Emergency Relief Board and schools of social work have offered such opportunities.

The State Emergency Relief Board in Pennsylvania arranged a series of regional conferences at seven different points in the state. Their purpose was to bring together as many of the workers under the county emergency relief boards as was possible and have them given an explanation of the organization and function of both the State Emergency Relief Board and the county emergency relief boards and their interdependence. For the last two months, also, there has been a series of institutes planned for workers in different sections of the state, for instruction and discussion of problems in the individual counties.

The Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work gave, this spring, a nine weeks' course entitled "Public Relief Administration." These classes were a part of the regular schedule of work for the school year but were open to persons who wished to register for them alone.

At the present time a course is being planned at Pennsylvania

State College. It will be open to graduates of home economics, sociology, or education departments and is to give training for unemployment-relief work in the rural counties. The course will extend for six weeks.

To quote a report:

However, sometimes, I am inclined to think that the very willingness and interest of these part-time volunteers greatly delays the employment of the paid workers so necessary in case-work positions. It has seemed very easy to get the powers that be to employ any other type of workers in the necessary number, but when it comes to case workers they feel that there must be some women or men in the community who could carry on these neighborly services and the presence of these volunteers acts as a hindrance to the development of a staff of sufficient strength in the way of case workers.

And another:

I would like to say that I am a very great believer in the use of the volunteer and I think they have a very definite contribution to make. As I see it, they fall into the following classifications:

First, a very small group who have experience and training and background to enable them to do some real case-work service. This group, of course, is very limited.

Second, this group is what might be called the "friendly visitors." They do not need as much training or the background, but they must be very closely related to supervision and have a clear understanding of their relationship to the public department. Their case work must be limited to a very small number of families. I should say not more than five.

Any work with volunteers will require real organization and supervision and a recognition on the part of the volunteer of the place he or she holds in the scheme of things. It further requires that they shall have the ability to measure up to the training that is necessary for the job which they will undertake. On the other hand, the agencies must be prepared to adjust themselves to the use of the volunteer. The plan can not succeed very well if the responsibility is all on one side.

In the June issue of *Better Times* you may have noticed Mr. Hodson's report that the need for volunteer service is greater than ever, and former Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York writes with great enthusiasm on the value of volunteers. He makes the point which to me is fundamental, that the tie-up of the volunteer to public service is fundamental to an understanding of government. The person who during legislative session attempts to convert legislators to a social program is, of

course, necessary, but this brief opportunity is not enough. Continued service and interpretation of governmental welfare functions is essential.

In conclusion, I would say that the use of volunteers for public jobs is very similar to their use in any other field as far as actual service is concerned. Fundamentally, however, I believe that it is more vital and more desirable, since as citizens they should know how public funds are spent, what the public program is, and how to interpret it.

CENTRALIZING THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRIVATE SOCIAL WORK

Julius H. Amberg, Attorney, Grand Rapids

YOU cannot approach the problem of administration of social work solely with a view to what is the best thing to do. Private social work is not made that way. It is supported by philanthropists, large and small. These givers, or those who happen to be on the boards of trustees, employ professional social workers. Even if there were generally accepted standards and procedures, which there are not in this incipient profession, the paid executives must cope with their lay employers.

This is made more difficult because these same trustees are altruists, volunteering their time *pro bono publico*. An altruist is in truth the usual selfish person, and that he is entirely unconscious of the fact enhances the trouble in dealing with him. He and his friends believe that his sacrifice of time and expenditure of effort are noble, and even heroic. But his enemies instinctively know that, psychologically, altruism is based, although unconsciously, upon the usual self-interest motives; in this case desire for power or prestige, commendation and satisfaction of pride, commingle, to be sure, with a real desire to help others. But the suspicious enemies usually go too far and imply that the lay leader in social work has evil, and even dishonest, purposes, and is trying by foul means to enforce his own theories to the destruction of all persons standing in the way. This is why the charity row takes precedence in bitterness over all other rows. Personal attack is met by righteous indignation and the fight is on.

So let us examine realistically the human arena into which any attempt to change the social-work program must enter. In a given community a number of agencies have arisen. Some

are relatively rich, own buildings and equipment, have endowments, and are supported by prominent citizens. Others are relatively poor, living from hand to mouth, with earnest but neither rich nor influential trustees. While all have a social object, the precise aims are diverse, and run all the way from preventing cruelty to animals to providing modern hospital care for the community. Each of these agencies is convinced that its work is the most important of all. Most of the agencies nowadays, but not all, employ trained executives. Some do excellent work while others are not so good as they might be.

Each agency has its friends. Some of these friends are informed about the work and really interested. Others are social acquaintances of Mrs. Brown who is on the board, or under business obligations to Mr. Brown. Some have a real desire to aid in an attempt to alleviate the particular human distress. Others have more selfish motives such as, for example, that beggars be kept from bothering them and tramps be put to work, which was one of the chief reasons for the support of charity organization societies in the days when charity was first "organized" and "charity" was still a respectable word instead of "social work" or "welfare." Some friends are won by religious affiliations; others by desire to be prominent at the Green Ball, or whatever the function is at which funds are raised. Some societies are popular because of sentimental appeal or because of past deeds, such as serving crullers "over there."

But each agency also has its enemies. Some of these are actuated by an informed belief that the work is unnecessary, poorly done, or overdone. Others do not like Mrs. Jones who is on the board or are unfriendly to Mr. Jones in business matters. Others are connected with rival charities. Some merely fear that financial support of this agency will mean less support for their own favorite. Others are against most social work anyway or disbelieve in executives and salaries, and think everything should be spent directly in material relief—through an automat no doubt. Others harbor a grudge because they think they know that some particular client was handled poorly. In

the case of sectarian charities the social-work program is often opposed by those of opposite religious faith, or those having no faith at all.

And then we have the professional executives. In this generally peripatetic calling there are, nevertheless, those who have outlived their usefulness in a particular community. There are others who have dared talk back to business men and social leaders. There are others, who rightly or wrongly, are suspected of trying to keep or build up their jobs by showing an increased work record, whether the work is needed or not. And as in other professions, jealousies are not unknown. The executive who wants his agency to commit suicide is seldom found.

What is to be done about this situation? *Laissez faire* is the easiest. Let them fight it out. Let the fittest survive. Darwinism is respectable today in a considerable part of the United States, but only few people know what the survival of the fittest really means. Many people think that in the struggle for existence the best from our human viewpoint of values will survive. Unfortunately this is neither Darwin's nor nature's law. Those survive who have characteristics which enable them to survive. Thus streptococcus germs survive because of their fitness for life, and in spite of their destruction of the finest of mankind. So in the struggle of charity organizations, each trying to expand in a limited financial environment, those doing the best or most needed work would only occasionally survive. By chance persons really appreciative of a splendid agency's work might be joined by numbers of others for a congeries of reasons, and the society would live. But often in this unreasoning human world, as in the world of nature, abundance of life might be given to the social-work grasshoppers while the industrious beavers would face extinction.

The principal movement in the last fifteen years toward co-ordination of unrelated charity efforts was that of the community chest. This was not a particularly conscious part of its program. Emphasis was placed rather on the chest as a convenient and economical means of raising funds with less pain to

the giver, who would be called on once instead of many times. To be sure, in the charters of community chests reference was often made to the object of preventing overlapping between agencies, but this was largely lip-service to the givers' perennially persistent and perverse idea that money ought to be saved. It was not taken very seriously by any organization which joined the chest because, of course, it knew that its work was essential and could not be duplicated by anyone.

I am familiar with only one chest in one medium-sized city, but I believe its experience is typical. The agencies, being particularly expert in their special endeavor, felt far more capable to plan the extent of their work than any board or council representative of social agencies generally or the public at large. But only so much money could be raised and someone had to call a halt upon budgets somewhere. This led to clashes where, as is usual, theories were talked but changed to defend the particular ox which was gored. Thus I remember well the large giver who protested bitterly one year because the chest dared to fix salaries of member-agency executives of whom the chest knew nothing, and then next year withdrew all support because the chest, scared by the previous attack, did not reduce the salary proposed for a secretary whom the donor disapproved.

Then there was the designation argument. The chest could not control anything if givers could be made to designate their money for their chosen charities. When most givers did not choose to designate but let the chest have discretion in the matter, then compulsory or "real" designations were urged where everyone had to designate and budgets would thus automatically be fixed. This was, of course, an attempt to make the chest a mere money-collector and expressed a desire not only that a certain institution be supported but that, if possible, some other institution be curtailed, or even destroyed. I know of no case where such designations were actually tried, but efforts of this sort showed fear of supercontrol or planning of the work of the several agencies.

During the prosperity decade ending in 1929, central adminis-

tration, or rather planning, of private social work was after all a minor matter. There was money enough usually for all. As a result in fixing budgets and otherwise, disputes usually resulted in compromise, and the agencies to a great extent continued their separate courses. To some degree by co-operative effort rather than by force, overlapping was stopped, gaps in the social program were filled in, and needed work was strengthened. All of this came as a result of much suspicion, personal enmities, and heart aches. While no final principles were established upon which any two persons agreed, it became apparent to the discerning that the community chest's control of the purse strings must mean eventual direction, at least in a broad way, of the independent member societies if they wished to maintain the chest method of financing.

Then came the crash. Unplanned, unco-ordinated business had apparently worked us to a permanent plateau of prosperity. The plateau sank into an abyss as though by some great seismic disturbance. Charity which had gotten on well enough unplanned now fared no better than industry. With increasing need for irrigation of our enlarging social deserts, the financial sources of the charity stream dried up. We have had a hundred suggested plans for the future control of industry. But the new deal in charity is as yet unshuffled, except as a few cards have been perforce drawn from the bottom of the deck.

In communities most depressed, private social work, except direct relief in food, clothing, and shelter, would have come to an end had not public relief stepped in. But cities, states, and the federal government finally have provided a large share of such aid, greatly expanding the work previously done by public agencies, so that private agencies are now in money expenditure only a small part of the whole. But even this small part has been becoming not only relatively but actually smaller, compressed by financial necessity.

Private charity faces a crisis no less than that of business. Haphazard growth of agencies, competition in charity in various forms, cannot continue successfully. We may like the glori-

ous age of free competition in business and wish we could maintain it, but it is beyond our power. We may cherish fond memories of the independent charitable societies, with their loyal friends, specialized employees, fine traditions, and national affiliations. But can we keep all such organizations alive? Will competition still be the life of the charity trade?

Some fortunate cities may have raised ample funds to continue the old full program of everyone. I live in one community that has failed to do so. I believe there are other cities which have encountered or will soon encounter similar defeat. If I am right, what can we do about it?

We can dissolve community chests and let agencies shift for themselves. Perhaps the best will survive. Perhaps some sort of a community program will result somehow. Maybe the dependent children will be cared for, and all other clients' needs will be met. Maybe the greatly expanded and often politically managed public-relief agencies will automatically fit into the scheme. Or we can maintain the community chest as a mere collection agency, and by means of absolute designations or pro rata distribution of diminishing funds let nature take its course.

I wish I were merely a fictitious character, created say by Voltaire, and like Dr. Pangloss believed that all was for the best in this best of all possible worlds. Unfortunately I am a real person and have seen no reason in experience to be an optimist. I am not so easily happy. I cannot believe that chaos in charity any more than chaos in industry is for the best or is the best we real persons might accomplish. I know that we live in a strange and often unfavorable environment where human passions and prejudices but add to the general rule of unreason. Hence I prefer that private social work be centrally planned if there is any possibility.

I do not advocate central administration in the sense that all institutions and societies be operated from one office. But I do favor central planning of social programs and budgets. If we do not make an attempt in this direction, I believe that many of the best social-work efforts will come to an end temporarily if

not permanently. The strong will aggrandize at the expense of the weak. Already we hear the cry that the "unnecessary" charities, the character-building agencies, must give way to the "necessary" relief organizations in this time of stress. Nearly every layman I meet, except myself, has a clear decision on the subject one way or the other. I do not pretend to know the answer. To my mind, while it is true that character is of no avail if the stomach is empty, likewise a filled stomach is worse than useless if there be no character. Perhaps some careful planning would save both types of social endeavor.

There is a minimum amount of funds below which agencies cannot go if they are to maintain separate existence at all. Some co-ordination and even consolidation are necessary if the work is to survive. Otherwise I am convinced that much that is good will die. I have heard that the real life of a community chest is that of the agencies which compose it, and that its strength lies in its agencies. This is true. But the time has come to look through the forms of the agencies to the factual situation of human distress which we seek to alleviate. After all, we desire to give the most service we can with funds available in the battle against the suffering of mankind. The ultimate beneficiaries come first; the agencies come second.

The incipient central planning of our late chaotic days of normalcy has since of necessity in some places led to more planning. When funds raised were insufficient to carry on all agencies or any society as it wished, the community chest in my city, for example, had to take a hand in control or go out of business. The member institutions with two exceptions asked the chest to take control. As a result two child welfare societies have been placed in joint operation, and three separately specialized nursing organizations have been at least temporarily consolidated, while office work of some other societies is now handled as a unit. There were those who previously believed that such mergers might be advisable anyway, but nothing was accomplished in the days when charity was on the gold standard, and we were led to believe that poverty would soon come to an end in any

event. There are indeed some uses of adversity. Six months' experience seems to indicate that these agencies on drastically reduced budgets are doing better work than would otherwise have been conceivable in these times, or perhaps in normal times on full budgets. But this is only a start. Other powerful institutions in the chest which believe these consolidations thus accomplished were splendid would be the first to call us Hitlers if we dared dictate a change in their separate programs.

Thus I believe if the best in social work is to live, if the clients' needs are to be served, central planning is not merely advisable; it is an absolute essential. Like business, charity may go through another boom without it, but how many more deflations can we stand?

But are we to let hard-boiled business men plan our social work? In my own experience I have seen more unsocial-minded business men and more community-unconscious women on separate society boards than on the community-chest committees. Not that they are uncommon on the chest board as well. In Grand Rapids we have been forced to do planning hastily as deficits daily mounted, banks crashed about our ears, and newspapers attacked us for our economies. But it should be possible to organize a new and better type of community council where private and public agencies in each general field, with expert advice and aid from national associations when required, can assist in the planning. Thus changes made in haste from financial necessity can be evaluated in relation to municipal needs, and further changes in administration and program formulated.

Public welfare departments, with the huge sums they have had available for relief, have injected important and serious factors into community planning. Such large public departments will undoubtedly continue for some time. This is as it should and must be. But such public programs have to be included in general civic strategies. Private social work has the task of developing public social work so that it will be integrated into a complete community attack. Private charity must lead the way or there will probably be no leadership. But it cannot

do so unless it is integrated itself and is ready to present a unified program.

Possible consolidation, elimination, or joint operation of hitherto distinct entities does not mean a weakening of national associations each interested in a particular benevolence. Their need will be the greater in order to assure that in each community their special interests are provided for. National associations, too, must look through corporate structures and names of institutions to their final object, the class of unfortunates they wish to serve.

Perhaps after all, although I have denied it, I am merely another Pollyanna, an idealist sketched by a children's novelist, and not a real person made of clay and of the earth earthy. How can I think it possible that any central planning of private social-work administration is feasible in our present welter of jealousies, ambitions, and other human frailties with which the world of charity is filled? I cannot clearly answer, but I know that it is not by shutting my eyes to the realities. Man is after all, a social animal, and altruism is not entirely selfish. Mutual aid is one of the characters which has led to our race survival. If we do not experiment, if we do not attempt, then of course we shall fail. We may fail even then, but this is a constantly changing world and failures are not final. No community chest or council can force its plans upon an organization which insists on going its separate way. Only the enlightened opinion of the givers can compel, and it is possible that some day more people will try, as did Spinoza, to see things in their eternal aspects, freed from the temporary pettiness and special interests of the moment. But much human suffering will no doubt first be our teacher.

GOVERNMENT ECONOMIES AND SOCIAL WORK

Arch Mandel, Secretary, Community Chest, Dayton

AS A matter of fact, government has for a number of centuries been doing social work. It began by taking care of the indigent through institutions and outdoor relief. And when government entered this field, it was doing the social work of the period, because care of the poor was the extent of social service work being done. Gradually, however, social work and our conception of it developed until today the care of the indigent is but one phase of the work, and we find social service with a program not only for the alleviation of the suffering of a portion of the community, but with a program designed to help shape the life-pattern of the entire community. As we have grown wiser, or rather richer in the knowledge of the human being, in his physical, mental, and moral make-up, in his reaction to the myriads of social stimuli, new types of service and refinements in various fields of social work have been developed in order that the needs of the individuals as we grew to know them better could be met more specifically.

All of these new developments were initiated through private enterprise and private funds, but government has been gradually taking over more and more of these specialized branches of social work just as soon and sometimes even before they proved themselves. Our own generation has seen the assumption by government of public health work which twenty and thirty years ago was done more largely through private funds. And our newer cults of social work are being carried on to a considerable degree by governmental agencies. We can find each type of social work being done by a governmental agency in some community in this country.

The extent to which government has taken over social service

work is realized by comparing the \$47,528,000 spent in 1916 by cities for this work with the expenditures in 1929 of \$123,250,-904.

Up to comparatively recent years the extent of the financial cost of private social work to individuals has been unnoticed. New types of social work and new organizations were created and their burdens assumed by persons particularly interested in these organizations and their objectives, so that while the cost was large, the community as a whole was not conscious of it. The work was not recognized as one of the major industries, and it seems fair to say that the communities as a whole were socially unconscious. With the advent, however, of federated financing, when from every nook and cranny social service organizations were brought out and their expenditures added together, the amount being spent on social work was startling, or at least it was sufficient to make the community conscious of the cost. And even before the depression, with the community chests trying to raise larger budgets each year and finding it in many instances difficult to attain the desirable objectives set, seeing the urgent need for increased funds to do necessary work, the sources of revenue came in for more thorough study. And naturally one of the great sources being the political community, we began turning in that direction and wondering more insistently each year how much more government should assume in this important field. And it was a very natural question to ask not only by those administering social work, but by the contributors, because this annual collection of funds from practically every family in the community, making it a community-wide affair, is just one step removed from the imposition of a tax by the government for that purpose. More and more contributors to private social work raised the question of whether it would not be wiser to support the work through taxation, thus distributing the load presumably more equitably and at the same time insuring more permanent support.

The question, therefore, is not a new one; it merely varies in

degree. We are faced with it more squarely now than we had ever been before. New factors in the situation are these:

First, private social work has acknowledged as never before that it cannot meet the need; that public funds are imperative. It is true that reference is being made to a special need in one field only, but, nevertheless, the demand for public funds has been brought into the foreground.

Second, public funds have been used in relatively staggering amounts in the last two years, dwarfing the amounts raised privately—not because private contributions have fallen so low, but because public funds have been so great.

Third, even before the depression the totals spent for welfare work by states, counties, and cities through taxation were larger than those spent through organized private efforts, but the public was unconscious of it. The tax bill did not explain what the money was for and too few of the taxpayers concerned themselves with what was included in governmental budgets. But the public was conscious of its support of private agencies because it was asked specifically to contribute money for specific uses. After a community-chest campaign the public knows that so much money has been raised for meeting the social problems of the community. And the public expects and demands that all these problems be met—in fact, the public expects more to be done than could be done, because of the campaign promises.

From this it would seem that social work will be transferred and taken over more rapidly by the government than would have been the case if we had not had this strange economic interlude. If this is really to happen as quickly as some seem to think, and if the actual circumstances will square with what is in the public's mind, the situation will not be so serious. The danger lies in the failure of reality to coincide with what the public believes to be the case. For this is what may be confronting us.

First, because of the very serious decline in the payment of taxes our local and state governments have had to curtail and even eliminate many of their "routine" public services, includ-

ing the welfare work which they had always supported. A return to pre-depression tax collection will enable the governmental units merely to resume the regular, normal services they had reduced or eliminated.

Second, the increased participation by government in the last two years in social work was made possible through additional revenue raised through special taxes and this was for relief only. It seems reasonable to suppose that our governmental units will be unwilling to continue to keep in force or to re-enact special measures through which revenues were raised to meet a depression demand for relief, when it is generally felt the depression is over, but when there will still be a greater need for relief than there was in 1929. If the foregoing should be true, it will mean a burden for the private relief agencies greater than they ever had to face before.

Third, the public knows it has been paying for social work and it may be difficult to impress the fact that the taxes it will be paying will merely enable the governments to catch up with themselves.

Fourth, perhaps we are definitely and permanently on our way to greater participation by the government in our social and economic affairs. Business has been welcoming the federal government's help during the depression, but it is barely possible that there may be a reaction to this when business is safely ashore, and this attitude may effect any greater participation in social work than the government had five years ago.

Now let us take a look at private contributions to organized social work. Here is the picture: The same group of cities that in 1929 raised \$33,292,043 raised \$46,655,357, an increase of 39 per cent in 1932, with the income of the country about half of what it was in 1928 and 1929. Is it beyond reason, therefore, to believe that with the return of increased incomes private contributions will resume their former higher levels? It is true that the emergency was responsible for the maintaining of relatively high contributions in 1929, 1932, and 1933, but it is also true that a greater emphasis was laid on the non-relief features of

social work and some of the response must be attributed to that, for the public did know in 1932, at any rate, of the public money appropriated for social services.

If there is any merit in what has been said above, the danger is that government will not continue to provide adequately for relief and it will be our concern to see that it does so. At the same time we must continue more strongly than we have in the last two years the emphasis on a rounded-out welfare program.

Regardless of all these "ifs" and "ands" and "maybes," one thing seems to be clear, and that is in order to plan wisely for the future of social work we should do it on the basis that we are "going public" more and more, and at an accelerated rate. We must do it not alone because we think it wise from the point of view of planning, but the course of events has compelled us to acknowledge the participation of government in social work. The public now knows that government is an important factor. And it is for the benefit of a complete social program to give public social work a more prominent place in the picture that it was given before. We must show that government has been doing many forms of social work that the citizenship did not recognize as social work. We should frankly admit that we want government to carry on these activities and that we want it to do them adequately and insist that they be done so. In fact our preoccupation with the private support of social work is in some measure responsible for the failure of public agencies to measure up to standard, where it was the case.

We concentrated in telling the public what we were doing as private agencies and it was beneficial because, in getting our support, it was social work only that we talked about, and we accordingly brought social work to the attention of the people and put social work on the map. Government did not publicize welfare work—in fact, it did not publicize anything. It justified its tax rates on many grounds and naturally on the expenditures for the most obvious services. The public could be more easily appreciative of a well-paved and well-lighted street, or of good roads, than it could be of a corrective house of correction, ade-

quate mothers' pensions, of efficient maternity and infant care, of adequate facilities for the feeble-minded, or of good case work by a public relief department.

Therefore, with the acceptance of the idea that recognition must be given to government's part in social work, it becomes for us a question of effective government. It is a problem of how to secure good government and how to retain it after it has been secured; of how to get government to carry on adequately and efficiently the social work it is doing now and has been doing for generations, and the increased amount of social work it will probably do in the future. Where government improved it was due to a citizenship not only concerned about public affairs, but who informed itself, and through organized directed efforts brought about improvements.

What does private social work have to do with all this?

Organized private social work must be that instrumentality, that enlightened and informed citizenship, on the job every day, through which may be secured and retained effective social work by public agencies. It can do this:

First, by continuing its experimentation and pioneering, by continuing to carry on in the various fields of social work, constantly raising standards so that it may act in the nature of a "laboratory control" against which to measure social work done by the public agencies. It has been true up to now that progress in social work has been brought about largely through the initiative of private enterprises. And because of its freedom from legal and statutory limitations it is more flexible. Government has, from the earliest days in this country, assumed the legal responsibility for providing care for those who were socially inadequate, and it was because government had not met adequately these responsibilities that the strong and extensive institution of private social work was built up in this country. This is trite and hackneyed. It has been said over and over again, but the fact does remain, that there are limitations at this time in governmental operation which make it inflexible in its operation and less able to change its ways. It must of necessity move more

slowly. Of necessity it must follow rather than lead. Too, we are still limited legally in the selection of personnel, which is a serious factor. And there is a greater danger and a greater likelihood of functions becoming bureaucratized and routinized, which makes change difficult.

Parenthetically, private social work must purge itself of politics, or a possible tendency towards bureaucracy, and many of the ills which we find in public service in this country. Neither the public nor the private social agencies have the monopoly on either good or bad practices in social work. There is no guaranty under either method. The only guaranty under both systems is a public that, first, understands and, second, demands that good standards be maintained.

Second, by taking the leadership in creating machinery for planning, this planning to be based on study and analysis of the problems to be met and an evaluation of the facilities for meeting them. And in this planning all the social forces, both public and private, should be joined. This machinery is a real council of social agencies.

Third, by interpreting through this council of social agencies what is being done in the community by both public and private agencies; how they supplement each other. This interpretation must include exposition of methods and standards so that an enlarging circle of the public may, as time goes on, have firmly fixed in its mind how social work should be done and what to expect of social agencies, both public and private. Some may hold that the government should not involve itself more heavily in social work than it did before the depression, until it is ready to do so, and we would say that it is ready to do so when the public has a better conception of the standards of social work than it has now and a better conception of all that is involved in social work.

Fourth, by using this council of social agencies as the medium for helping in the adoption of improved methods and better standards.

Fifth, by performing the function of a training school for both

professional and lay leadership. In the case of the latter it could build up lay leaders who know what social work should be and who can form a nucleus for a sound public opinion.

Theoretically, there is no reason inherent in government why it cannot carry on all the types of social work that are now being done by private social agencies. We believe, however, that aside from acting as a pace-setter, there will remain for an indefinite period the necessity of having private enterprises do the careful, intensive, individualized job in social work. If the public agencies continue to provide the material relief, the hospitalization, public health work, and the permanent care of the individual, private agencies will be released to devote themselves entirely to preventive and constructive efforts, enabling them more nearly to become the educational process that they should be, and as such it would make available to those who are not in material need the skill, the knowledge, and the resources to meet the individual social problem. There is no particular virtue in raising large sums of money year after year for mass care, to be handed out in relief and to be turned over to hospitals for the care of the sick. I do know that for some time to come we will have the sectarian agencies and the specialized character-building agencies, and we will want to continue, for how long I do not know, the careful, constructive, and preventive individualized work by the private agencies.

There is still another reason for the continuation of social work under private auspices which may appear out of date in these days of monopoly and dictatorship of all human activities, but to me it still seems an important factor—and that is the spiritual value of giving voluntarily for the welfare of human beings. The impulse to do this and to help humanity will, I believe and hope, continue to live. This impulse must not be destroyed. This opportunity for self-expression must not be taken away. After all, social work started as charity—started out of a sympathetic feeling for fellow-men who needed help and support. And even though social work has become more skilled and because it has applied the discoveries of science in its technique

and because it has tended to be more preventive than palliative, the "force" which impelled the Jews to leave corners of their grain fields unharvested so that those in need might provide themselves with food still remains the same. Man is still largely an emotional animal. Undoubtedly social work has been enriched and is being enriched, and is fulfilling its promise by combining reason and logic with sympathy, and it is our belief that it will be impoverished if reason and logic entirely displace this human impulse of giving.

COMMUNITY COUNCILS IN PITTSBURGH

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AS A background for understanding the significance of the community councils that have been organized in Pittsburgh during the chaotic days of 1932 and which are now being extended into Allegheny County outside the city, it is perhaps necessary to have a brief picture of the social agency set-up of the city and county.

The Federation of Social Agencies, which has assumed the responsibility through its Group Work Division for the organization of these councils, has been in existence since 1922 and is composed of the delegates of one hundred and twenty public and private agencies engaged in social, civic, and philanthropic work within the district. The Welfare Fund, organized more recently in 1928, has a present membership of fifty-nine agencies, comprising most of the important privately supported case-work agencies and many of those engaged in group work and in general programs of community betterment. (Outstanding exceptions, however, exist in all fields.)

Before the transition from private to public relief for unemployment distress a third organization was created, namely, the Allegheny County Emergency Association, with the purpose of making more funds available from private sources. This Association combined with the Welfare Fund in the drive of 1931 and disbursed its money through the medium of seven private agencies already operating within the city and county. As public funds were gradually tapped, these were turned over to this Association for distribution through the same channels. In 1932, by which time unemployment relief was being furnished entirely from this source, the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board was created at the instance of the State Emergency Re-

lief Board and assumed the responsibility for determining policies in the distribution of state and federal money, but continued to work through the Emergency Association and the seven agencies as before.

As in any other city there are, of course, numerous informal private and local groups that have been stimulated to increased activity in relief giving by the needs of the present situation. Some of these are associated with churches, others are political; some are connected with lodges, etc.

Misunderstanding, criticism, and hostility between these informal groups, the citizens at large, and the organized social agencies had reached such a critical point in the winter of 1931-32 that the Federation of Social Agencies called together a number of professional workers and interested laymen, feeling that some steps must be taken to create a better public understanding of social work. A plan for developing community councils in the various districts of the city was evolved with the idea that if professional and lay groups were to sit down together and discuss the local problems, criticisms concerning relief distribution could be faced and answered, and a partnership of all forces in the community in the service of those in need could be developed.

The immediate interest aroused by the plan was evidence of its timeliness. No sooner was the city districted on the basis of census tracts previously determined and organization work commenced in two communities than inquiries began to pour into the Federation office requesting organization in other sections of the city, where contacts had not as yet been made. Pushed by the papers which made the movement front-page news, councils had been set up in the nineteen districts six weeks after the first organization meeting was held. The promoters of the plan neither anticipated nor desired such speed but were carried along by the momentum developed. The staffs of the agency members of the Group Work Division gave unstinted service in preparing for the initial meetings at which the plans and purposes of the organization were described, but the attendance was

a surprise even to the optimistic. Whether in a spirit of skepticism, of curiosity, or, more frequently, in a genuine concern for the welfare of their neighbors, men and women from various walks of life appeared and put searching and insistent questions to those in charge of the meetings. As one of those who officiated occasionally as chairman, I was somewhat appalled to realize the extent to which social work was suspect by these ministers, clubwomen, politicians, and lodge members. Before deciding to organize, they wished to be assured that those promoting the plan had no ax to grind, that criticism of social work would not be taboo, and that no agency or group of agencies intended to use the organization in support of their individual programs. Fear that informal relief-giving would be frowned upon or stifled and blank refusal to use the Social Service Exchange were also repeatedly expressed.

In answer it was stated frankly and sincerely that the councils if and when created would be in the hands of the local people and that they or their elected representatives would be responsible for policy and program. Suggestions for the latter were made, however, and included the establishment of local clearing houses through which the community might be brought into closer relationship with the agencies engaged in relief work. The Emergency Association agreed to assign some of their work-relief applicants who might have had adequate education and clerical or other suitable experience to man these district offices and give secretarial service to the councils. It was emphasized that these persons were in no sense social workers and that they were to serve as the agents of the lay groups in their efforts toward community organization. Office quarters were secured rent free, and office equipment was loaned or donated.

In those districts where relief was an outstanding problem, these secretaries were called upon to report complaints regarding the distribution of relief and to suggest sources of help to those in need. They were given uniform instructions for handling these inquiries, which were worked out in co-operation with the case-work agencies, and of course the Social Service

Exchange was used as a central clearing house. Problems concerning the policy of agencies were referred to the City-Wide Relief Committee (consisting of the chairmen of district relief committees as these were established), under the guidance of an experienced family case worker on the staff of the school of social work whose detachment from any of the agencies involved in the situation enabled her to act as liaison officer between them and the lay groups.

The agencies did not uniformly relish a suggestion that they should make an accounting through this channel to the public, but nevertheless the machinery proved itself to be effective in reducing in a period of less than two months a rising tide of opposition which had threatened an insurrection of givers against the Welfare Fund and social work. Local groups voicing the demand that their Welfare Fund contributions be returned to them so that they might distribute relief without benefit of case work became identified with the councils, accepting the opportunity thus given them to express their criticisms, and were convinced on closer acquaintance with the problem that the agencies were not so culpable as they had previously believed. In the first two or three months over twenty-thousand complaints of various kinds were handled through these channels. Outstanding politicians, members of the Council, conferring in executive session with social workers on specific problems such as an eviction, have been able to arrive at a common understanding and a greater tolerance and respect for one another's points of view.

Relief, however, was soon relegated to a less important position as the councils became active on other problems such as housing, health, loans, and mortgages, gardens, recreation, sewing, and employment. City-wide committees were established in each of these cases, the chairman being selected on account of interest in and knowledge of the particular problem in question. These committees have been a means of stimulating the activities of local groups and also of making available to them city-wide resources which they could not have otherwise tapped. As

an example we may take the activities of the Recreation Committee.

In the fall of 1932 an active layman, not previously identified with social work, was recruited as chairman of the Recreation Committee, and a field secretary with training in group work was assigned to develop recreation activities in the districts. Local committees were stimulated to enlarge their membership and scope, and in larger districts subcommittees were formed on a territorial basis. After a preliminary survey of the facilities available, these committees set to work either to enlarge existing programs for adult recreation or to create opportunities where none existed before. Free use of churches, schools, lodgerooms, or other halls and vacant store buildings was obtained. A city-wide campaign for equipment in which the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* co-operated and which was timed to coincide with spring cleaning, brought in books, magazines, pool tables, pianos, victrolas, chairs, and a variety of game materials. A great deal of necessary repair work, cleaning, and janitor service has been contributed by the unemployed themselves. Leadership has been of necessity volunteer and has exhibited some of the limitations of such service. However, 350 volunteers completed a brief recreation-leadership course put on by the Group Work Division of the Federation of Social Agencies which was followed by other short sessions, some of them held in the field for the benefit of those who could not attend downtown meetings.

Programs vary with the community and have included informal club activities, mush-ball leagues, educational classes, reading-rooms, gymnasiums, dancing, dramatics, and occasional entertainments—known as “Neighborhood Nites.” The latter have drawn both performers and audience from the district and have proved to be most popular events. “Your spare time is yours—make it show a profit” has been the slogan of this Committee, and the most recent report of the field secretary shows a total of seventy-five centers established by the councils in addi-

tion to existing facilities, the use of which has been greatly increased by the provision of additional volunteer service. Some of these are active every day in the week, others are open on one or two days only, but, all told, the Committee estimates that recreation is being furnished by this means to an average of eighty-five thousand people daily.

Unemployed schools have also been organized with a volunteer faculty of college graduates recruited from the unemployed. In one district 350 high-school graduates recently completed an eight weeks' course, which included the study of languages, history, and social sciences as well as technical subjects.

Health demonstrations as well as "shows" have proved to be a drawing card, and under the leadership of the City-Wide Committee on Health, a total of twenty-nine institutes on nutrition have been held during a period of eight months with an attendance of over six thousand. Following up these initial meetings, the schools have given cooking demonstrations based on low-cost menus planned by the Public Health Nursing Association, and volunteers are now carrying forward this program through cooking classes held in several of the districts. Other subjects to which single institutes have been devoted are: first aid, child care, tuberculosis, and the spread of contagious diseases. It may be interesting to mention that in one district where the problem of venereal disease is particularly serious, the council has become deeply concerned over the lack of facilities for treatment and is waging a determined campaign to secure clinical service.

Committees on housing, and on loans and mortgages, have dealt with the problem of shelter from two angles, finding houses for evicted persons and assisting families threatened with the loss of their homes through foreclosure. In one district dwellings were found for over five hundred persons evicted by the local housing committee.

This is necessarily an incomplete account of what the councils have accomplished, but time does not permit more than passing mention of the thirty-seven garden committees this year in

charge of ninety-five hundred gardens, some of which are home gardens while others are located in large plots to which the gardeners are transported twice a week; or of the thousands of garments made by local sewing groups out of material provided by the American Red Cross. Altogether it is estimated that a total of sixteen hundred volunteers have been active in the organization as committee members or otherwise. This volume of service has, moreover, been secured with the addition of but two field workers to the staff of the Group Work Division, whose secretary has also devoted a large share of her time to the promotion of the movement.

But, after all, the concrete activities of the council are only one aspect of their importance. The underlying philosophy of the movement is to be found in the realization that efforts of professional social workers to serve in various ways the members of the community will be frustrated unless the community not only understands the value of these services but also shares in the development of programs through which they are to be carried into effect. I should like to recall to you the point of view emphasized by Mr. Hodson in an article appearing in a recent issue of the *Survey* in which he points out that we are shifting from individualism as a way of life to collectivism as a basis of social organization, and that this shift has very fundamental significance in social work—a significance which implies the recognition on the part of leaders of social work in every field of the necessity for collective action through voluntary co-operation, and which implies the building of the machinery through which this co-operation may be realized. It is for this reason that in organizing the community councils every effort has been made to bring in all the varied groups and interests in the community, whether they were favorable or unfavorable to the social-work programs then being carried on. This was done in the conviction that in so far as such programs are valid, the community can be brought to support them, and in fact the experience of the councils has, as I have indicated, confirmed this belief. It should also be evident that the organization plan fol-

lowing the philosophy outlined is the exact opposite of that type of community organization with which we are all familiar and which Mr. Lindeman characterized brilliantly in an article appearing a good many years ago in the *Survey*, namely, that of the politician who is not a community organizer but a community manipulator, using the community and its resources for his own purposes. And such politicians, be it noted, are to be found in the ranks of social-work agencies as well as in the halls of Tammany.

Out of the experience in organizing these community councils has come a clearer recognition of what the people need and how to meet that need. Results, of course, cannot be guaranteed; there is no magic in the organization; and those in charge are keenly aware of the weak places and the tremendous amount of work left undone by reason of the limited staff available. One cannot fail, however, to be impressed by the great possibilities inherent in these councils, not alone for meeting the problems of the depression, but also for building a solid foundation for social work in the future. The realization of these possibilities will depend, I believe, largely upon the degree of co-operation which the agencies give the movement, and co-operation, as Mr. Hodson has reminded us, *is not primarily activity but a state of mind*.

SOCIAL PLANNING ON A NEIGHBORHOOD BASIS

*Percival Dodge, Executive Secretary, Community Fund,
and Council of Social Agencies, Detroit*

I HOPE I shall discuss the fundamental aims of every group of social workers and lay citizens who gather together to face earnestly, on a mutual basis, the complex problems of our present civilization, and to describe to you how we in Detroit have happened upon an old and many-times-tried instrument for accomplishing these aims, partly through "happenstance" and partly through our geographical layout, have adapted the old instrument to our needs, and have found it useful beyond our expectations, and have therefore carried it perhaps a step forward in its eventual development.

Co-operation, mutual understanding, exchange of ideas and ideals between professional and lay persons, prevention of duplication, waste, and harmful types of social work—all these are old topics of discussion, but are still the essential elements of any common ground for mutual social planning.

It was comparatively easy in the early days of professional social work to gather together the various elements involved, of professional and lay citizens, especially in a moment of crisis, to discuss these fundamental aims of the group, and to plan together some kind of solution.

As social work became more and more specialized and professional in aspect, and manned by a better-trained personnel, the need for co-operation and mutual understanding between professional and lay citizens became less and less apparent (at least to many of the professional social workers, who began to have trouble enough in obtaining adequate co-operation within even their own groups). The attitude of many professional social workers toward the lay citizen was: let him give generously to charity and then keep his hands off so that we can do this job

properly according to our new professional ethics and technique.

The school-teachers, clergy, doctors, lawyers, and other professional groups all built up around them their own ethical and technical walls, and the social worker followed suit. Technical social work became more and more mysterious to the lay person and he found no welcome on the mat when he tried to break his way in. The professional began to lose sight of the value of the lay point of view, and the contribution which the lay person has made from time immemorial to social progress.

To offset this trend in Detroit, two experiments in adapting old methods have been tried, and both have been major contributing factors of late in whatever social planning has been done on a neighborhood basis in our city.

In 1924, at a Wayne County Conference of Social Work, Mr. William J. Norton, of Detroit fame, gave a paper on "The Metropolitan District and Social Work," in which he outlined his plan for a branch organization of the Detroit Council of Social Agencies. Our local agencies had begun to expand their services, as the city grew, out into the surrounding territory, beyond the city limits. Adequate services, as far as Detroit could visualize, were being rendered, but there was no local or neighborhood planning attached to the project. Royal Oak was the first branch to be organized, under the able leadership of Miss Ella Lee Cowgill, and a neighborhood council of professional and lay persons was set up. Four other branches soon followed. From that day the social program of these five communities materially changed and neighborhood planning became a reality. There was no set pattern developed which must be followed to get results; each community adapted the plan to fit its needs, and kept changing the set-up as conditions warranted. The results have not been phenomenal or miraculous, but the growth toward better social work, coupled with community understanding, has been steady, and neither professional nor lay persons would desire to go back to the old set-up of professionally controlled services.

When the depression set in and social workers found that old and sacred technique must of necessity be partially and temporarily put aside, and different methods and new forces utilized to meet adequately the overwhelming situation, they turned to the old-and-tried method of neighborhood planning, with the result that many social forces, for the most part unused for some time, were once more brought into action.

Miss Cowgill, with her training and background in the development of the branches, organized, as she says, the "rich man, poor man, beggarman, thief, doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief" into district councils of social work, ten within the city limits, following for the most part the districts of the Department of Public Welfare. The mechanical structure can be outlined briefly as a district council, or open forum, of from fifty to one hundred persons, from all walks of life, all professions and community elements, of course including trained social workers as well as lay citizens. The district council was fashioned if possible around a local agency, and the personality of the agency executive naturally played an important part in the subsequent development. The executive committee of about ten carried the major load, but of even greater import was the chairman. As chairmen we had an employment manager, a judge, a civil engineer, a school-teacher, and a newspaper man—a good cross-section of professional life.

Each district council formed its own subcommittees, usually for the following activities—survey, case work, recreation, health, clothing, and social-work interpretation. They carried on much in the same manner as the functional groups of any council of social agencies, but with an important difference in their point of view. Being composed of a cross-section of citizens, and not merely of agency-board members of executives, they were worried about the total life of the community and were only interested in the social agencies as they functioned to meet local problems. They were not limited in their viewpoint or field of action and became interested in every phase of social work.

Soon the district councils felt the need of an exchange of ideas with other districts, and at their request there were created central executive committees composed of the chairmen of the comparable local committees. These decided upon general city-wide policies and helped to co-ordinate the work of the local units.

For a more detailed description of these various committees, I hope you will read Miss Cowgill's two articles in the current issues of the *Survey* and the *Family*.

Now for the values of these two experiments—first, from the chest or money-raising point of view. At campaign time we are always confronted with the impossible task of educating thousands of citizens in the necessity for the varied and complex set-up of social agencies, both public and private. Of late many cities have tried to accomplish this task through an all-year-round educational campaign by the Council of Social Agencies. The district-council plan is the next logical step forward. It has this advantage—instead of trying to educate the citizens by lectures or press articles, it educates them through personal contact and participation in the work itself. When you get citizens trying to help you solve social problems, prejudices and the "I know a case" complaints fall by the wayside. They see social work as it really is—and take it for better or for worse—and if they find it worse they become interested in making it better. Just as the Council of Social Agencies has been one of the major instruments for building good will for social work, and thereby assisting the chest in raising the necessary funds, so the development of the district councils should prove of tremendous value.

From the Council of Social Agencies' point of view, the values lie in three aspects of the district councils: first, it presents a rare opportunity to interpret to the lay group the value of the technical and professional elements of social work; second, an opportunity to make use of various groups of citizens closely affiliated in points of interest with social work, such as churches, parent-teacher associations, clubs, etc.; and, third, and of major

import, is the creation in the minds of the public of a realization of the need for new services or extensions of existing services. This stimulation of social consciousness may be extremely embarrassing to chest executives and public officials if the need cannot be met at once, but if the Council of Social Agencies is to accomplish its proper function in social planning, it should welcome discussion of these demands from the lay group.

From the layman's point of view, the district councils open up a new channel of civic usefulness, and one which is not on a controversial plane with the existing forces of professional social work. It enables him once more to make his rightful contribution to social planning and development, and when you consider the fact that he pays the cost, either through chest contributions or taxes, who should gainsay him this right?

And now for the one public criticism which may or may not be justified, especially at a time like this; that of the ultimate cost in time and money in the expansion of the already intricate machinery of the Council of Social Agencies. To many citizens the Council and the district councils are but added embellishments to the social-work structure. They can clearly see the value of the agency services, but cannot see the necessity of constant analysis and revaluation of the work being done. In too many chests and councils the recent drastic cuts in budgets were accomplished on a flat percentage basis. For my part, I believe even in normal times we have been all too prone to drift along, taking for granted the existing set-up of social work. I believe we should be able to justify from the returns in better social work a very much larger expenditure of time and money on the work of our planning and co-ordinating councils and their staffs, and I feel sure that unless those intimately connected with social work, both professional and lay citizens, do spend a great deal more time and energy on reconstructing social programs, agencies, and forces during these difficult times, those who are paying the cost of social work through their contributions or taxes will eventually revolt openly, as they have already done over governmental services, and the result will not be at all pleasing to the members of the Conference of Social Work.

SOCIAL PLANNING ON A NEIGHBORHOOD BASIS

*Arthur A. Guild, Director of Community Fund,
Richmond, Virginia*

THE improvement of social conditions, I believe, depends in a large measure on an understanding by the people of a community of social problems, their implications, and the best-known methods of treating them. In the past, social workers have depended to a great extent for the interpretations of social problems on board members and volunteers working in agencies and financial campaigns.

Apparently, there is a trend toward more centralization of social service functions. In many communities some social agencies are being eliminated and consolidations are taking place, thus eliminating groups of board members. At this time there is a trend toward the transference of social-work functions to tax-supported agencies and departments. An enlightened citizenship on social problems, social work, and its objectives is necessary if our public departments are to function efficiently.

These trends make it increasingly necessary for social workers interested in improving social conditions and in building public support for constructive social work to develop new means of interpreting social problems to the people of the community.

District and neighborhood councils, as described by Mr. Percival Dodge of Detroit and Mrs. Mary Clarke Burnett of Pittsburgh, may provide an excellent means of acquainting the people of each neighborhood with the social problems of their district, the implications of such problems, and the best methods of dealing constructively with the problems discovered.

District councils should provide a means by which people who are closest to, and who would be most naturally interested in, the social problems of the community could be developed into

understanding groups. This method should provide the people of each neighborhood with the means of knowing their social problems and how the social agencies are dealing with these problems.

Neighborhood or district councils, if properly organized and directed, may become powerful forces for good, but if improperly organized, controlled, and directed, they may prove to be a dangerous and destructive influence on the development of a well-balanced community social-work progress.

The success of district councils will depend largely on the securing of active leaders who are interested in activities which will meet the most urgent needs of the districts and who will understand the development of measures designed to prevent the development of social problems in their districts. Such councils should take into consideration all of the social needs of their districts and attempt to see that they are cared for in the order of their urgency and that the community is informed regarding the existence of such problems and the extent to which they are being met.

It is my belief that district councils should be directly under, and responsible to, the Central Council of Social Agencies. All plans of each council should be approved by the Central Council before any actions are taken, so that one community or district will not be developed at the expense of districts where more serious social problems exist. Frequently, districts where the strongest leaders are found possess fewer and less destructive social problems than districts where leaders are less effective and resources are limited.

Each district council should have in its membership people who are interested in, and qualified to understand, all types of social problems and their treatment. Each council should be represented by delegates to the Central Council, which should act as a clearing house and serve in the securing of assistance for the weaker districts. This should also prevent the development of a lopsided social program in the community as a whole and in the districts.

District councils should not attempt to conduct functional work but should serve as groups to study the social problems and the needs of their districts and also serve as an educational force. All functional work should be done through existing agencies.

It is my belief that district councils will succeed only when trained social workers are responsible for the guidance of the thinking and actions of the groups. Councils may develop into destructive forces unless they are given careful guidance by people informed in social work and the work of the various social agencies of the community.

If not properly guided, there is grave danger that activities may be promoted that will not serve the best interests of the community. Frequently people become interested in certain social problems to the extent of setting up new machinery to care for these problems when there are already existing organizations well qualified to meet such needs. Every possible effort should be made to provide district councils with information regarding all of the social service resources of the community and the best ways of making use of such resources.

There is danger of district councils becoming the tools of people who wish to express their personal desires and use such councils for the promotion of hobbies. Councils may also become the tools of politicians wishing to use them for political ends that are not productive of the best social-work results.

To sum up: District councils will function successfully to the extent of the work done by qualified leaders and the guidance by the central group—the Council of Social Agencies.

CO-ORDINATION OF STATE AND LOCAL UNITS FOR WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

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PUBLIC welfare service in America had its origins in relief-giving in the homes of the indigent through the overseer of the poor, later through the workhouse, almshouse, county home, or hospital. These services were not co-ordinated. "Chips off the old block" of relief are to be found in the unco-ordinated development of mothers' pensions, pensions for the blind and the aged.

The workhouse, the almshouse, the lockup, the jail, the penitentiary—all represent unco-ordinated development of institutional service from which other "chips" have been thrown off, represented by the mental hospital, the school for the feeble-minded, the juvenile reformatory, etc. In addition, juvenile and adult probation and parole, and preventive programs in the medical and mental field, have grown up uncorrelated.

The establishment of the first State Board of Charities by Massachusetts in 1863 represents the first official effort at co-ordination on a state-wide basis, while state departments of welfare and state boards of control represent the modern development in this field.

In 1911 the old policy of direct grants without standards or supervision was abandoned, and the methods of matched grants under specified standards, with federal supervision, opened a new era of social development over the wide area of the United States. In so short a period as ten months all the states in the Union accepted federal standards, financial grants, and supervision in regard to various proposals. The Shephard-Towner Act for Maternal and Infant Welfare was accepted by forty-three states within four years. No social worker, public or pri-

vate, needs to be reminded of the results obtained in improved child care as a result of this legislation.

Turning from the field of federal attempts at co-ordination and the development of standards in various types of undertakings, let us look at one state, considering the various attempts made to co-ordinate and to develop standards of work throughout the area of the state.

The state of New Jersey over a period of thirty-four years has undertaken, by various pieces of social legislation, to adjust its public welfare machinery to meet the needs of changing times. There is no evidence that there was a conscious effort at experimentation looking to a long-term, all-inclusive plan co-ordinating all fields of public social work. Each unit as laid down in law, however, actually does provide us with "laboratory material" from which deductions may be drawn as to methods which if used may be expected to result in co-ordination of state and local units for welfare administration.

The developments which I propose to discuss briefly are: first, the development of the Board of Children's Guardians in 1899 and amendments or additions to the law under which it operates; second, the creation of the Department of Institutions and Agencies in 1918; third, the Welfare Act of 1924 for the settlement and relief of the poor; fourth, the Old Age Assistance Act of April 24, 1931, providing for county welfare boards; fifth, the amendment of the Welfare Act of 1924 in the session of 1931, providing for county welfare boards for general relief purposes; sixth, the Emergency Relief Act of October, 1931, and subsequent acts and amendments.

Experiment No. I.—The 1899 Act creating the Board of Children's Guardians was the outgrowth of an investigation which disclosed the presence of large numbers of children in the almshouses of New Jersey.¹ This Act created an official body which

¹ Active in this investigation was Mrs. Caroline Stevens WittPenn, subsequently a member of the State Board of Control.

was empowered to accept the guardianship of dependent and neglected children. It was subsequently empowered to administer the Home Life Act of 1913, which in its essence corresponded to mothers' aid or pension acts of other states.

The various acts under which it functioned were mandatory upon the counties, which were obligated to pay the bills for the care of children committed by the courts either as dependents or under the Home Life Act, while the state paid the bills for administration. The administration was completely centralized and no supporting body of local citizens participated in an official or advisory capacity.

With a rapidly increasing number of children to be provided for and consequent rapidly increasing demand upon county tax moneys, the local officials became increasingly critical of the work done by the central administrative authority, even casting blame upon the Board of Guardians for the increasing number of children in care, overlooking entirely the fact that all the commitments were made by their own local courts and overseers of the poor.

On the other hand, the Board of Guardians was dependent upon the legislature for the direct appropriation of funds for administrative purposes, and it is needless to say that such appropriations over a long series of years have been in inverse ratio to the number of children in care, and to the amount of money spent by the counties for the care of their own dependent children. Tables I-III bring this out clearly. Such sums as indicated in Table I are enough to stagger county authorities and state legislatures when faced with "economy programs."

Recognizing that with the vastly increased number of children in care the ratio of administrative costs will decrease, it must be obvious that the extreme drop to less than 6 per cent did not provide adequately for the investigation and supervision required by such a social undertaking (Table II).

Table III indicates that the expenditure for administration has struck the low point of \$9.58 per year per child.

An additional word as to administrative policy is desirable. In 1918, with the creation of the Department of Institutions and Agencies, the Board of Children's Guardians became a unit in

TABLE I

STATE AND COUNTY EXPENDITURES FOR STATE BOARD OF CHILDREN'S
GUARDIANS, 1900-1932, AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN CARE

Year Ending	State	County	Number under Care
Oct. 31, 1900.....	\$ 2,800.00	\$ 1,032.04	88
Oct. 31, 1904.....	8,965.80	21,246.67	539
Oct. 31, 1908.....	8,840.39	21,874.02	737
Oct. 31, 1912.....	13,437.23	41,834.71	1,062
Oct. 31, 1916.....	36,891.51	283,341.09	1,688
June 30, 1920.....	81,398.09	580,583.01	7,794
June 30, 1924.....	118,635.52	1,152,976.51	10,778
June 30, 1928.....	198,059.54	2,110,062.85	16,670
June 30, 1932.....	297,005.40	5,008,822.06	30,995

TABLE II

RATIO BETWEEN STATE EXPENDITURES FOR ADMINIS-
TRATION AND TOTAL EXPENDITURES BY COUNTIES, 1900-1932

YEAR ENDING	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	
	State	County
Oct. 31, 1900.....	73.06	26.94
Oct. 31, 1904.....	29.68	70.32
Oct. 31, 1908.....	28.78	71.22
Oct. 31, 1912.....	24.31	75.69
Oct. 31, 1916.....	11.52	88.48
June 30, 1920.....	12.30	87.70
June 30, 1924.....	9.33	90.67
June 30, 1928.....	8.58	91.42
June 30, 1932.....	5.93	94.06

this state central body but retained very largely its own independent powers, the Commissioner of the Department being a member of the Board.

Within the last three years, with the advent of good roads in

every part of the state the administrative work of the Board is undergoing a process of decentralization by districts and the field staff is being motorized. No local body of interested citizens either by counties or by districts has yet been developed for the interpretation and support of the program.

In 1932 the Home Life Act and Child Welfare Act were re-written and modified, following the survey by the Pension Survey Commission. By these acts provision is made for more active participation by the board of Freeholders (the county tax-

TABLE III
STATE EXPENDITURES PER 100 CHILDREN UNDER CARE,
1900-1932

YEAR ENDING	SUPERVISORY COSTS	
	Per Hundred in Care	Per Child per Year
Oct. 31, 1900.....	\$3,181.82	\$31.81
Oct. 31, 1904.....	1,663.41	16.63
Oct. 31, 1908.....	1,335.20	13.35
Oct. 31, 1912.....	1,265.28	12.65
Oct. 31, 1916.....	2,185.52	21.85
June 30, 1920.....	1,056.57	10.56
June 30, 1924.....	1,100.72	11.00
June 30, 1928.....	1,188.12	11.88
June 30, 1932.....	958.24	9.58

ing and appropriating authorities) in the commitment of children to the care of the Board.

The conclusions to be drawn from this social experiment seem to me to be that: first, a central state administrative and policy-making body is essential to the development of a co-ordination of state and local units in the field of social work; second, mandatory legislation, providing for the same type and relative amount of service available to all parts of the state, is preferable to permissive legislation, which may or may not be accepted; third, decentralization of administration and the development of local citizen understanding and support (official or advisory) is likely to assure better understanding of the project by all the

people and to provide for its defense in case of attack; fourth, the policy of direct appropriation for purposes of administration is not likely to provide for flexible increase or decrease of funds to meet the needs of supervision of increased or decreased case load.

The establishment of the principle of setting aside a definite percentage of the total funds to be spent for administrative purposes will more nearly meet the need.

Experiment No. II.—The creation of the Department of Institutions and Agencies in 1918 set up a milestone on the long road toward the development of a state board for long-term social planning, for the determination of policy and the administration of state social work in institutions and agencies. To this board was given certain powers of supervision of county work in various fields.

The strength of this body resides in the fact that it is composed of nine public-spirited citizens, serving without pay, organized as the State Board of Control, appointed, one each year, for a term of eight years, which term overlaps that of three successive governors. To this board is delegated the responsibility for the administration of all state penal, correctional, and charitable institutional work (i.e., mental, tubercular, veterans, feeble-minded), also agencies for children, the blind, and the aged.

The business and professional work of the Department, headed by a professional man, has therefore unusual assurance of long-term continuance free from frequent overturn of policy and leadership.

The powers vested in the State Board of Control to appoint members of local boards of institutions with the approval of the governor, their powers in relation to budget- and policy-making, to which policies the institutional and agency boards must conform, make for a co-ordination and standardization of program and for a progressive development.

The social and statistical research work carried on by the De-

partment makes it possible to detect social trends and to make plans to meet indicated needs.

The supervisory powers vested in the Department in relation to county, municipal, and private institutional work, tenuous though it is, provides a means by which local units may be lured (but not driven) toward a unity of effort in the whole field of institutional and agency social work.

The conclusions to be drawn from this second social experiment seem to me to be that: first, a central official state body of interested citizens, appointed "without regard to political belief or affiliations" (as stated in the Act) for long terms, with a minimum of change each year, is essential to a continuing, progressive, and co-ordinated program in the field of public welfare; second, the fact that Board members are non-salaried removes the appointment from the category of "political plums" and is calculated to secure citizen representation of high quality; third, power vested in the central body to appoint representatives in local units is of prime importance if policies are to be carried out and co-ordination assured; fourth, control of budget-building by the central body and supervision of its expenditure within prescribed limits is essential; fifth, social research must be an integral part of the long-term planning program; sixth, supervisory powers over local public and private social agencies to be most effective should be mandatory.

Experiment No. III.—The 1924 Act for the Settlement and Relief of the Poor revised the ancient poor-law of the state. However, it left in the hands of the 563 Overseers of the Poor of New Jersey their function of outdoor relief completely decentralized, but it added a permissive power of which the citizens of the county might avail themselves if they wished, to modernize their poor-law machinery.

The County Freeholders were empowered by this Act to establish a county welfare house and to appoint a welfare board for its administration. The welfare board served without pay and was empowered to appoint the superintendent of the welfare house and he (or she), with the consent of the municipalities

of the county, was empowered to assume the duties and powers of the Overseer of the Poor within the respective municipalities.

The Act even went so far as to permit the setting-up, by adjacent counties through mutual legal agreement, district welfare boards and a district welfare house, thus making it possible for rural sparsely settled counties to avail themselves of modern methods of care.

Certain powers of inspection, advice, supervision, and required reports were vested in the Department of Institutions and Agencies.

A county welfare house, under a competent welfare board of interested citizens, was created and is now administered on a high level of efficiency as a chronic hospital and home. The superintendent is a graduate registered nurse. The Department of Institutions and Agencies was called upon to advise in the social and architectural planning for this institution.

The conclusions which can be drawn from this third social experiment are that: first, permissive legislation provides a slow process for bringing about change in governmental organization and administration, but it does have an educational value; second, a welfare board created for the purpose of administering a county welfare house is a long step in advance of the old style of administration by a subcommittee of the Board of Freeholders, and that the correlation of outdoor relief with institutional relief is sound policy; third, the recognition of the changed nature of the problem embodied in the welfare house, from that of operating a farm to that of conducting an infirmary for the care of the chronically ill is emphasized in the appointment of a graduate nurse instead of a farmer as the chief executive and indicates definite response on the part of the public official to definite social change; fourth, the consultation and advisory service of the Central Department provided the local official group with much needed aid in planning at no cost to them.

Experiment No. IV.—The Old Age Assistance Act of 1931 grew out of the work of the Pension Survey Commission of

which the commissioner of the Department of Institutions and Agencies was a member.

It was mandatory in its provisions upon all counties. It provided for a central policy-making and supervisory authority vested in the Department; and for unpaid county welfare boards for decentralized administration in all counties, their executive to be a county welfare director paid for out of county funds.

The funds for the purpose of grants to the aged under the Act are provided, 75 per cent by the state and 25 per cent by the county, the county to provide for the costs of administration of the county unit. The State Division of Old Age Relief, according to law, "shall prescribe a uniform system of records and accounts . . . to be kept . . . and shall supervise administration of old age relief . . . to the end that there may be throughout the state a uniform standard of record and method of treatment of aged poor persons, based upon their individual needs and circumstances."

This marks a very long step ahead in the administration of relief, placing it practically on a case-work basis.

Experiment No. V.—A companion bill was passed by the same legislature permitting (by referendum) any county to establish its system of outdoor relief on a county, instead of a township, basis, integrating the whole system of relief under the same county welfare board and including the administration of the county welfare house.

Interesting it is to note that the mandatory old-age assistance act became operative as provided by law on a county basis, but what was good enough for the aged was not thought suitable for general relief, and the permissive act, including general relief, was accepted by only three counties and in but one of these is it conducted on a high level of efficiency. The "embattled overseers" constitute a formidable opposition to any change in their powers of public relief.

The problem of relating state appropriations for administration to the control of funds spent, and for the maintenance of standards, is again emphasized as a very real one. The total

amount appropriated by the state is but \$12,500 for administration, of which only \$9,720 is for salaries; while the total old-age grants for the year approximate \$2,098,000, of which \$1,-574,000 will come from the state treasury—which means that the state administrative allowance for the safeguarding of its own funds and for maintenance of standards is less than 1 per cent of the sum administered.

It should be stated that the provision made for state regulation and standardization has been accepted cordially by the counties, and the prestige and dignity of the boards has been distinctly enhanced.

The conclusions which may be drawn from the fourth and fifth social experiments are that: first, a mandatory act wisely conceived and accompanied by financial assistance from the larger to the smaller governmental unit will be readily accepted even though it may restrict the freedom of action of the smaller unit; second, the principle of state supervision with local administration proves sound and effective; third, the combined administration of institutional relief, through the welfare house outdoor relief, and old-age assistance under one county welfare board is within the capacity of that agency to perform if properly staffed; fourth, the local agency accepts from the state agency rules and regulations as to standard practice with little controversy when a financial grant accompanies the regulation; fifth, direct appropriation for purposes of administration of social services which tend to fluctuate in volume are unlikely to meet the needs and usually lag far behind the demands for service.

Experiment No. VI.—The Emergency Relief Act of 1931 and subsequent acts made necessary by extraordinary economic conditions have brought into the picture an entirely new set of forces which have thoroughly shaken the foundations on which the overseer of the poor built his system (or lack of system) of outdoor relief.

The load of relief need is unprecedented in amount and in

numbers of persons in distress; tax moneys have been gradually exhausted; private philanthropy can no longer supplement; taxpayers' associations demand an accounting of moneys spent; and the old-time overseer has found himself in no position to give the necessary information, and frequently he has been unable to keep any records. This collapse of the antiquated system of poor-relief and the exhaustion of local funds resulted in the passage of emergency relief acts giving dictatorial powers to a state director of relief and associating with him an advisory council of which the commissioner of the Department of Institutions and Agencies is a member. The director is empowered to appoint county and municipal directors; to appoint advisory bodies of citizens; to set up standards of accounting, social investigation, records, and reports so that at long last over the entire area of the state there is an approximate unity of relief administration.

A professional central staff, supervisory and educational in its functions as it relates to local relief administration, has been set up. What is more, the state has provided relief to local communities of over \$27,000,000, supplementing more than \$12,500,000 spent by counties and municipalities in the last two years.

The administration of relief funds is completely decentralized, under close supervision, except in bankrupt communities, in which case the central state agency takes charge. A comprehensive audit of all moneys received and spent is carried on continuously, and periodic statements are issued to all those responsible for county and municipal relief. All policies, rules, and regulations are placed in the hands of all county and municipal directors in typewritten or printed form in order that there may be no misunderstanding and consequent maladministration.

The Emergency Relief Administration is in close contact with the relief work of the Board of Children's Guardians, the Commission for the Blind, the Old-Age Assistance, the Library Com-

mission, the Agricultural College, the County Adjusters, and the Department of Institutions and Agencies.

The costs of administration are paid out of the total funds appropriated for relief at the discretion of the director, but no definite percentage is fixed. This makes for great flexibility in meeting case-load requirements.

Research is carried on in various fields by the central staff of the Emergency Relief Administration, and an educational process is in continuous operation under the auspices of the manager of social service of the organization.

The conclusions which may be drawn from this sixth social experiment are that: first, a centralized, policy-making, standardizing, and administrative body is necessary to bring about correlation of social effort; second, a dictatorship should be democratically modified by an official advisory body; third, mandatory law in line with good social practice will be accepted; fourth, this acceptance of mandatory law is accelerated if funds from a central source are made available to equalize the unequal places in social need; fifth, decentralized administration, under supervision, gives the most satisfactory and stable method of service combined with a local sense of responsibility; sixth, the principle of paying for costs of administration out of funds which are to be administered is sound and effective either on a percentage basis or on a discretionary basis, if wisely administered; seventh, a central system of education of the decentralized administrative units is an essential part of such a program; this implies for its successful accomplishment a professionally trained supervisory staff capable of interpreting policy, methods, and techniques; eighth, carefully prepared memoranda containing rules, regulations, information, etc.; and consultation service on request, without cost to the local unit, will be a most effective instrument for improving the local work; ninth, consolidated reports covering the entire state submitted to the local units will have a beneficial effect in bringing up standards and promoting unity of effort.

These six acts and their amendments, supplements, and re-

visions chronicle the thirty-four-year climb of the citizens of New Jersey out of the pit of archaic, unorganized public welfare service to a higher level of humane, intelligent care and relief of the handicapped.

Each act has its strength and its weakness; each marks at some point a step upward. With such tested experiments as a guide, it should be possible to synthesize, out of the strengths, a sound, integrated program of social welfare co-ordinating state and local units for effective administration.

When the people have at last learned that public welfare is a professional function of government, they will insist upon such co-ordination.

CO-ORDINATION OF STATE AND LOCAL UNITS FOR WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

*Mrs. Blanche L. LaDu, Chairman, State Board
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PRIOR to September, 1932, the state of Minnesota had carried its load of poor-relief unaided, but a critical period had arrived. Tax delinquencies, which formerly were a minor inconvenience, became major difficulties and became so numerous and the amounts involved so large that old methods and remedies no longer sufficed. While all parts of the state suffered to a considerable extent, it was in the large cities and in the northern counties with their cut-over timber areas and closed mines that relief needs were most highly concentrated. Large areas of land in these counties will eventually become public domain through tax delinquencies. These counties, together with the industrial centers of Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, constitute the relief area of the state at the present time. Sixty-one counties in the agricultural section south and west of the twin cities are still carrying their own relief loads.

No state relief could be obtained before the meeting of the legislature in January, 1933. City and county officials, unable to await this action of the legislature, petitioned the Governor for assistance in securing federal funds.

The act of Congress passed July, 1932, known as the Emergency Relief and Construction Act, making available the sum of \$300,000,000 to the states under terms and conditions set forth in the Act, in furnishing relief and work relief to needy and distressed people created a new situation. A report of the American Public Welfare Association says:

The administration of federal relief was a new experience; needs were acute; an emergency existed, and each state acted independently. Few states were organized and equipped for the administration of these funds. As a result, there has been little or no uniformity in state organization and procedure or in methods and standards used.

During the past year unemployment relief has overshadowed all other phases of social work and exceeds in volume and in scope anything in our previous experience. Like most states, we were not prepared to meet this situation. This period of stress and unemployment has made us aware of some of the weaknesses of our state welfare program. There has been a growing tendency to recognize that relief is a matter of public or government concern and responsibility. We are coming to recognize that the taxing power of the government is the fairest and most secure method of securing funds for poor-relief and other social welfare needs. Taxation fixes the burden on all in proportion to their ability to pay. This public responsibility had been recognized to some extent in Minnesota in state aid to public schools, public health service, the Workmen's Compensation Act, mothers' assistance, direct poor-relief to families, special aid for the blind, for the ex-service man and his family, for institutional care of state wards, and for county poor-farms and hospitals. Old-age pensions were optional in Minnesota until the 1933 legislature made them compulsory after January, 1934. Five counties have adopted the optional law to date. (These include the counties containing the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth; total expenditures of the three cities for old-age pensions, 1932, were \$323,200.)

During the year 1932 in Minnesota, as elsewhere, the depression had reached many local governments in full force, and late in September, 1932, Governor Olson appointed Morris B. Lambie, executive secretary of the League of Minnesota Municipalities and professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, as state relief administrator, and requested the Minnesota State Board of Control, which is the welfare department of the state, to investigate the relief needs of each community making application for relief; also to establish standards and procedure for the administration of local relief from any funds obtained from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Traditionally and in fact it has been the responsibility of the local community to administer poor-relief and see that aid

reached the individual family needing help. There has been a tendency toward decentralization along many lines. However, it has been clearly demonstrated during the last three years that relief responsibility and its administration are no longer matters of wholly local concern. New and widening responsibilities, involving state and federal as well as local government, had to be met, and much thought and consideration were given to these changing policies.

Our procedure in Minnesota was as follows: Upon receipt of the Governor's request that we proceed with our plans for securing federal funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, application blanks were immediately sent out by the relief administrator and the State Board of Control to the boards of county commissioners in all the counties, and also to all the cities and villages of over twenty-five hundred population located in counties under the township system of poor-relief. In counties operating under the county system of poor-relief, the county board is responsible for the care of the poor and it was only necessary to communicate with this board. In counties operating under the township system, each city, village, and township government is responsible for the care of its own poor and as a result a complete survey of such counties was impossible because of lack of time and funds.

An estimate of the approximate relief needs of the counties and other political subdivisions making application for federal relief was necessary. Field representatives of the Children's Bureau of the State Board of Control, who are trained and experienced social workers, were sent to contact members of the county boards of commissioners, other county officials, representatives of other agencies who were doing welfare work in the various communities, and representative citizens of the county, in order that a fairly approximate estimate of the county's relief needs might be made.

Mr. Morris B. Lambie, state relief administrator, had just completed a study of the fiscal conditions of the political subdivisions of the state for the Minnesota League of Municipal-

ties, and his excellent report was available for use in determining the financial ability or inability of each county or local subdivision to care for its poor-relief needs. Assessed valuation, tax revenue, indebtedness, tax delinquencies, and current financial responsibilities of the county were considered.

With this information and the information furnished as to the actual number of families estimated to be in need by the field representatives, the Board of Control was in a position to pass upon the applications of the several counties with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Budgets were estimated on an average monthly allowance of twenty-five dollars for a family of five and eight dollars a month for each non-family individual in the cities. An allowance of fifteen dollars a month for non-family individuals in the remaining counties was asked to meet the rigors of our northern climate, the majority of single recipients being located there. Applications thus estimated were approved by the Governor and presented to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation by the state administrator of relief and allowed.

It now became necessary to organize a county committee in each of the nineteen counties for the proper distribution of the funds thus obtained. The relief administrator and the State Board of Control proceeded to set up an organization considered best suited to meet local conditions and to secure the most satisfactory administration of these funds. The plans were carried out by the field representatives of the Children's Bureau under the supervision of Charles F. Hall, director of the Bureau.

In order to explain our relief administration set-up, may I state briefly our present plan of state and local units for child welfare administration. The Minnesota laws of 1917 charged the State Board of Control with the administration of the laws for the protection of the handicapped children of the state: the illegitimate, the defective, the dependent and neglected, and the delinquent. The Board was authorized, when requested so to do by the county board, to appoint in each county three persons, resident therein, at least two of whom shall be women, who shall serve without compensation, except traveling ex-

penses, and hold office during the pleasure of the Board, and who, together with a member of the county board, to be designated by said county board, and the county superintendent of schools, shall constitute a child welfare board for the county. Additional responsibilities have been given the members of these boards from time to time by legislative action. The county child welfare board may also, when requested to do so by the county board, perform the duties of probation and school-attendance officers; may assist in the administration of mothers' pensions and of poor-relief.

Thus the representatives of our Children's Bureau and many of our county child welfare board members were already familiar with the county programs of poor-relief and were personally acquainted with the county officials. Of Minnesota's eighty-seven counties, eighty have county child welfare boards.

It has been recognized that the county is the most practical area for the administration of general welfare laws. Clearly the township is too small a unit for social service administration as the basis of taxation is too limited to meet the necessary costs of service according to modern accepted standards. The existence of the township system has made the task of administering poor-relief in these counties a most difficult and unsatisfactory one--thirty-four counties operating under the township system; the remaining fifty-three having the county system.

This intimate knowledge of the counties' social and financial needs and acquaintance with local officials made possible the set-up of an organization for the administration of federal relief which was acceptable to the local community and satisfactory to the state and federal authorities.

County emergency relief committee.--In considering local administration it was presumed that the office of county commissioner or city councilman is incompatible with that of relief administrator of state or federal funds; therefore, in our plan of organization it was deemed unwise to attach the direct administration of relief funds to the county board or to the local city council.

It was deemed advisable to set up a separate committee consisting of two members of the board of county commissioners, two members of the county child welfare board, and a fifth member selected by the other four, who was to be someone with varied contacts throughout the county, to administer the funds. Thus the county board was given representation but not exclusive charge of the funds to be administered, and the State Board of Control had representation to care for the state's interests.

In addition to this voluntary committee, known as the "county emergency relief committee," the members of which were to serve without compensation except for traveling expenses, the Board of Control deemed it necessary to have one or more paid county relief workers in each county in direct charge of the expenditures of the funds with the approval of the county emergency relief committee, and also to make the family investigations as to the actual needs. The county emergency relief committee was given authority to appoint such workers as might be approved by the Board of Control. Because of lack of people properly trained in family investigation and because of local prejudices and politics, the county workers were for the most part selected by the Board of Control. Following conferences with local officials and representatives of social welfare agencies of the cities of St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth, it was decided to administer the federal relief funds through the already existing relief agencies. Some minor changes were necessary, St. Paul, and Duluth being located in counties under county system of poor-relief, and having joint county and city responsibility for care of the poor. Minneapolis, in Hennepin County, where the township system prevails, was authorized to use its city board of public welfare set-up, which had charge of the administration of poor-relief in the city.

Because of local conditions in the city of Duluth and St. Louis County, a county emergency relief committee was organized, using as far as possible the local agencies administering poor-relief.

The rapid expansion of these programs for the administration

of relief through the large cities and also the entire group of northern counties (twenty-five in number) has increased the difficulty of finding competent experienced personnel who possess the organization ability, leadership, and personality which this work demands. Placements of trained social workers in tax-supported agencies have been increasing. Public agencies are recognizing the value of trained service, and social workers are recognizing the possibilities in public service agencies.

This depression, which has become a universal calamity with its emergency-relief needs, has brought about an integration of interests and efforts of private and public agencies which indicates better understanding, better co-operation, and better co-ordination of efforts, resulting in more efficiency in the carrying-out of our relief programs; the social workers in each group are becoming better informed as to the community program as a whole. In the city of St. Paul practically the entire staff of family case workers of the United Charities were loaned to the county emergency relief committee to assist in the administration of public relief. This was also true in the city of Duluth, where the executive secretary of the Community Fund became director of the county and city relief administration. In the city of Minneapolis there is close co-ordination of the various relief agencies, although the Board of Public Welfare of the city has direct charge of the administration of poor-relief.

Throughout this entire organization period we have had the co-operation of other state departments and the University of Minnesota; especially the departments of political science and of sociology through the division of social science, which trained the family welfare associations and other agencies of the tri-cities. Because of the lack of trained and experienced social workers, it has been necessary to employ trained organizers, trained and experienced home economists, public health nurses, who have had the social service slant in their experience, and trained but inexperienced social workers, and place them under the supervision of experienced trained people. The patience, sympathy, courage, and resourcefulness with which they have

carried on under the greatest difficulties in remote and isolated regions, by every conceivable mode of travel—auto, team, on horseback, on foot, on skis, and even by airplane or Indian snowshoes—during the severest winter weather, are enough to make us all proud of their achievements. There are 270 now employed in the direct family investigation and case work, with some 125 clerical aids in the state. Total federal grants to Minnesota were \$3,071,780. The family load carried reached its peak in February when some 46,000 families were receiving relief from federal funds. There has been a substantial decrease in this load for the last two months owing to the seasonal pickup in employment and to the assuming of its own relief load by the city of Minneapolis, but there has been no industrial development sufficient to relieve the relief situation to any great extent.

The salaries of the county workers and their office and travel expenses are paid by the Board of Control from funds set aside for county administration. The cost of state administration was paid through funds provided by Governor Olson until legislative appropriation was available.

Efforts were made in every community to furnish work for the able-bodied recipients of relief, the prevailing wage scale of the community being used. In co-operation with local county officials and with the aid of the state forestry and highway service, many work projects were carried on—such as cutting and furnishing wood to families on relief, brushing and clearing along county highways and in state forests and parks.

Early in May representatives of the central office met in the relief territory with the county workers and planned individual and community garden projects for the relief districts. In these projects we have the co-operation of the local welfare agencies, the county agricultural agents, and the department of home economics, College of Agriculture, which agency will assist in home demonstrations in the canning and preservation of food.

The President's challenge of "An Army of Boys in Conservation Camps" instead of "An Army of Boys on the Loose"

has stirred the public imagination, given hope, courage, and adventure to hundreds of thousands of boys, and possibilities of service to every thinking citizen and welfare agency in the land. The State Board of Control was requested by the United States Department of Labor to select 5,250 boys, the state's quota, for these camps. The requested number were either in or through Fort Snelling before June 7, the date set by President Roosevelt. Let us stand by and be ready to aid in every possible way this tremendous constructive undertaking. Minnesota, being in the forest area, can furnish through its Conservation Department opportunity for large numbers of camps (34 state forest camps, 15 federal camps, and 9 erosion camps).

Members of the staff of the institute of unemployment, University of Minnesota, are working with us in an attempt to be of assistance in some constructive plans for unemployed women.

When the state legislature assembled in January, 1933, legislation tending to make for security to the workman and to the aged and infirm in times of stress, industrial insurance, old-age pensions, uniform and efficient administration of public funds—in other words, putting the problems of human welfare on a business basis—was a logical reaction to the situation in the state.

Social welfare legislation program.—This included an act approving the action of the Governor in securing funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and authorizing him to continue to secure such further grants of funds as he deemed necessary; approving his appointment of the Board of Control to administer relief funds and approving the manner of administration of federal funds by said board; and designating the Board as the official agent charged with the administration of relief funds in Minnesota, both state and federal, and appropriating \$51,000 for a period of two years for the purpose of administration, was passed.

Also, an act authorizing the State Board of Relief, which is the Governor's executive council, composed of the chief elective officers of the state, to issue certificates of indebtedness to the

amount of \$1,500,000 for the biennial period, the proceeds thereof to be expended by the State Board of Control for poor-relief, was passed.

Other legislation included the amending of our present law; making old-age pensions compulsory in all the counties after January, 1934; and bills for removing legal restrictions on bond issues and tax levies in certain cities and authorizing counties to issue bonds to care for the poor.

A bill for the establishment of county welfare boards.—An attempt was made on the part of the relief administrator, the Board of Control, and representatives of other agencies interested in social welfare problems as well as in the administration of poor-relief to establish a new county welfare board system. The object of this bill was to create a county welfare board in those counties receiving federal or state relief funds which would take the place of the two boards now functioning in those counties; namely, the county emergency relief committee and the county child welfare board. We were fortunate in having the advice and approval of Mr. William Hodson on this bill. Mr. Hodson was instrumental in establishing county child welfare laws of 1917 and knew Minnesota conditions and welfare program. The bill attempted to establish the county as the local area for the administration of poor-relief and general welfare service in all counties receiving either state or federal relief funds, except the counties containing cities of the first class, and made this form of organization permissive in all counties (Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul). The bill provided that in order for a county to receive federal or state aid for the relief of the poor, the county board of commissioners by resolution shall request the establishment of a county welfare board in compliance with the terms set forth in the bill.

The bill further provided that the county board of welfare shall appoint an executive secretary with the approval of the State Board of Control, or from a list prepared by the State Board of Control, on the basis of experience, training, and other necessary qualifications; also that the county welfare board

shall be the child welfare board of the county and pursuant to the laws governing said board shall perform such duties as may now be required of the child welfare board by law and or by the State Board of Control. The county welfare board was to prepare for the board of county commissioners the budget of the relief and other welfare needs of the county.

In short, the bill provided for state supervision of either state or federal relief funds. It determined the size of the relief area by making the county the relief unit. It placed administration of relief under central supervision and provided for the establishment of proper standards and accepted procedure in the administration of poor-relief, increased the scope of the county child welfare board, and made state approval of the board's executive secretary necessary.

This bill for the organization of county welfare boards had the approval of the social legislation committee, of the public welfare agency, of the legislative representatives from all of the counties receiving federal relief funds or who were anticipating the need of state or federal relief funds. Nevertheless, in the stress of a most unusual number of bills and the general chaotic condition, with almost a 50 per cent turnover in the membership of the house, this bill, together with some seventeen hundred other bills, failed to come up for a vote.

It will be observed that the present county emergency relief committee has been organized along lines similar to those recommended in this bill for the establishment of county welfare boards and based on the same underlying principles. In order to familiarize the local communities with this type of organization we have further adopted other features of this bill in the following manner under broad and general authority given the board in appointing it as state agency for administration of state and federal funds.

In the organization of the division of the Board of Control which directs the administration of federal relief, the field representatives of the Children's Bureau who are assigned to these counties in the regular course of their child welfare activities

have become members of the relief-administration staff on a part-time basis, thus combining the work of the two boards in the manner in which the proposed bill provided. In other words, the passage of the county welfare board bill would have been to a great extent a legal recognition of what the Board is at the present time doing through its county emergency relief organization and its county child welfare boards. We are trying to build a permanent progressive welfare program for the state. No doubt an attempt to secure passage of this or a similar bill will be made at the next session of the legislature.

This welfare legislation had the personal interest and support of Governor Olson, whose socially minded attitude made possible our welfare program. Much time and effort on the part of Messrs. C. J. Swendsen and L. G. Foley, the other members of the State Board of Control, together with the machinery of our organization, have been devoted to the carrying-out of this program for the maintenance of wholesome normal life, including health, happiness, and the morale of all of our people.

ORGANIZING GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

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EARLY indications of an approaching avalanche of unemployment and dependency in Illinois were quite apparent during 1930. Between April, 1930, and January, 1931, according to the federal censuses of those dates, the number of unemployed in Chicago alone increased from 167,934 to 450,244, or 168 per cent; and the number of unemployed in the entire state of Illinois in the latter month was slightly in excess of 700,000.

The great majority of those affected by unemployment were able to subsist on savings and borrowed funds or by the help of relatives and friends, during a considerable period of time, so that the demand for relief did not increase concurrently with the amount of unemployment. The winter of 1930, however, brought a marked increase in relief demands, largely concentrated in Chicago. The major family-relief agencies of Chicago, in December, 1930, were serving 40,700 families as compared with 12,300 families in December, 1929—an increase of 231 per cent.

The problem of providing relief had been sufficiently acute by October, 1930, to warrant the formation of a voluntary organization known as the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief for the purpose of focusing state-wide attention upon a threatening menace, to stimulate local responsibility, and to guide local community planning to meet what then appeared to be a temporary emergency. Under the urge of this organization, local communities for the state raised, during the winter of 1930-31, approximately \$5,600,000 from private sources for emergency relief, of which \$5,000,000 was raised in Cook County. These amounts were in addition to funds raised

by established welfare organizations to carry on their regular non-emergency programs, and to the public funds provided by local tax units. These funds in Cook county were exhausted before autumn, 1931. In August of that year the Governor's Commission created the Joint Emergency Relief Fund of Cook County, which set about to raise \$8,800,000 for emergency relief, and succeeded in collecting \$10,600,000 from private sources—the largest sum ever subscribed in any charity campaign in that community. Over \$4,000,000 of this amount was spent by the end of November, 1931, and December expenditures alone amounted to \$2,500,000 for the relief of 118,000 families and 16,000 non-family men and women. It was apparent that the entire amount would be far from adequate to provide relief in Cook County throughout the year 1931-32; and a number of other Illinois counties were also faced, by midwinter, with the prospect of early exhaustion of their relief funds.

Foreseeing the suffering which the destitute families of the state would undergo if further relief funds were not forthcoming, the Governor's Commission and other bodies urged upon the Fifty-seventh General Assembly, convened in its third special session, to provide necessary relief funds from public taxes. Five bills, providing for the raising of a \$20,000,000 state fund and establishing the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission to administer this fund, were enacted as emergency measures and became effective February 6, 1932. Thus ended the period of adequacy of local private and public funds, the state assuming responsibility for sustaining an increasing population stricken by economic inactivity.

The state turns to the federal government.—The demands upon the Commission were heavy from the start. Attention to Chicago and Cook County was an immediate necessity, and, while it had been the opinion of some legislators that counties other than Cook could take care of their own relief requirements, other counties at once began to ask for funds. The need in some areas, especially those of the mining industry, was desperate. By April 15, 1932, ten weeks after state funds became available,

allocations had been made to the stricken areas of Illinois totaling approximately \$10,000,000; and by August 1 the Commission had made funds available to 42 counties in the amount of \$18,750,000, exhausting the cash provided by the state. Relief funds were then being provided for the support of 218,000 families and 22,000 non-family individuals. Thus ended the brief period of adequacy of state funds, and the Governor of Illinois applied for and received the first allocation of federal funds made available as a loan, by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under the Federal Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932. The governor of Illinois promptly appointed the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission as his agent to administer federal funds, maintaining a continuity and uniformity in the policies and procedures of the administration of state and federal funds in the local communities of Illinois.

During the period of August 1, 1932—May 20, 1933, supplementary funds to relieve distress on account of unemployment in 68 counties of Illinois, in which live 91 per cent of the state's population, have been made available under the Federal Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, in the total amount of approximately \$55,000,000, which, added to \$18,750,000 state funds spent during the previous six months, gives a total of state and federal resources for unemployment relief during sixteen and two-thirds months of almost \$74,000,000, or an average expenditure of approximately \$4,460,000 per month. During the month of March, relief was extended to 322,000 families and 40,000 non-family individuals.

Policies of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission.—The operations of the Illinois Emergency Commission have hinged about the following considerations stated in terms of policy: first, the indirect administration of relief by the Commission; second, the determination of need in local communities; third, the allocation of funds on a basis of need; fourth, the form of relief; fifth, the standards of relief administration; sixth, fiscal control in the form of controlled commitments, auditing, and accounting.

From the beginning, the Commission has avoided administering relief directly. It has never attempted to take over directly the tremendous task of all that is implied in providing needy families with the means of subsistence. This position originally resulted largely from the need for immediate activity by the Commission and the inability of that body to set up a new organization for direct relief administration quickly enough to prevent suffering. This position is also consistent with the law establishing the Commission. Counties have been used as units for relief administration. In each county to which funds have been made available the Commission appoints a County Emergency Relief Committee as its agent. An exception has been made for Cook County. The enormous expenditure of funds in this county called for a closer relationship between the Commission and the agencies actually distributing funds than could be obtained through a county committee. In this county, therefore, the Commission has itself, in effect, served as a county committee, dealing directly with the agencies administering relief.

The county committees are authorized to select qualified existing relief agencies to distribute relief, and allocations have been made to the county committees, which have in turn distributed funds to subsidiary agencies. The county committee as a general rule consists of five members, the personnel of which is worked out by a field representative of the Commission in consultation with the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, and recommended to the Commission for appointment. An attempt has been made in the formation of these committees to obtain a representation of interested organizations in the county and a personnel which was already active in unemployment relief and other welfare functions. The committee thus formed serves as the arm of the Commission for enforcing its policies and requirements within the county.

Allocations of funds have been made on the basis of need. An attempt has been made to insure that no county should have a surplus of funds while the destitute of other counties were un-

cared for. Although there have been some requests that funds be distributed on the basis of population, the Commission has steadfastly held to the principle of need. This principle has been strained in some instances in order to induce the counties to make full use of all available local resources. In such cases the *emergency* or *supplemental* and not the *total* relief need has been used, thus compelling the local authorities to take necessary action to provide funds for relief.

Although the Commission was at first provided with sufficient state funds to meet relief needs of the entire state for a period of a few months, the allocations of such funds typically covered only short periods of time—in most cases one month. This policy was thought to be necessary because the amount of funds available was limited and because it was believed to be impossible at the outset to predict relief needs far in advance. Allocations for periods longer than a month have since been made for a few minor projects such as subsistence gardens and work-relief projects.

Assistance to families in distress has taken the form of *direct* relief and *work* relief. In order to conform with the State Finance Act, which by statute controlled the disbursement of state funds, expenditures for direct relief have been limited to the direct purchase of actual supplies and services such as food, fuel, emergency shelter, clothing, medical care, and salaries for administration. Not one cent of such funds has been paid to clients in cash for *direct* relief. In the use of federal funds, no restrictions have been placed upon the form of expenditures, but the Commission has followed the same practice as in the disbursement of state funds in extending direct relief. The principle of granting relief in this form is believed to be economical; little else, it seems, can be claimed in its favor.

The policy of the Illinois Commission with respect to the determination of relief standards has, perhaps, lacked celerity and accomplishment. The Commission has declared itself in such terms as "that relief provided shall be adequate"; further, that "in providing relief to families the amount should make up, but

not exceed, the difference between the income from other sources and the amount needed to maintain a standard of living which will prevent suffering." While the actual determination of the quantities and qualities of supplies and services to be provided has been largely left to the local relief agents, much assistance has been given by the directors of social service and nutrition of the Commission staff. While it is evident that the activities of these and other staff members in guiding local relief agents have done much to improve standards of relief allowances in the state and to increase the efficiency of the relief dollar in meeting actual needs of the destitute, it is recognized that achievements in this direction are small in comparison with the huge task to be done. Relief standards still show great variations within the state, and in many counties the desire for economy and the fear that liberal standards would encourage dependency have combined to depress relief standards to a level considerably below scientifically accepted adequacy.

There is evidence to indicate that the average monthly expenditure per family in Illinois counties has risen slightly during the year ending February 28, 1933. It is believed that a number of the counties which formerly provided very inadequate supplies appreciably increased their relief standards during the year. Since prices were declining throughout the period, any evidence in terms of dollars will slightly understate the true increase. In Cook County the relief expenditure per relief family in February, 1932, was \$18.99, and for the same month of 1933, \$26.76, or an increase of 41 per cent; for the counties exclusive of Cook, the average relief expenditure for relief family in August, 1932, was \$9.99 and \$13.44 in February, 1933, or an increase of 35 per cent for the six months' period. Since February of this year the relative expenditures of Cook and other counties of the state have increased so that at present the expenditures for food alone have reached a monthly average per family of \$21.00 in Cook County and \$10.00 in other counties.

Use has been made of "An Adequate Diet at Minimum Cost" prepared and recommended jointly by the Federal Children's

Bureau and the Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, specifically designed to provide emergency relief, but suitable for use over an indefinite period of time. The director of nutrition of the Illinois Commission has used this diet schedule, with minor modifications, as a satisfactory basis for relief-family budgets, and which articles at minimum retail prices obtainable in Chicago as of February last provided a diet to a family of four at an average of \$22.70 per month. It is believed that while the diets afforded in Cook County and several other counties approach adequacy, those provided in many downstate counties are quite below the standards set up by federal government experts.

The breakdown of total commitments against state and federal funds during the past year shows that 91.59 per cent of all funds has gone for relief alone; 6.76 per cent for salaries; and 1.65 per cent for other administrative costs. A more detailed breakdown shows that of the typical dollar $70\frac{1}{2}$ cents has gone for food, 7 cents for fuel, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents for clothing, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents for rent, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents for other minor relief expenditures, 9 cents for work relief, $6\frac{3}{4}$ cents for salaries, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents for other administrative expenses.

The number of persons employed in the administration of relief for which state and federal funds have been used has increased steadily as the relief task has grown, but the amount paid in salaries has increased less rapidly than has the number employed. The average salary per worker has consequently dropped since the Commission was formed and in January, 1933, stood at the low figure of \$86.75 per month. The average monthly salary paid by occupational classes during the year shows a total number of employees of 3,222, of whom 153 superintendents and supervisors received \$170 per month, 1,266 social workers received \$105, and 1,842 stenographic, clerical, and other workers received an average salary of \$78.

Organization and duties of the Commission.—Forming the policies and maintaining a general direction of the activities of this entire emergency-relief enterprise have been the tasks of the

Illinois Emergency Relief Commission itself. The influence of this body over the distribution of relief has been positive and direct. Meetings have been held slightly more frequently than once a week since February 12, 1932. At these meetings the problems confronting the Commission have been considered from many angles and in detail. Allocations have never been made without the presentation of supporting material as to need and as to responsible local administration of the services to accompany the fulfilment of the relief task. The Commission has remained the final judge in all these matters.

The Commission staff has been organized in two units: one responsible for the determination of relief needs and the necessary social service administration to supply that need, and the other responsible for auditing, accounting, and fiscal procedures. The first unit comprises a field staff of persons experienced in social-work planning directed by the associate executive secretary and includes also persons of specialized capacity such as a director of social service, a director of nutrition, a director of selection of personnel for local communities, a director of work relief, a director of subsistence gardens, a division of relief and financial statistics, and recently a director of selection of men eligible for emergency conservation work. The auditing unit is responsible for control and analysis of commitments and expenditures within allocations made, and because relief and service payments have had to be made to many thousands of different individuals and concerns, and because every payment has had to be carefully examined, the work of this unit has been heavy and the staff large. This department issues between twelve thousand and sixteen thousand warrants per day, based on approximately forty thousand relief purchase orders.

Leaders in public welfare administration have long contended this centralization to be wise and in the interest of conserving human and financial resources. The advent in Illinois of a State Commission has tended in the direction of a state-wide-mindedness, and the use of county committees has meant that in this state for the first time representative committees of citizens

have observed, studied, and to some extent directed the public welfare functions of the county unit.

In conclusion, it may be well to mention three important characteristics of the relief problem in Illinois which have not always been apparent but are now fairly obvious.

In the first place, it is clearly apparent that, in so far as it implies brevity of duration, the term "emergency relief" is misleading. The task of caring for the destitute unemployed is now being carried into its third year, and it is realized, even by the most optimistic, that the problem will continue to exist for a considerable period in the future.

In the second place, it is perfectly clear that the problem has become a general one. Approximately one-sixth of all the residents of the state are actually receiving relief, while most of the rest of the population are more or less directly concerned. Sixty-eight of the 102 Illinois counties, in which reside 91 per cent of the population, have been forced to request funds from the Commission, while 22 additional counties have made use of recently enacted state relief legislation.

In the third place, it is apparent that the efforts of the local committees to meet their relief needs from strictly local funds have failed, and that there is little hope that they can bear the future relief burden by means of local funds for some time in the future. It is evident that it will be necessary to appeal to the federal government for a substantial part of the relief money to be required during the present year.

And, finally, out of the swiftly passing panorama of these three years of economic desperation are emerging, in outline at least, certain trends that give promise to crystallize into changing patterns of welfare work procedures. In Illinois as well as in other states, the public has become "relief-minded." And it is a public tax-relief-mindedness that is imprinted deeply in the public's consciousness. The steady flow of enormous sums of state and federal funds for relief purposes, and the occupancy of the relief spotlight by the public relief official and public welfare machinery in ever-widening circles of responsibility, may

endanger certain other vital and important areas of social work by their being submerged in stagnant pools of a backwash. This cannot happen without serious damage to American humanitarian endeavor. As unemployment recedes its retreat will be strewn with permanent social and individual ills whose treatment will require an expanded, strengthened, and balanced welfare program. To preserve, maintain, and enhance such a welfare program is the supreme challenge now facing the statesmen of public and private social work.

A STATE HANDLES ITS PUBLIC WELFARE PROBLEMS

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WE WHO are directly engaged in social work have faced the problems of social unadjustment as an everyday task. But today, so serious and so far reaching has been the impact of the disaster, that we find ourselves only one of many groups which have been irresistibly drawn into investigating its nature and proposing remedial measures. In every field of American life, among scientists, engineers, politicians, and educators, you will find the same questioning, the same weighing and probing. Today you cannot turn the page of your newspaper without reading such phrases as "the new social order," "the changing principles of government," "the responsibility of the state," "the end of laissez faire methods," "the new relation of the state to the people." From the circle closest to the White House comes the statement that "no government could stand today if it failed to recognize these enormous new forces or to understand the thing that has happened."

What is this thing that has happened? And what forces are these which the state must recognize? It needs no repeating that, conservatively estimated, there are between twelve and fifteen million able-bodied workers unemployed in the United States today. Exact figures are unavailable, because no such figures have ever been compiled. In New York State, alone, 396,884 families, involving 1,600,000 persons, are now dependent for existence upon public relief. Between the end of March and the end of April, 1933, the number of persons on the public-relief rolls in New York State increased by 10 per cent, while the amount spent for relief decreased by 9 per cent.

Let us examine the significance of these figures in relation to

what we call the normal conditions of life in our social system. It is customary among a great many of our citizens to think that our present difficulties were created suddenly, as the result of a stock-market crash in October, 1929. This is not true. Unemployment began a number of years before this date; and today our best economists agree that though the severity of the disaster may be considerably assuaged, unemployment will permanently be a social factor unless redirected into social activity as a result of definite social planning and industrial control.

Between 1923 and 1928, for instance, there was a standing army of over two million able-bodied persons willing to work who could yet find no place in our industries. Machines were displacing men in the factories at such speed that in 1927 there were nearly a half-million fewer employees engaged in manufacturing than in 1923, yet the value of the goods they produced increased by over one and three-quarters billions of dollars. Between 1923 and 1928, a period of unprecedented prosperity, the average yearly wage of the factory worker in America dropped fifty-five dollars. Between 1916 and 1925 the amount of money spent on relief in a cross-section of America trebled. Astounding as this may seem, it is estimated that in 1929, at the peak of a mass production of commodities such as no other civilization has ever witnessed, 4,120,000 men were unable to find employment.

Then, late in 1929, began one of those cyclical paralyses of our business life which we term a depression. New millions joined the ranks of the unemployed. We had these depressions before, and always, in the natural course of events, we recovered. The 1929 depression, we soon discovered, however, was unlike any other. Like a high-speed-motor test, it has singled out all the strains and flaws, all the leaking valves and faulty gears in our social mechanism; and these flaws, we must now frankly admit, are no mere surface cracks; they penetrate deeply into the very core of our structure.

So now we have a new and permanent insecure group, a group created by the very process of our social organization and pro-

duction: musicians thrown out of work by sound pictures; factory workers displaced by the belt system and automatic machinery; clerks who have had to give way to calculating machines; laborers sent home in scores by the steam shovel, the mast hoist, and the conveyor. Scientific management and regularization of industry, desirable in themselves, have permanently lessened the necessary man-power of industry.

This is what we call "technological displacement." It is one of the by-products of our industrial development. As social workers we are intimately concerned with this by-product. We shall be waging a futile fight if we fail to plan social safe-guards against the human unadjustments which follow in the wake of these rapid organic industrial changes.

Students of social life are aware that in this country we have gone through a profound reorganization and realignment. What was once chiefly an agricultural society, with a philosophy of individualism, has been converted into an industrial society, highly uniform, highly centralized and highly mechanized. The days when the bulk of our citizens were freeholders, artisans, or skilled workmen are past. Today in our vast manufacturing plants where one man tightens a bolt, another steps on a treadle, and a third shifts a lever, there is practically no premium on skill. Since ever fewer men are needed to operate the machines, only the youngest, strongest, and speediest are retained; so that employees find the span of their working life cut ever shorter and shorter. In other words, the average American industrial worker today, as a result of the normal functioning of our society, finds himself face to face with the prospect of monotonous mechanical employment, a possible early discharge, and after that a long stretch of precarious existence.

In contrast to these facts and actualities, we find among the generality of our people a great theoretical and cultural lag. Though we live so obviously in a world of machines and masses, too much of our thinking still circles around practices that died with the days of the handcraftsmen's shop, free land, the frontier, and the nearest neighbor a mile away. It is difficult for us

to face the fact that the day of individualism and self-determination is past. Hence, between what as a nation we *do* and what as a nation we *think*, we find ourselves torn by conflict and split apart.

The immediacy of the problems facing every community has blinded us not only to the long-term nature of our problem, but also to the factors which are involved in social suffering. Plans projected for dealing with the general situation are prepared all too often without actual and expert knowledge of what the situation involves. Similarly, the operation of social machinery is all too often interfered with and disrupted by persons who have never given any thought to the causes of social distress, nor do they possess any appreciation of the facts of personality breakdowns or other subtle psychological disturbance. In other words, the thinking and planning to offset social disaster are too often frustrated by others who have neither the training nor the concern to deal effectively with the multiplicity of factors entering into human unadjustment. It is a clear expression of the existing cultural lag.

Relief is still too often given in the spirit of the old poor-master of agricultural days, who doled out a niggardly subexistence of "charity" to "paupers," as they were then called, with his eye focused less on the need of the individual than on the importance of pleasing shortsighted but influential taxpayers.

The New York State Commission on Unemployment Problems found in 1931 that of fifty-nine cities outside of New York City only a few made any attempt to base home relief on the actual needs of the applicant. Rent was paid only when the applicant was in dire peril of eviction—and often not even then. Contrary to the public welfare law of the state, few welfare officers paid for clothing, medical aid, or light. In half of the cities of the state only a ration dangerously close to starvation and freezing was allowed. Yet social welfare in New York State is on as high a level as that of any other state in the Union.

A hearing in a leading midwest city not so long ago revealed that the system of relief there forced the unemployed into a posi-

tion of abject humiliation, broke them in spirit and resources first before a nickel of aid was granted. One state, which in 1929 had not a single trained social worker on the pay-roll, authorized the sale of the poor to the "best responsible bidder," thus returning to the old "auction system," which we thought confidently we had long since abandoned.

What such inadequacies in a social welfare system mean in terms of weakened mothers; in disease from malnutrition, crowding, and slum congestion; in lack of proper medical care; in mental wear and tear on the destitute; in the dissolution of families; in emotional maladjustment and insanity, we social workers can easily understand. We know that such a system must inevitably have far-reaching effects. Here, as in Germany following the war blockade, the effects of undernourishment will not be fully comprehended until fifteen or twenty years will have passed.

The truth is that in the present emergency social welfare standards in America have received a severe setback. Values we have fought for over a period of many years have been scrapped. Scientific practices we have been able to apply only after a long struggle have been thrown overboard as the great deluge of distress washed down on us and found us, amply forewarned, but unprepared. Today we find taxpayers chafing under the burden. There is among certain classes a clamor for still lower standards of relief.

There is further danger that work-relief wages will undermine the wage level throughout the wide strata of American workers. Evidence of this tendency is not wanting. Unless consciously combated, it will result in a still greater lowering of the general standard of life among the masses of our people.

But now the imperative question is: "What can we social workers do about it?" If our confusion is to resolve itself into a program of action, we must begin by realizing the obvious fact that the social welfare machinery of individual states and communities was not designed, even by the widest stretch of the imagination, to cope with unprecedented crises of such national

and international scope. We must recognize that the fundamental problems of the present emergency are the province of a national reconstruction policy of economic co-ordination and planning.

From this it follows—and this is our point of departure as social workers—that the states, while bending every effort to meet the immediate situation, should not permit the stress of emergency relief to disrupt and dominate the whole social welfare program of the future.

With this perspective, and within the general framework of national reconstruction, every state must reorganize its department of social welfare, first, in the light of a new social philosophy of state responsibility; second, with a concrete program of social legislation against disease, poverty, insecurity, and social maladjustment; and, third, with a working plan for recruiting and training an adequate personnel to make effective the new relationships of the state to its people.

Working with actual social data secured by competent research workers, a well-organized and amply staffed department must have the virility and flexibility to meet the needs of an expanding social order. The tendency to depend solely on established temporary machinery to distribute relief must be avoided. Wise social organization can be effected through the expansion of existing machinery rather than the creation of new and temporary commissions. These, while justifiable a few years ago, have already lost their significance. Also, we must reconsider the provision of special relief to special classes—a practice that followed propaganda rather than social planning—and by concentrating on the total problem develop a social welfare program that will preserve the integrity of all service features.

The official state body must realize that it has a duty not only to present reliable social data to the citizenry, but it must also be the instrument for quickening the social conscience in order that social action may not only be achieved but sustained. Knowledge must heal the wounds which knowledge has created. Before long we shall be as ashamed of social illiteracy as

we are now of individual illiteracy. Plainly, then, such a mission becomes the duty of a state department of social welfare.

The historic necessity for this reorganization, and its manifold implications, can be more concretely understood from an examination of the broad general currents of social welfare history. We discover: first, a gradual shift in emphasis from private to public enterprise in certain forms of social work; second, a persistent drift from chaotic individual activities toward co-operation and centralization; third, a growth from indiscriminate mass treatment toward scientific classification, segregation, and individualization of treatment; fourth, a shift of emphasis from custody of dependents, to cure and finally to prevention of dependency, accompanied by a change from indoor to outdoor relief; fifth, a consciousness on the part of both public and private social workers that the grounds of poverty and resultant maladjustment are not to be found in individual or emotional causes but primarily in socio-economic causes (the problems arise out of the social order itself); sixth, a conscious realignment in both the public and the private fields of social work in order that a more efficient and comprehensive co-operative enterprise may be established. Considered opinion does not point to the absorption of social work by public bodies but rather to a strong co-operative movement.

Let us look into the objective events governing these trends. I shall devote considerable attention to developments in New York State because New York displays, as few other states do, the full gamut of social welfare trends.

In the later colonial period, charity was dispensed by private and public local agencies meagerly and with the stigma of pauperism rubbed in. The earliest cautious approach toward state relief occurred in 1778. During the Revolutionary War the New York State Legislature appropriated funds for the relief of refugees fleeing the invasions of British troops under General Burgoyne. This, however, was an emergency measure, merely indicating what force the pressure of events may exert on state policy. There was as yet no social welfare movement.

New York State early in the nineteenth century was a commonwealth dominated by small freeholders and merchants; and those who could not make a go of it were considered a blot and a drag upon the community. In 1832 a committee inquiring into the "expediency of publishing in a pamphlet the poor laws" of the state, declared that "in reviewing the statistics of our poor-houses, we are met by the proof that at least three-quarters of poverty is voluntary; that it is the crime and not the misfortune of the pauper." The indigent were stowed away in city, town, or county poorhouses, indiscriminately, the sick with the insane, the aged with the infant, drunkards, criminals, and epileptics alike.

At first, practically the only classification consisted of a segregation of the sexes, which, to judge by reports of investigators, was often only theoretically observed. Soon, however, New York State established its first institutions for the segregation and treatment of certain classes of dependents, such as the insane and juvenile delinquents. In 1823 the legislature had ordered the first state-wide survey of poor-relief methods. From then on the state took increasing interest in the administration of relief, but the progress of classification was slow. Meanwhile, private charity was maintaining a dominant rôle, aided in some cases by public subsidies.

Then came the Civil War. In the train of this national crisis followed as usual a swarm of ills: orphans and widows, disabled and uprooted. The poorhouses became crowded. Under the force of circumstances the state had to contribute larger and larger subsidies to private institutions. The extent of the state's participation in welfare activities had now grown to such proportions that the need for a state supervisory body was acutely evident. This condition formed perhaps the major factor in the establishment of the State Board of Charities, which represents the first decisive step of the state toward assuming a permanent functional rôle in the general welfare program. New York, following the lead of Massachusetts, established its Board in 1867. It is significant to note that such bodies had their origin in a de-

sire to achieve economies and to reassure the public that its funds were efficiently administered in both private and public institutions. With this action, the state advanced from its previous position in social welfare as a largely irresponsible subsidizing body to one where it recognized at least an inspectional and supervisory duty. As yet, however, it cautiously resisted the assumption of any sizable degree of control. As a result of the newly formed Board came an improvement of standards, expressed at first in better-constructed buildings, in better sanitary provisions, and in improved classification. Among the first important achievements of the New York body was the passage in 1875 of a law prohibiting the retention of children between two and sixteen years of age in the public almshouse.

During the succeeding quarter of a century our industrial system grew with increasing momentum, further advancing the change from a simple agricultural and handicraft economy toward a more complex, more collective society. Throughout this period, however, and for a long time afterward, the old ideals of individual opportunity and individual responsibility remained with decreasing justification inrooted in our ideology.

From this deep gulf between our social philosophy and our actual social status, there arose a series of unadjustments in our national life. Despite the tendency on the part of our social mechanism to lag behind the material forces, however, some strides were made in social welfare during this period, particularly in the classification of dependents. The poorhouse had been, up to this time, the catch basin into which all classes in need of relief were thrown. The first successful assault on this lack of discrimination culminated in the Child Aid Act of 1875, previously mentioned, to safeguard children from the degrading atmosphere of the poorhouse. Next followed a wholesale exodus of other groups from the almshouse: the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic. In this connection you will observe the vital relationship between overcrowding in institutions and progress in classification. A unit, such as an all-embracing almshouse, is expanded to the bursting-point, and is then split up

into its component parts. This movement away from indiscriminate herding toward classification and segregation was profoundly significant inasmuch as it coincided with the adoption by the state of a new curative attitude toward its wards to replace the former custodial attitude. A further step forward was made in 1894 when the state of New York undertook complete responsibility for the care of the insane, guaranteeing to them a degree of uniformity in treatment impossible under the system of local care.

The years from 1900 to 1915 might be called the "golden age of reformism" in our social life. A remarkable group of reformers appeared who, without fully understanding the causes, sensed the deep-rooted evils of a society in transition. Looking about them, they saw the effects of a grossly unbalanced distribution of wealth. They cried out particularly against the slum, that dark, disease-breeding by-product of our planless industrial centers; and their voices were not entirely lost in the wilderness.

With the turn of the century, new tendencies in social welfare, both public and private, appeared and took on concrete form. Curative aspects were developed to a higher degree of effectiveness. Classification began to take on a scientific character. The colony plan was given wider application, extending to many types of institutions which were converted from custodial asylums to hospitals designed for therapeutic treatment. On the other hand, non-institutional care was extended, especially for dependent children. Social workers stressed the virtues of boarding children out whenever possible. In this matter the state was naturally greatly concerned. The first warnings against an unsupervised system of placing out having already been sounded, the state responded with a law establishing a routine of inspection and supervision later extended and perfected. More important, however, were significant strides toward a preventive program, finding expression in social legislation covering workmen's compensation, restrictions on child labor, regulations on hours and conditions of work, better hous-

ing, compulsory education, vocational guidance; and in the mental hygiene, anti-tuberculosis, and settlement house movements—all essentially preventive in character. Another aspect of this trend revealed itself in the establishment of children's courts.

Child welfare was by now gradually assuming a dominant position in the general welfare work of the state. It was natural, therefore, that the first great step of New York State toward social insurance should center about the child. This movement crystallized in the Child Welfare Act of 1915, which, following similar laws in Illinois and Wisconsin, established boards of child welfare in the state for the purpose of distributing mothers' allowances. It must be noted that the path for these acts was cleared in a large measure by the historic first White House Conference on Child Welfare in 1909, which did much to enlighten public opinion, always an important factor in social progress. The Child Welfare Act marked for New York State an important departure in social welfare theory. It advanced the principle that the state had a responsibility in keeping the home intact and in providing for the dependent child a natural environment free from stigma or reproach. It was a partial recognition by the state that it must set itself to remedy the initial inequalities which a faulty social structure imposes. Incidentally, it marked a milestone on the trend from indoor to outdoor relief.

The years following witnessed gigantic progress in the better organization of social welfare, marked by future economy of effort through co-ordination and consolidation of agencies, the development of case work, and the rapid growth in application of psychiatry. Of prime importance was the somewhat startled—and I might say reluctant—recognition of the vital relationship between socio-economic forces and the field of social work. Also, in conjunction with the development of the scientific approach, there were established higher standards of social welfare, lifting it to a new plane of professional dignity.

Along with this realization, significantly enough, came a very pronounced shift in emphasis from remedial to preventive work.

In this process the state, of course, played an important rôle. By the logic of events it had been gradually assuming in practice the responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. Having once accepted this responsibility, it was then compelled to realize not only the injustice, but the economic fallacy of a haphazard doctoring of large masses of people already pinched into acute distress between conflicting forces within the social mechanism. Would it not be better, we asked ourselves, to heal the inner lesions which caused these running sores? So we turned our attention to checking the poison of maladjustment at the well-spring. This orientation has directed us to the most potentially fruitful field of operation into which we have thus far entered. I refer to the field of constructive social legislation. In this field we have only just begun to scratch the surface. We have done something—not much, but something—in the way of solving the problem of old-age dependency; and a little more in the way of child-aid laws. It is worth noting here that preventive social legislation has taken its initial strides for the aged and the child, normally our two most needy groups.

This brings us to the outstanding trend of the century: the vast expansion of state activities in social welfare work, a trend that had already begun and was advancing at an accelerated pace even before the depression set in. In New York State a series of reorganizations, involving functional changes in the Board of Charities, culminated in constituting this body in 1929 as the Department of Social Welfare. The Public Welfare Law, enacted the same year, brought about sweeping changes in the concepts and practices of public welfare administration in the state. Inherent in it was the official acceptance of responsibility on the part of the state for large-scale maladjustments and dislocations in the life of the community. It carried, likewise, a final repudiation of the stigma heretofore attached to dependency. In the very titles of the new department and the new law there was an implicit scrapping of the old condescending spirit behind "charity." Social welfare was henceforth to be conceived

of in terms of scientific, not sentimental, treatment of human and social behavior.

Then came the depression. The sorry consequences need not be repeated. Standards that had been built up carefully were swept aside, and hastily erected temporary emergency set-ups brought with them grave dangers, several of which I have already noted. We social workers cannot say we were not forewarned; in all honesty we must shoulder our part of the blame for the failure of our permanent apparatus to prepare successfully for the emergency that was sure to arrive. And now, though we must recognize the need that brought into being the emergency-relief apparatus, we must not be blinded to the possible retrogression it carries in its wake.

At first, when unemployment became serious, citizens' committees were set up with a haphazard plan of relief. They soon found themselves hopelessly swamped. The Gibson Committee of New York, perhaps the most ambitious private relief project ever set up in the United States, has likewise been compelled to call for aid. Municipal relief bureaus next stepped into the breach. They too, in many instances, have failed. Then the state of New York in 1931 appropriated \$20,000,000 to be distributed in 40 per cent refunds through the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration; in 1932 an additional \$30,000,000 bond issue was approved by the voters; and in the fall of 1933 the electorate will be asked to approve a new bond issue of \$60,000,000. In addition to these state funds, New York has been in receipt of an average of \$6,500,000 per month since February, 1933.

The experience of New York is only indicative of that of other states, and it is precisely because of the failure of these lesser measures that we now face a new national program. As we all know, Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds have been spread widely to meet acute emergency conditions. The federal government proposes an appropriation of \$3,300,000,000 for public works and \$500,000,000 for direct relief to the states.

But looking beyond the emergency relief services, what has

been the social welfare situation? The inability of private agencies to cope with the economic crisis has not merely affected family welfare. Reports from such organizations as the Child Welfare League of America clearly demonstrate the fact that agencies all over the country have been restricting their service for children solely as the result of compulsion in dealing with the unemployment situation or restriction of the agency's funds. As a result, public agencies have been increasing their case loads in the several social fields in order to compensate for the limitations of private endeavor.

In spite of the noticeable effect upon case-work standards, many communities have attempted, some successfully, to hold the line. In the state of New York, for example, a very definite effort has been made in this direction in the fields of child welfare, hospital care, family relief, care of the aged, treatment of delinquents, and others.

Noteworthy in New York State is the work of the Research Bureau in its monthly reporting systems, which has brought to light variations in policy and procedure in the local communities to enable the public departments to direct their energy toward building up standards which tended to break. Such reports also enable us to assist in developing a sense of local responsibility in the communities and make for co-ordinated effort among the public and private agencies.

The principal loss, however, has been found in decreased revenues, which has necessitated the balancing of budgets in both public and private agencies. Institutional personnel facilities have not kept pace with the increasing volume of service. Differentiation in function has been largely disappearing, owing to unemployment and emergency-relief measures in all parts of the country. No one can fail to recognize the tendency in the field of mothers' allowances and in the administration of the old-age security act to decrease both the case loads and the allowances. Many families have been transferred by counties to home-relief agencies so that reimbursement by the state may be obtained. Decreases in local and state appropriations have affected these

two activities in a marked degree. While it is true that some of this rebudgeting has been offset by the lowered cost of living, it is also equally true that the necessity for balancing budgets has affected standards of child welfare, health, and other forms of social service.

This picture of the social welfare situation brings us face to face with the danger of the crisis. Above all, we must get away from the despotic influence of an all-persuading material relief program. The provision of emergency relief, however necessary, compelling, and fundamental, is but one aspect of the state's social program of the future, and should by no means remain the all-dominant factor it is today.

Communities are shortsighted, in our opinion, when they tend to reconstruct the social welfare machinery on the basis of an emergency. It will be found, as this emergency passes, that in a great many sections of the country the permanent welfare machinery has been weakened, and in some cases altered for something worse. Emergency measures are but additional projects, and wise administration makes this distinction and insists upon well-rounded welfare programs for each community in both public and private endeavor.

What, then, is the basis for the reorganization of a state department of social welfare and the development of a comprehensive program?

First of all, the reorganization must be in line with the new philosophy of collective responsibility which motivates our national reconstruction policy—a philosophy that responds to the cruel lessons taught by the breakdown of a highly interdependent society which sought to run itself on principles of anarchic individualism. It is foolish to play ostrich any longer. The world we live in today is not the world of our fathers; and unless we seek to determine the nature of that world, what its afflictions arise from, and how they can be cured, then all our efforts will be of no more value than pasting a court-plaster on a cancer. The care of all is the concern of all, and our activities must be so ordered as to promote the general social welfare.

Second, and more concretely, the public welfare worker must lead the drive for necessary social legislation and organization in every state. Under the pressure of immediate necessity, we must secure legislation providing insurance in the fields of industry, health, and old age, as well as a federal system of unemployment bureaus capable of reorienting and readjusting large masses of workers. It must be our aim gradually to weave into the fabric of our society a complete set of guarantees against the periodic economic paralysis inherent in modern society and which, honestly, we can no longer call merely "emergencies" if the same irresponsible business set-up persists. This calls for a practical administrative reorganization in co-operation with existing private and public agencies, so that the state will be assured of a modern and well-rounded social service in family welfare, child care, medical aid, prevention of delinquency, old age, etc.

Third, but still of prime importance, is the problem of recruiting and training an adequate personnel for the new welfare program. The present inadequacies in this respect are baffling to a degree that is almost overwhelming. There is a ray of hope in the fact that so many of the emergency set-ups have recruited workers from the field of private social work who may provide for the future a skeleton organization upon which to build. But not until our local public bodies realize the need for an adequately trained personnel can we make much progress in this direction. As a principle, no real reason exists for the employment of inadequate staffs, and we must insist, at all times, that the standard of social service rendered by a public department must ultimately equal the highest standards achieved by private agencies. This means provision for a training service which will not only serve the beginner but also allow for the combined development of the entire body of workers. For mental growth is as incumbent upon the executive as it is upon the youngest and newest staff member.

The most effective instruments of this threefold program must be knowledge, and public opinion created by its dissemina-

tion. Our state research bureaus must devote themselves to making a comprehensive scientific study of social behavior and social welfare. Any long-term planning, or any far-looking preventive program, is inconceivable without complete statistical data concerning our population, its mode of life, and its needs. Although splendid statistical studies have been made, they have heretofore lacked comprehensiveness and co-ordination. A three-year demonstration project of the Bureau of Research of the New York State Department of Social Welfare, now well under way, represents the first attempt at a state-wide development of statistical data on all phases in the social welfare field. These studies must be kept to as high a scientific level as is humanly possible today. It would be as fatuous to build a social welfare program without this knowledge as to build a skyscraper or a bridge on vague general notions.

But the data thus obtained and their significance must be constantly and intelligently presented to the general citizenry so there will be no cultural lag behind social trends. Through every avenue of public opinion—the newspaper, magazine, radio, school, and lecture hall—we must disseminate these facts and tell what they mean. For knowledge is not enough; knowledge must be followed by action. And before we can put these new plans into action, we must win favorable public opinion.

Such a program as I have sketched would make of social welfare an integral function of the state. What form should this function take? Should all the functions of public welfare administration be fulfilled by one department—as it is in several states—or should these functions be distributed among specialized bodies? It is my personal opinion that a sound solution of this question lies in the division of the burden among several departments. The possible losses involved in such separation can be offset by a co-ordinated planning body, carrying on educational propaganda in common, acting as a council directly responsible to the governor, and consisting of the directors of the several units. This arrangement, while having the desirable checks and balances, will be stimulating to the various divisions.

It may be argued that the principles embodied herewith are impractical because the emergency is so extensive and so far reaching, that every resource of the community must be marshaled in the interest of immediate relief. The answer, which I trust has been emphasized in this paper, is that wise social planning by the states, within the general framework of a national reconstruction policy, does not divert our energies from the immediate situation, but keeps it in proper relation to the entire program of public welfare.

It is obvious that during this depression we are being constantly forced to readapt our methods and machinery. It must be clear to all that the normal social-work technique and programs of 1928 will not suffice as the measure of social service activity of the future. Measures conceived in 1930, even, no longer possess the characteristics which marked their creation. We have settled down to a long battle with economic insufficiency. While this battle is not yet over, we do know that we have by this time definitely determined the means and methods which will prevail for many years to come. This is why it is so important that we shall bring the total social machinery of a state into a co-ordinated whole and that we cannot afford to jeopardize the entire program of public welfare for an overemphasis of one aspect.

The fact is that all of us, as individuals or communities, are called upon to readjust ourselves to new relationships with society. There must be a greater sense of mutuality. Otherwise, it is inevitable that we shall again revert to an indefinite, planless public welfare program. The states have entered into a new relationship with social unadjustment. Just as the Elizabethan poor-law marked a new epoch in which the state assumed a permanent relationship with dependency, so has this depression again intensified the relationship and responsibility of the state toward the perpetuation of the commonwealth.

Because of this, we must dedicate ourselves to a more exacting service by our intelligence, and public welfare must reach up to higher and more daring conceptions of service.

SOCIAL WORK IN THE SOUTHWEST

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AN EXAMINATION of a cross-section of social work that existed in the Southwest at the time of the beginning of the present depression reveals much the same condition that was characteristic of most of the other sections of America. What social work there was, was largely limited to the larger cities in the states. As far as the rural sections of these states were concerned, there was very little in the way of social-work organizations employing trained personnel and using anything comparable to standard social-work practices. As in other sections of the nation, social work of a private character had made very genuine beginnings in such places as Houston, Dallas, Oklahoma City, Little Rock. Government at that time had yet to make any serious beginnings in the cities, either in accepting its responsibility in this field or in establishing agencies with qualified personnel and acceptable standards. Some of the states had made a beginning in meeting their responsibility in the field of social treatment and care, through the establishment of child welfare bureaus and the beginnings under old and institutionalized boards of control. But, in any realistic meaning of the term, what there was, was of a private character, limited largely to the urban centers.

As a result, when the national economic situation began to displace hundreds of wage-earners and when the products of the farmers did not bring enough to pay the cost of production, these people generally had neither a public agency to which they could turn nor any private group to whom they could appeal for help, except in the few large centers of population. And while this situation was generally true of the nation, it was to a greater degree true in some sections than in others. In Texas the county

commissioners courts were and are permitted to relieve chronic paupers. In Arkansas and Oklahoma it virtually requires a vote of the people to secure money to relieve others than the small group of chronic paupers traditionally cared for. In cities such as Austin, Dallas, and Little Rock, special leave had been secured by which the governing boards could appropriate and make available funds for the relief of destitution, such as unemployment. Social Work, either as a private movement or as a technique in its valid sense, under public auspices, was generally unknown.

To those in these areas who have given thought to the matter and who were working for public appreciation and the establishment of agencies in this field, the situation was so difficult and presented such serious problems and obstacles that little of a widespread effort was attempted. To understand what this section of the nation faced it is necessary to take into account social and economic conditions that have continued to prevail pretty much for many years in the past. Among these is, and was, the presence of large groups of persons presenting economic and social problems of an almost insurmountable character.

First, there is the Negro, with his culture and economic inheritance, established prior to the present economic order and so deep-seated and numerous as to have, up to now, discouraged every major effort of solution. By and large, these people work under arrangements that provide them little more than subsistence as a continuous thing. A fundamental shift upward in the spread of economic goods among these people requires the complete reorientation of the agricultural and economic structure of this section. They present a constant and continuing set of social, economic, and health problems so great and so involved as to stagger the imagination of the stoutest hearts who would change the order of their existence.

The second group which is growing in significance and seriousness are the Mexicans, with their ever increasing families. These people make excellent laborers, live on unthinkably low subsistence rations, and are extremely desirable from the standpoint of

laborers by those interested in the development of the industrial and agricultural phases of the community. They have generally resisted any and all attempts at successful integration. They stand apart as a cultural and economic entity and yet they are a part of the community. They have a direct bearing and influence upon all social conditions in any community. They must be taken into account in any system of social work.

The third group, which probably presents the most discouraging situation, are the "poor whites," with their even larger families. A strange and baffling population, it has spread throughout the section of the nation. They are largely to be found as tenants and farm laborers. They live on a desperately low standard, and have failed to respond to opportunities throughout the life of the development of these sections, even under favorable conditions. They are plagued with pellagra, with a general debility, and a religious fanaticism that mitigates against individual initiative and makes for contentment with their lot whatever it may be.

When this, or any other economic displacement sets in, these groups have very little in the way of resources with which to withstand its coming. They have been, as was graphically described by one, "more or less in a depression all of our lives."

Such were the general conditions of a very considerable portion of the people when the present depression settled on us. The organization and development of any agency which was to cope with relief in these states was under immediate necessity to grapple with these three large groups. There were, and still are, certain major factors that had to be taken into account. First, there did not exist any governmental structures capable of being expanded sufficiently to offer themselves as auspices in the administration of this work. And it was immediately obvious that it would be necessary to organize and establish such agencies. Second, there was present immediately a widespread and numerous population in acute distress with little in the way of resources, no economic reserve, and immediate willingness to place themselves on whatever agency had assistance to give

them. And third, a form and standard of living that raised serious questions on the part of community leaders when the whole question of adequacy was raised was also present. Nowhere else was the difficult problem of whether or not funds made available from any sources would be used in raising living standards quite so acute as in this section, and in the Southland.

Running parallel to this general condition of social and economic distress were to be found auxiliary agencies of a really high quality, such as home demonstration agents, county nurses, county health units, county agricultural agents, who have had a development on a par with that had in no other sections of this nation. The presence of these agencies offered at once the most hopeful and the most challenging part of the picture. They were largely the outgrowth of middle-class family demand and support. Their support was predicated upon services which they rendered to the general self-supporting and dominant group in the community. To be sure, they served a fringe of these peoples, but theirs was a dominant group support and character. They understood the conditions of these people as the depression grew. They joined in and were helpful in the planning and developing of such agencies as were established, but the necessity of their own situations forced them into a continuation of the restricted type of activity which had previously characterized their work, so that it presented the tantalizing problem of social agencies geared into the group that had only marginal social problems.

Now, with this background, it is possible to understand somewhat the character of the work that was possible in organization and administration, in establishing agencies for the relief of the whole economically distressed group which to be sure gradually included many more than those above mentioned.

In working out arrangements for the relief of peoples in this section, there have been two viewpoints constantly supported. One was that this was purely an emergency matter, that the relief of the immediate necessities of these people was the sole responsibility of those in charge. The other viewpoint was that

while the immediate relief of these people was the first obligation of all concerned, yet it was held also that the agencies and instrumentalities developed should if possible be worked out along lines that would make for enduring and continuing services to the communities and the states concerned. It was the contention of this latter group that here was an opportunity to evolve arrangements that would to some extent at least meet the economic, social, and cultural problems of those parts of the population which had continuously been in need. It is fair to say that only in a relatively few places has the latter viewpoint obtained. By and large, that which has been worked out and is being used is an emergency arrangement and has little in it that can be expected to continue if any considerable portion of these people are provided with an opportunity for earning their own way. But there has been gotten under way and established organizations that the state and local leadership expect and are working to make a permanent part of the life of the people.

My allocation will permit me to discuss, in any way at all adequate, only one or two of these groups. In Texas there has been set up a legal body, called the Texas Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, and the work there has been placed under this legal body. To be sure, this is only permitted a life of two years as the statute now reads. Already, however, there is considerable discussion looking toward making it a permanent arrangement or incorporating it as a part of a larger movement of a state-wide character. The measure provides for county units, which are formed by county boards of welfare and employment. These units are charged with the administration of all funds made available by the state or federal governments for the assisting of the unemployed and the needy. It further provides that county commissioners' courts may designate this agency to administer all funds of a welfare and social-work character in the county. These units are being established in some 240 counties in the state. It is the intention of those in charge, including the chief executive of the state, that this group will immediately organize its work along the following lines: There is

to be a social service department or division charged with the intake of all forms of social and economic distress in the county, this to be as nearly as possible based upon a case-work technique. There is to be an employment bureau, and it is the hope of those who are working at the matter that it may be linked in with the national system established by the act of Congress under the Wagner Bill, with an employment service including public work, work to compensate for relief, as well as an agency serving private agencies in the county. Also—these are already in several of the counties—there is to be a clinic with medical service for the county.

The basis for this whole movement is the belief that the average county is capable of supporting only one social-work agency, and that if this is to be secured it must be generally inclusive and provide service of a wide variety of types. Already there are some hopeful signs that the county commissioners, on the one hand, are coming to regard this agency as a desirable arrangement by which they can be relieved from the constant demands that are made upon them by the socially and economically distressed. It is not too much to hope that after federal funds are withdrawn, a considerable number of county commissioners' courts and county boards of supervisors will have found this service of such value as to want to continue it.

On the other hand, there is some growing recognition on the part of citizen-leaders that here is an agency of helpfulness that is desirable and necessary. However, what the attitude of the legislature, and the local governing bodies, as well as the responsible citizens, will be is a matter of conjecture. It was significant, however, that in Mississippi, where a similar arrangement has been worked out and established under the county board of supervisors, when they were informed that it was improbable that further federal funds would be forthcoming, county after county requested that, even though funds would be withdrawn by which persons could be given relief, sufficient funds be forthcoming to make possible the continuance of the worker who had been placed there. And, of more significance is

the thing that is happening in Texas, where the state commission has taken the attitude that not more than 3 per cent of the total cost of administration was to be paid by the state. In numerous counties already the county commissioners' courts, which previously had never put up one dollar for administration purposes, were now found to be willing to contribute \$300, \$400, and \$500 a month for administration purposes. It would not have been surprising if that had been an appropriation for the actual relief of destitution, but that they were willing to contribute that amount of money to pay the salary of a social worker—for administration—was indeed a hopeful sign.

Now what is this whole thing going to do to agencies that previously existed on a state-wide basis, such as child welfare bureaus, parole, and probation work? This does give us some concern even though this work has been developed on a very limited scale. It is, obviously, going to be necessary to work out some arrangement that will not destroy the strength which such work has gathered. On the other hand, it is equally clear that what is needed in most of these places is an undifferentiated type of social agency that will include children's work, family work, work in the correctional field, hospital and medical care, as well as the larger problem of economic security. More and more it becomes apparent that the old type of board of control, or department of public welfare, with its motif being largely that of institutional management, has very little to offer in the development of social work on a local and, for that matter, state-wide basis.

It is appropriate here to discuss briefly some implications and possibilities of the foregoing movement. It is obvious that the thing here contemplated has little in common with the old form of social work, which has as its subject matter the 3 or 4 per cent of the socially incapable of marked degree, but rather has as its contemplated field that 50-60 per cent of the population that is unable to obtain anything in the way of economic stability and security, and which as a result is developing social, health, and physical needs beyond their ability to bear. Such a

program has real possibilities from the standpoint of legislative favor. Here is something that is designed to affect the well-being of a majority of the voters of a community whether they are local or state in character. And as such they will present a new and strong appeal to legislators, county board members, and members of common councils. The root question in this development is whether or not the social agencies established can free themselves sufficiently from the care and demands of this small group which is perennially on their doorstep to devote the time necessary to the larger group with problems no less real and disastrous in their effect but which up to now have understood that there was no help for them nor found very much when they applied for assistance.

We are definitely attempting to break with the old idea that a man had to have deserted his family, reduced them to ruin, before they were eligible for assistance from either the public or the private agency. With the combination of social service and of employment and clinic development, there is possible here immediately service which has sufficient public support to be able to obtain effective aids for the man who is making a crop but is not able to keep pellagra from his child. Here should be service linked to the whole field of social work for this body of people who have need of and by virtue of the industrial organization under which we work can receive some genuine assistance in obtaining employment.

In other words, we are saying to the executives of these states and to the public official group that social work is a set of aids that should be made available to that body of its citizens who are generally thought of as being above the poverty and dependency line, but who to our certain knowledge go in and out of this line with disastrous frequency.

FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS *IN RE* PUBLIC WELFARE

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THE relationships between the federal, state, and local governments in the field of public welfare are both functional and financial. There has been a clear line of demarcation in the allocation of welfare functions and in the responsibility for these activities. By tradition, welfare activities have been primarily the function of local governments since the public has undertaken to supplement the work of religious and private philanthropic institutions. The state gradually assumed the burden of the institutional care of the unfortunate, confining its activities largely to the care of defectives and the incarceration of criminals. The financial burdens have been assumed by each government as the costs of performing its functions required. Here, too, the bulk of the load has been carried by local governments.

In considering governmental relationships in regard to public welfare, attention will be limited primarily to the relief of destitution. The relationships pertaining roughly up to the year 1930 will be first considered, as since that time the relief problem appears to have changed, although the only change may be in the attitude of the public.

Up to 1930 welfare work for the relief of destitution was carried on primarily by local governments. The work was shared by these units with religious bodies, private philanthropic institutions, and charitably inclined individuals. It was undertaken, or existed, for the direct benefit of a small proportion of the population—victims of adversity who generally had some mental or physical defect, congenital or otherwise, which was supposed to account for their being poor. These persons were

invidiously denominated "paupers" and were considered a disgrace to the community. The primary reason the local governments took care of them was to get them out of the way and out of the sight of the more fortunate. The relief of destitution consisted essentially, therefore, of relieving the balance of the community of consciousness as to its pauper citizens.

The care of these "unfortunates" involved a relatively small financial outlay. The almshouse was the primary institution, providing miserably for their care, and as an institution was generally partially self-supporting. Outdoor relief provided by local governments was negligible in amount compared with expenditures on other functions and, perhaps, compared to absolute needs. The relief work, such as it was, was characterized, in most counties, by the absence of organized relief methods, by inadequate and untrained personnel, and by little or no supervision of staff or of "clients." In general, there was no co-ordination of the machinery or forms of relief in most counties; the duplication of bounties was a recurring phenomenon.

In spite of these conditions, there was little attempt to centralize governmental social service responsibility. The public functions were scattered among townships, parishes, boroughs, towns, cities, villages, counties, and other units of governments. There were notable exceptions, such as in New York, North Carolina, and Virginia, where the county was made the unit of welfare administration. The typical administrative set-up and functional responsibility were developed in an agricultural age for a population tied to the soil, little dependent on other communities for the interchange of goods or services. At the time public welfare systems were being developed in this country, the interests of the population were primarily local. Trade was local as well; the social and political problems of the communities, too, were centered largely around the town or village hall. The public welfare system developed in the United States was taken over almost bodily from England and was based on the worst phases of the poor-laws of 1601.

State governments gradually assumed the burden of private

institutional relief. This unit did little for the paupers, who were to blame because they were poor and who, if entitled to consideration at all, were to receive assistance from their neighbors. The state, however, was willing to assume the obligation of the care of the defectives because it was more economical for the state to provide institutional relief than for each county to do it, also because only by segregating the defectives in special institutions could the population be adequately protected from contamination. Unless the state provided these institutions they would be lacking in many counties and jails would be used instead. Consequently, the state established hospitals, asylums, villages for epileptics, etc., but ran these institutions on the same principles as it ran its prisons, and frequently under the direction of the same boards. Some of these institutions have a long and creditable history. The first state hospital for the insane was established in 1769. State welfare departments, however, were slow in developing and first made their appearance about 1850. These departments, in many cases, were run by political or lay boards. There was little professional administration, little co-ordination of relief in the state, and little supervision over the local agencies.

In terms of amounts the state spent considerable sums of money on this sort of welfare work. Little of it probably was devoted to the relief of destitution, and practically no figures are available as to the precise amounts so spent. Statistics of welfare expenditures have been collected *en masse* with few segregations to take account of the nature or character of expenditures. Nevertheless, the aggregates are of interest. In 1915, for example, the states expended for charities, hospitals, and correctional institutions in excess of \$89,000,000, or \$0.91 per capita. By 1930 the amount had increased to approximately \$224,000,000, or \$1.83 per capita.¹ However, relative to the total expenditures of government, the aggregate expenditures of the state on charities, hospitals, and corrections were relatively smaller in 1930 than in 1915. In 1915 these welfare ex-

¹ See *Financial Statistics of States* (1930).

penditures represented 23.5 per cent of the total governmental cost payments; in 1930 they constituted but 16.1 per cent of the total.² Relief of destitution was not the acute problem that it is today.

In order to complete the picture, it should be said that the states have to date done very little to remove the causes of destitution, save as the issue has been indirectly met through the expansion of public health, sanitation, or educational activities. These, of course, seek a solution of the problem largely on the physical side. On the economic side, where the problem has been really acute, the progress of social legislation has been slow. Old-age pensions, sick benefits, and unemployment insurance have made little headway. Child-labor legislation and shorter hours for women, and even general minimum-wage legislation, have not been adopted by many states. Workmen's compensation acts came slowly and their administration in many spots is a scandal. Perhaps this lack of development has been due to the abundance of wealth and economic opportunities found within the country, or to the quantity of free land, or to the reign of individualism and lack of social control of business profits. Part of the blame should rest, of course, upon a political system not suited to an industrial age. Government has been dominated by farmers possessing little apprehension of urban or industrial problems; governmental activities have been controlled largely by ancient and outworn state constitutions, written for a rustic era. In keeping with this background the typical American attitude toward the relief problem seems to be summarized by the statement, "The unemployed should shift for themselves." It fails to answer the question, however, "Where shall the unemployed go?" And, having gone, "How will they shift?"

In the period before 1930 the federal government itself did practically nothing in the field of public welfare. It did render assistance in times of disasters and floods, earthquakes, or other emergencies, but it did so whenever possible through the instru-

² *Ibid.*

mentality of the American Red Cross, a private institution, for which it assumed no direct responsibility. As a government, it avoided as frequently as possible the assumption of direct governmental burdens or obligations, even for the relief of emergencies. Of course, through the establishment of the Children's Bureau, or the Department of Labor, or the United States Public Health Service, the national government has made indirect contributions to the relief of destitution as well as the promotion of social and economic welfare. Likewise, it has made indirect contributions to relief needs by pensioning its military casualties and paying its "debts" to a political machine of war veterans. The appellation "G.O.P." has come to mean "Grant Our Pensions," a cry which the government has all too readily heard and heeded. It must be said, however, that the United States has also provided retirement pensions for its civil service employees. Nevertheless, prior to 1930 it granted no direct subventions for the relief of destitution. Its nearest approach was in the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, designed for the promotion of the welfare and health of mothers and infants. Indirectly some relief may have been provided in grants for vocational education and civil rehabilitation promoted by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 and the Fess-Kenyon Act of 1920. The Smith-Leever Act of 1924 providing for agricultural extension may be similarly classified.

There has been a modicum of social legislation by the federal government. Once it sought to protect its population against outrages from the sale of impure foods and drugs, but in its efforts to promote trade and commerce that act has now become feeble of administration, unless very recent changes have been effected. The federal government, through its taxing power, stopped diseases connected with the manufacture of white phosphorus matches. It has curtailed interstate white-slave traffic, but after two attempts has not been able to abate child labor or achieve shorter working hours for women. It must be said to its credit, however, that it has regulated certain social evils connected with bootlegging through income-tax prosecutions. On

the other hand, it has done little to remove the causes of private destitution created by the present age of private industrialism.

The financial relationships in the welfare field differ but little from the function of relationships just discussed. Up to 1930 each government carried its own load with an overlapping of functional responsibility between state and local governments. Typically townships, villages, and, to some extent, the counties assumed the cost of outdoor relief. The counties generally provided the poor-farms, almshouses, along with orphanages, homes for the aged, and the jails. The state carried the institutional load, with provision in a few cases for equalization funds for local relief. The United States government, which did practically nothing, promoted the general welfare by the erection of tariff barriers, the building of battleships, and the expansion of pensions. The amounts expended on relief up to 1930 were quite moderate. No data are available for determining the expenditures of townships, counties, and minor units. The state expenditures have already been observed.³ Cities of over 30,000 inhabitants, however, spent \$18,000,000 on charities, hospitals, and corrections in 1903, and \$138,000,000 in 1930.⁴ On a per capita basis these expenditures increased from \$0.86 in 1903 to \$3.12 in 1930.⁵ These outlays constituted 6.5 per cent of the total governmental cost payments in 1903; 6.4 per cent in 1929; and 7 per cent in 1930.⁵ State subventions were few, but the exceptions stood out in noticeable contrast. The states of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, for example, by their contributions assisted the localities in improving the welfare of mothers and children. In the aggregate, however, the financial problem was relatively small. In the period before 1930 there was little anticipation that the financial problems incident to public welfare administration would greatly increase, nor was much consideration given to the necessity of hedging against a great increase in future costs by the adoption of insurance devices, such as coverage against unemployment.

While the functional and financial relationships in the field

³ *Supra.*

⁴ See *Financial Statistics of Cities* (1930).

⁵ *Ibid.*

of public welfare were becoming fixed and inflexible, the nature of the economic and social life in the United States was changing. We had shifted from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation. Small-scale industry had given way to large-scale production. The country had changed from a nation of entrepreneurs to a nation of wage-earners dependent upon the vicissitudes of industry for their daily bread. In the factories the relationships between employer and employee were no longer personal. Men were hired and fired to suit the necessities or whims of the boss, who acted as though he were ultimately responsible only to unknown absentee owners. Labor had been forced to turn from the mastery of skilled trades to become machine operators. The division of tasks in the operation of automatic and semi-automatic machines became so small that few skilled trades were left, and such skill as was involved could be easily imparted to green employees. Jobs at the side of endless belts replaced the bench of the skilled tradesman. Thus, the working population became more and more dependent on the fortunes of a machine-made industrial system. Geographical specialization came side by side with trade specialization. The localization of industry was facilitated by the development of good transportation and communication facilities. Through the territorial interchange of goods and services, localities were knit economically into a nation. Social interests broadened with the national circulation of newspapers, magazines, and the appearance of the radio. These, assisted by the rural free-delivery service, carried urban cultures to the farm. The opportunities of the city and the development of mechanized agriculture gave impetus to the drift of population to the city. Gradually the country ceased even culturally and socially to have a provincial outlook. It became more of a nation than ever before. Politically, however, the United States has remained essentially local in its interests and machinery of government. State boundaries are seldom crossed in political thinking, and even urban metropolises are unable to assume extra-territorial jurisdiction in order to control the activities in their environs. Counties and municipi-

palities carry on much as they did in the agricultural age, meeting few of the problems wrought by these far-reaching economic and social changes.

With the collapse of industry in 1930 following the end of the speculative *débâcle* of 1929, the consequences of these vast changes have begun slowly to dawn. Industrially, the United States is a unit. Anything which affects one area is the vital concern of another. Few problems touching one state can be solved by anything except unified national action. It is now realized that the problem of relief financially and otherwise is too big for the separate states to handle. We now ask, "How much interest has the federal government in the solution of this problem?"

The relief of destitution from an economic, social, or fiscal point of view is essentially a national problem. The emergency created by the latest industrial cataclysm is more than country wide in extent. So far as this nation alone is concerned, its roots lie in the national character of our commercial and industrial system. The depression has affected every corner of our vast empire. In order to meet the human needs created by this emergency, the United States government must carry a substantial and, perhaps, an increasing portion of the financial load, not only because state and local governments cannot do it, but because the federal government can do it more efficiently, more economically, and more equitably.

The municipal governments, in spite of the concentration of wealth and income within their territories, cannot effectively tap these resources with the revenue systems at their command. Their primary source of revenue is the general property tax. In 1930, 63.8 per cent of the revenue receipts of the cities of over 30,000 inhabitants came from this tax.⁶ In the 146 cities for which comparative data are available since 1903, general property taxes furnished on the average 65.9 per cent of the revenue receipts, as compared with 61.4 per cent in 1903. In these cities the per capita general property tax burden had increased from

⁶ Data taken from *ibid.*

\$12.98 in 1903 to \$48.34 in 1930. In at least 19 cities of over 30,000 inhabitants, 80 per cent of the revenues came from the property tax. These taxes, levied on capital values, produce an increase in overhead charges as business declines. Such burdens, like fixed interest costs, weigh heavily upon industry as it seeks to find its way out of the depression. From an economic point of view as well as from the standpoint of practical politics, further increases in the general property tax at this time should be avoided.

In many cases it is not a question of avoiding further increases. Tax-rate-limitation laws prevent many governments from increasing their property-tax levies at this time regardless of their desire to meet the emergency. In at least eleven states constitutional limitations on city tax rates are in force. In a score of states county tax rates are similarly limited. How many statutory limits on municipal tax levies are in existence no one knows. In addition, limitations on city revenues are found in charters and administrative rulings. Thus, the local governments are hemmed in by restrictions as to the amount of taxes which may be levied, the purposes for which they may be levied, and the objects upon which taxes may be imposed. Consequently, the municipalities desire to supplement their existing sources of revenue by the development of new sources of taxation. These, in turn, cannot be developed without the co-operation of the state. Even if the states grant fairly complete power to the local governments to supplement their existing revenues by the adoption of income and sales taxes, from which substantial revenues might be derived, local units are limited by obvious administrative difficulties. Municipal income taxes cannot be successfully administered without incurring the risk of a movement of population, perhaps industry, from the city. As a change of residence or location of business is all that is necessary to avoid such taxes, their productivity may be drastically limited. The problem is not solved, either, by making the county the unit of administration. In many cases even state boundaries are too small for the effective taxation of income and wealth. Likewise,

if local governments attempt to tax sales or the receipts from business, dealings in interstate commerce are found to be beyond their reach, as well as trade diverted from within their territorial boundaries. There is little hope that the cities can substantially supplement their present sources of revenue without the use of state or federal administration and the sharing of tax revenues by these larger governments.

Perhaps the proper thing for local governments to do is to finance the emergency needs by resort to public borrowing. In many instances individual cities have already borrowed more than they may be able to repay in the near future. Other communities complain because there is no market for municipal securities. Many cities lack authority to borrow money for the relief of destitution; others have had their borrowing capacity drastically limited by statutes or constitutions; still others have no borrowing capacity to utilize. In over half of the states, for example, the debt-incurring power of municipalities is restricted to small fractions of the total assessed valuation of property. Little wonder that many cities have looked to the states for support—all too many have waited in vain!

The states, in turn, have suffered from many of the same difficulties which have beset local governments. Numerous commonwealths have been attempting to collect taxes under archaic revenue systems imposed upon them by outworn constitutions inflicted by past generations. As economic conditions have changed, all too many states have achieved fame for the rottenness rather than the equity of their tax systems. Some have turned in desperation to the sales tax as a means of raising revenue. However productive of revenue these taxes may be, they are none the less open to other objections. They not only require the poor to pay for their own relief, but fall upon people in proportion to their inability rather than in relation to their ability to pay to support government. If they are not shifted to consumers or others, they tend to increase the cost of doing business. In a depression this may be serious in its consequences. If

the sales taxes are passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices, they will tend to curtail the purchase of those products for which the demand happens to be elastic. This, of course, includes the majority of goods and service purchased by the consuming public. As a means of assisting the country out of the depression, no worse tax policy could possibly be adopted.

More might be said for the adoption of luxury taxes or sales taxes on a few selected commodities, though such taxes do not conform to ideal fiscal principles. Liquor and malt taxes are sometimes regarded as promising sources of revenue. Cigarette and tobacco taxes have already been utilized by many states.

Many states, of course, do not need additional sources of revenue. Some could finance the emergency needs for relief from existing taxes if they but cared to adopt efficient administrative methods; others, and perhaps many of the same states, could meet the needs of the unemployed by the elimination of waste and graft. Neither of these courses of action, however, desirable economically, appears for the moment to be practical politically. Additional receipts from these channels should therefore be dismissed as illusory. If the choice is between relief for the unemployed and patronage or spoils, the choice, unfortunately, in many states, is not a matter of doubt.

In searching for additional revenues the resistance of taxpayers should not be overlooked. Their attitude precludes in large measure any attempt to expand property taxes and makes difficult the improvement of many general revenue systems. Of course, also, the conflict between opposing groups is an ever present obstacle to tax reform.

If many of these obstacles were removed, state financing of the relief emergency would still be unsatisfactory. It is impossible to get the various commonwealths to adopt uniform fiscal methods, principles, or policies of taxation. Each state is a law unto itself, and has done very much as it pleased with its tax system, seldom considering the effects of its action on the welfare of its neighbors. In the scramble for revenues, practically

everything within the jurisdiction of a state, regardless of its relationship to taxable capacity or benefit from public service, has been taxed. The complications, conflicts, and duplications found in state tax legislation are too numerous to mention. The only way in which uniform tax legislation can be secured for the entire country is through the development of an integrated tax system under the control of the federal government with adequate provision for division of the revenues collected with state and local governments. Unless such a tax system is developed, the states will do as they have done in the past, taxing without regard to sound fiscal principles or attempting to take advantage of each other by tax exemption and the differential treatment of favored economic groups. The methods of taxation developed by the states for financing relief will doubtless be subject to this sort of competition at the hands of many state governments. Moreover, it is impossible for states to secure effective administration of many taxes without relying heavily on the federal government. The possibilities of state income taxes are greatly limited if the sources of income extend beyond state boundaries. The existence of the federal income tax, along with provision for the sharing of tax information between the federal and local governments, accounts, in part, to the success with which many state income taxes have been operated. But here as in many other cases success is attained at the cost of maintaining duplicate administrative systems. State sales taxes, too, are limited by the fact that states cannot tax the proceeds from interstate commerce and are limited in the selection by the administrative devices under their control. Even taxes on gasoline and tobacco are more effective under federal than state administration. It cannot be said that tax avoidance is eliminated by federal administration of these taxes, but certainly these difficulties are greatly minimized. Substantial gains in the interest of justice, efficiency, and economy may be realized by the development of an integrated revenue system with provision for division of tax receipts among the different governments. Under

such a system the burden of providing for the relief of destitution could be equitably distributed among both economic groups and geographical regions.

The plan just outlined contemplates in large measure the federal control administration of the nation's fiscal system. Such a plan probably cannot be immediately realized; rather, it must be viewed as an ultimate goal. Nevertheless, in the present emergency substantial portions of the funds for the relief of destitution must continue to come from the federal government, but not by way of loans. The national government has advanced over a billion dollars to the cause of relief but has restricted its assistance primarily to making loans. What is needed henceforth is the direct assumption of financial as well as moral responsibility for unemployment relief. Fortunately this appears to be the purpose of the new administration. This is essential as the limitations under which state and local governments may contribute financial aid have already been pointed out.

The question remains as to whether or not the relief of destitution should be made entirely a federal function. Should the United States government be called upon to carry the entire load?

A strong case may be made for allocating this work to the national government, considering the nature of our industrial system and the national character of this depression with its unemployment crisis. On the other hand, in the present emergency when there is so great dependence on state and local administration for the expenditure and supervision of relief funds, it is probably necessary in the interest of good administration to require contributions for relief from the state and local units. Unless these governments have a financial stake in the expenditure of relief moneys, maximum economy cannot be expected. The interest of these local agencies may wane unless a portion of the responsibility and a share in the financial burden are theirs.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the state has its own charitable institutions, its welfare departments, its hos-

pitals, and its prisons, the maintenance of which are necessary for a well-rounded relief program. Perhaps the states have developed sufficient interest properly to maintain them, but in any case some national co-ordination of activities should be effected. Perhaps it is too early for the states to vacate the welfare field—perhaps it is not desirable that they should do so—but certainly it is not too soon to develop a co-ordinated relief program for the nation. Ultimately we may favor a federal system, but in the present emergency an increase in federal grants and federal supervision are necessary. Recently our national government has moved in this direction. This tendency should be strengthened and extended.

Ultimately, however, the federal government must do something beyond providing for current relief. It must strike at the root of the causes of the industrial cataclysms. It must attempt to stabilize the monetary and the price system. It must develop a program of unemployment insurance. It must develop also an intelligent system of government finance, which takes into account fluctuations in the business cycle, as long as they may be expected. It must learn that human beings who are deprived of a right to earn a living through no fault of their own are entitled to adequate relief regardless of the particular political unit or combination of governments required for the task. These objectives can be attained only by federal action.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE ALIEN HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

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I

SIR HENRY MAINE, who had a remarkable gift for generalization, once stated that the movement of progressive societies has been a movement from status to contract. The systems of law known to Western civilization afford abundant evidence for his generalization. Throughout the progressive movement of societies the course of development is distinguished by a gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place. In primitive law the rights and obligations of the individual, in so far as law recognized any rights, were expressed in terms of his relation to his family. This was certainly so in early Roman law where rights grew out of the position a person occupied in the family, which consisted of descendants held together by common obedience to their living descendant. The family lived under the domestic despotism of the father—called *patria potestas*—a condition which with gradual and growing restriction of the exercise of such rights lasted in varied degrees through the reign of Justinian.

In Roman law the privileges of the civil law (*ius civile*) were exclusive privileges of Roman citizens; political (*ius suffragii*) and civil rights (*ius honorum*, *ius commercium*, and *ius connubium*) were denied to aliens. Aliens were devoid of proprietary and family rights as limited and protected by the civil law. In the early Roman Republic the alien could not be a party to a conveyance (*nexum*), which was confined to Roman citizens. He could not hold public office (*ius honorum*), nor was he accorded the right of suffrage (*ius suffragii*). He could not sue by civil-law modes of litigation, because they were the exclusive

privilege of the citizen. Not being a citizen, he was incapable of contracting a civil-law marriage, with its special privileges of property ownership, control over family, and the right of inheritance to property. In the preclassical period of Roman law there was, of course, no such thing as naturalization as we understand it today. Once an alien always an alien.

This state of affairs was plausible so long as the number of aliens remained small, but when their number grew, the problem of regulating the relations of alien and alien, and alien and citizen, as well as the relation of aliens to the state, had to be faced. It had to be faced, for the security of Roman society was at stake. In their increasing number the aliens were creating a disequilibrium which held a threat to the stability of the Roman state. Now, how did the Romans meet the problem? There were three obvious ways of meeting it: there was expulsion; there was assimilation, that is, extension of the privileges of the Roman law to aliens; and there was the creation of a special code. Expulsion was out of the question. The Romans were a practical people and there were practical difficulties in the use of this drastic method. Assimilation at this juncture of Roman history was possible, but it was not resorted to. To enjoy the protection of Roman civil law was a privilege, and to extend it to foreigners would be to degrade that law. The cleavage in legal privileges, at least, was to be maintained for the *civis Romanus*. The expedient the Roman lawyers resorted to was the selecting of rules common to Rome and to the different Italian communities in which the aliens were born. It was an expedient forced upon the Roman lawyer by necessity when, for one reason or another, he had ruled out the other two ways of meeting the problem. It is interesting to note in passing that this body of law (*ius gentium*) which governed the relations of foreigners and citizens formed the foundation on which our present system of international law rests.

The presence of a large number of foreigners in Rome, however, constantly on the increase, governed by a system of law which set them apart from the citizens, created a sort of *imperi-*

um in imperio. The legal segregation was not to survive very long. The pressure was too great and too constant. Inroads into Roman citizenship soon began, even at the expense of armed conflict—and Roman history is full of conflicts between a stubborn citizenry and an alien population. It was a stubborn citizenry because it believed itself united by kinship in blood; citizenship to the Romans was a birthright, and anyone who sought this privilege was regarded as a usurper. The Roman philosophy of the citizen, it can be seen, was radically different from our present-day philosophy. The modern state is held together by an allegiance to a sovereign or a political superior. It can, and has, for that reason—as, for instance, in the United States—absorbed legally, at least, a body of immigrant settlers with a speed unknown to the ancient world.

The pressure on the part of foreigners for an equality of rights with the Romans resulted in modifications of the institution of citizenship. But these modifications were of a peculiar sort. Concessions were extended reluctantly and on a limited scale with respect to property and commerce—concessions short of the privileges enjoyed by Roman citizens. Each group in the city-state demanded equal rights. The result of this constant pressure was the creation of a variety of different grades of citizenship, a citizenship with varying rights in kind and in degree. The hierarchy of status in the city-state stood in A.D. 200 something like this—Roman society was divided into four main groups: citizens (*cives*), Latins (*Latini*), foreigners (*perigrini*), and slaves (*servi*). The citizenship group was divided into the Order of Senators (*Senatorialis*), a sort of nobility founded by Augustus, based on descent from a senator; the Equestrian (*Equester*), an order which had its origin in the equestrian centuries which later became an aristocracy of wealth; and freedmen (*cives liberti, libertini cives*). In this group the civil and political rights varied according to the position in the hierarchy. The freedman, for example, could not marry a person of the senatorial class, nor could he will his property to which his patron had a right of succession. In this group, also, there were the

colonials, made up largely of agriculturalists, who could engage in ordinary business but could not devise or sell their land. Certain persons guilty of wrongful conduct (*infames*) were likewise subjected to various disabilities. Free subjects other than citizens were the Latins and foreigners, and each of these had subdivisions again with varying degrees of legal disabilities. Then, at the bottom of the hierarchy supporting this structure was the slave, who, under the *ius civile*, had no legal rights.

By the time of the classical (A.D. 200) period, free people could acquire citizenship. Latins, for example, could acquire it by building ships of a certain size and carrying grain to Rome for six years, or by working a mill of a certain capacity at Rome for three years. In the case of Latin women, citizenship was bestowed if they had given birth to three children. Slaves, too, could acquire citizenship by various devices. The law of citizenship was profoundly affected by Caracalla in A.D. 212. He gave citizenship to all in the Roman world, with the exception of those freed slaves (*dediticii*) who by reason of their special degradation could never be free. They were members of no community, and in this sense resembled those who in modern law are *staatenlos*. But Justinian swept this class away by removing the disability under the Caracalla law.

II

Early English history affords little evidence on the status of the alien. This is rather extraordinary when we consider that we have more light on the status of the alien in Roman law, which preceded the development of English law by some fifteen hundred years or more. There are, however, some grounds for saying that under the ancient common law an alien had no legal rights, whatsoever. Littleton¹ enumerates six classes of men, of whom, if they sue, judgment may be demanded. They are: first, a villein suing his lord; second, a man outlawed; third, an alien; fourth, a man pressed by judgment on a writ of *praemuniri* out of the King's protection; fifth, a man entered and pro-

¹ *Lit. S.*, p. 198.

fessed in religion; sixth, a man excommunicated by the law of the Holy Church.

Of the alien Littleton says: "If he sues in an action real or personal, the defendant may say that he was born in such a country which is out of the King's allegiance and ask judgment if he shall be answered." Sir Edward Coke, commenting on this passage several hundred years later, interprets it in the light of the law as it had developed up to his time. He says that an alien "that is in league shall maintain personal actions. . . ." Thus, in the development of the laws between the time of Littleton and Coke, we see that the alien is allowed to sue in English courts in personal actions only.

The disability of aliens² to own land was, of course, imbedded in the feudal system of tenure, and continued to exist long after that system had disappeared. The notion was that the King was the ultimate feudal lord and the only true owner of land. Those who were under him held under him and owed him allegiance. Thus, to allow an alien to own land in England who owed allegiance to a foreign prince would be an anachronism, for to own land in England meant taking an oath of fealty to the King, an oath which would be inconsistent with that which the alien owed to his own prince. An alien could not own land, nor could he have a leasehold on a term of years. This status of the alien in respect to holding land continued until 1844, when a concession was made. In that year aliens, whether merchants or not, were allowed for the purpose of residence, or occupation, or for the purpose of business, trade, or manufacture, to hold land for a term not exceeding twenty-one years. It was not until 1870 that the alien was granted the unrestricted right to own land and realty of every description, and to dispose of it freely as if he were a subject of the King. Of course, at common law, an alien could not inherit property, nor was he to have any heritable blood, which meant that no descent could be traced through him. With respect to personal property, other than chattels real, the rule was otherwise.

² The alien merchant is specifically mentioned in Magna Charta.

By the common law, all persons born within the power or protection of the crown owe natural allegiance to the King and are natural-born subjects of the realm. All others are aliens. This is in striking contrast to the Roman-law conception which prevails generally throughout the world where the foundations are Roman law in spirit. The law of England adopted the territorial principle of determining nationality and rejected the Roman-law principle incorporated in the Code Napoleon, whereby children, wherever born, are always deemed to possess the nationality of their parents. In other words, the English principle is the territorial principle, and the Roman-law principle is the blood principle. In early law the King could make aliens denizens and thus clothe them in part with the rights and liabilities of subjects. But this was a difficult method. It was not retroactive, nor was the denizen put on the same basis with respect to rights as a natural-born subject. Full status could be acquired by an act of Parliament—a method which came into vogue in the reign of Elizabeth. This naturalization process, of course, was confined to those confessing the true Protestant religion. It was not until 1870 that England adopted the naturalization law in the sense in which we understand naturalization here in America today.

It is interesting, in passing, to note, that the development of the status of the alien in England was in marked contrast to the development of that in Rome. Two elements, I believe, contributed to the difference. England, throughout its history, was comparatively free of the presence of a large number of foreigners. English society was never under the pressure by foreigners as was Rome. Their scarcity of numbers prevented the problem from arising. The cleavage between subject and alien was clear and distinct, and there were no intermediary grades of rights as there were in Rome. In a sense the acquisition of citizenship status, through the fact of birth on English soil, acted as an assimilating device. Birth on Roman soil, on the other hand, did not give citizenship, for Roman status depended upon blood relationship, and the fact of birth within certain territorial

limits could not change it in the eyes of Roman law. The second element was the part that the institution of feudalism played in English political and social history. It contributed to the philosophy of determining nationality by the territorial principle.

III

The American colonials inherited the English common law, and this, indeed, was to be significant for the later history of the status of the alien. The legal disabilities with respect to aliens, in English law, were transplanted to America with subsequent modifications and changes adapted to meet the conditions of a strange soil. The alien in America was subjected to similar restrictions with respect to the holding of real property, as he was under English law. And whatever modifications in the direction of liberalizing the law took place in England prior to 1776 redounded to the benefit of the alien here.

The Constitution of the United States contains no expressed definition of the status of the alien. Alienage is generally assumed to mean the absence of allegiance to the United States. Congress has through the application of the doctrine of implied powers legislated widely on the subject of alienage. With the federal Constitution standing between the Congress and the forty-eight state legislatures, the Supreme Court has built up a body of law which is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with. Through the medium of treaties, also, the rights of various blocs of aliens in the United States have been protected. Protection through the treaty medium has been far reaching in bestowing rights upon aliens. In fact, treaties have conferred rights upon aliens which Congress itself would have been powerless to grant.

But by far the largest area affecting the legal status of the alien lies within the purview of the state governments. It is the state as the residuum of all those powers not delegated to the federal government and not prohibited to it that touches the lives of its inhabitants more closely than does the national government. The whole body of common law dealing with family rights, property, the punishment for crime, the power to pre-

scribe regulations concerning health, morals, education, and order, lies within the jurisdiction of the several states. It is they who affect the status of the alien to a far wider degree than does the federal government.

The legal disabilities of the alien in the United States are relatively few. In saying this one must bear in mind that the general rule has been, and is, that the alien, in most respects, stands legally on an equality with the citizen. The statutory restrictions, however, which have been passed have eaten into the general rule considerably. The alien generally has freedom of contract; he may become a trustee and form a partnership. With but few exceptions he may sue and be sued in the courts, both federal and state. He may in general own, transfer, and will personal property. The ordinary occupations of life are open to him, but this class grows smaller whenever a state legislature, nowadays, finishes its sitting. Professional occupations, such as medicine and law, have been surrounded with restrictions and are generally closed to them. The terrific competition for work on public work projects has led to the resurrection of discriminatory laws which have lain dormant, as well as to the creation of new ones. In recent Congressional legislation, hostility toward the alien has reflected itself in enactments which exclude him from participating in federal public work projects. The student of politics can find no justification for such discrimination.

The saving grace of the legal discriminations against the alien is the relative ease with which he can change his status to that of a citizen. Our naturalization law has been, and still is, notwithstanding the recent rise in fees, one of the most liberal of its kind in the world. It has made possible the absorption into the body politic of a considerable part of the largest migration in the history of civilization. Between 1907 and 1932 alone, three and a quarter million aliens were granted certificates of naturalization. For that same period thirteen million immigrants came into this country, and while immigration has been virtually stopped, naturalization is still going on apace. It is also noteworthy that twenty-six million American-born children of an immigrant parent or parents became citizens by virtue of their

birth on American soil. If you look back upon Roman law and compare the esoteric character of its nationality law with our own, you can readily understand why those who were denied the benefits of citizenship resorted to armed conflict to break down the walls that stood between them and the privileged few.

In our national life today two tendencies which affect the status of the alien may be said to be operating in somewhat opposite directions. The economic depression which has intensified political and economic nationalism has led to a tightening-up of the discriminatory laws already on the statute-books and has produced a crop of new ones. There is hardly a state legislature which has met these last two years that has not enacted or considered discriminatory legislation aimed at the alien in one way or another. The Massachusetts legislature entertained a bill³ which would prohibit the giving of public relief to a person "who remains a non-citizen or has remained such for a period of ten years from the date he arrived in this commonwealth." Another Massachusetts bill proposed to memorialize Congress for reimbursement of outlays in money and goods to aliens. "The alien incubus," the proposed memorial went on to say, "is a matter in which the federal government has direct responsibility in the entry of said aliens to the several states and should therefore assume the support of such when occasion demands." Fortunately, these bills did not become law. But they are ugly signs of the times we live in. In New York the state legislature passed and the Governor signed a bill limiting the granting of chauffeurs' licenses to applicants twenty-one years of age who are American citizens or who hold a declaration of intention filed sometime within the six-year period preceding the application for license; and beginning with June 1, 1939, chauffeurs' licenses will be issued to none but American citizens. New York, this year, also engrossed upon its statute-books a law authorizing the forcible removal to their native country of aliens who are inmates of public institutions or are otherwise a charge upon the public funds of New York.

³ Interpreter Release, May 2, 1933.

In the opposite direction there is the tendency manifested on the part of the American government in its desire for a closer political and economic co-operation with the nations of the world. This is a tendency to the good, even though its immediate effects may not reflect themselves in our laws at once. Not too much, however, can be expected from this tendency as an ameliorating factor in the status of the alien to any considerable extent. Its importance lies in creating an environment where the sentiments of a people create an atmosphere favorable to the alien.

I have not gone into a consideration of the social, economic, and psychological imponderables which have affected the status of the alien. The influence and bearing these factors have had, and continue to have, upon the position of the alien have been and remain far reaching and telling in their effects. My task, however, was merely to sketch in outline the manner in which two great systems of law have treated him.

I cannot leave this subject without saying a word or two of the part that law can play in the realm of alienage. It might perhaps indicate the hopes for the future and the road that lies ahead. It is a common American belief that to cure an evil all one has to do is to pass a law. This, of course, is to disregard the nature of law. Law is a highly specialized instrument in our social existence, with its own special capacities and special limitations. Life would not be so difficult if evils could be cured by the legislative process alone. Law is not a commodity; it is the expression of the sentiments of society. The problem of assimilating the alien to the citizen, so far as equality of rights is concerned, at least, is not to be found exclusively in a legal formula. Our efforts, it seems to me, lie in the direction of creating and cultivating the ground in the end that a community might learn self-control and consideration for the interests of others. That ground is not a material thing at all, but a spiritual state of things, and the problem of creating it is not a legal but a moral problem.

HAVE WE STILL AN IMMIGRATION PROBLEM?

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IT IS no wonder that we are asking this question. Not in a century have so few immigrants been entering the United States. We must go back to 1831 to find a year when the country admitted less than the 35,576 immigrants who came in 1932. In the year ending this thirtieth of June fewer than 30,000 will be admitted, judging from the figures now at hand. Nor is that all. The tide has actually turned and is now flowing out. As compared with the 35,000 aliens admitted in 1932, 103,295 left the country. This year, it is estimated, the number of those departing will again total close to 105,000, some three and one-half times those admitted. It is quite possible that our foreign-born population in the United States reached its all-time peak in 1930. The census in that year showed 14,204,149 foreign-born, the highest number ever recorded. In January, 1931, for the first time since the war emigrants exceeded immigrants, and month after month in the two and one-half years since then departures have outnumbered arrivals. Our foreign-born population is today a declining population.

In view of the facts already cited, it is obvious that the number of immigrants at present entering the country, coming as they largely do to join relatives already here, do not in themselves constitute a problem of any proportions. The immigrant of today is, however, only one aspect of our immigration problem. What of the fourteen million already here? Has a century of immigration produced problems that still require special treatment? If so, how long is such work likely to be needed? What of our immigration policy itself? Is the present virtual cessation of immigration a situation that will continue? These are some of the questions which I shall ask you to consider.

First, in regard to our immigration policy. Without intending it, without fully realizing what has happened, the country has virtually closed its doors to any new immigration. The clause in our immigration law, "persons likely to become a public charge," as today interpreted, bars practically every would-be immigrant unless he has relatives in the United States responsible for his support. This interpretation, first made at the instance of President Hoover in the fall of 1930, is something new in the history of our immigration laws. Whether it would be sustained by our courts has not yet been put to the test.

In 1915 the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Geglow v. Uhl* (239 U.S. 3) held that an alien could not be excluded as a person "likely to become a public charge" even though serious unemployment in the United States might make it impossible for him to secure work. In the immigration act in force when this decision was rendered, "persons likely to become a public charge" were mentioned between paupers and professional beggars and along with idiots, and this position greatly influenced the court's decision. Congress shortly after, in the immigration act of February 5, 1917, shifted the position of the phrase. It is held by many, including the immigration service, that this shift was made in order to overcome the effect of the Supreme Court's decision and to indicate that aliens should be excluded as persons likely to become a public charge for economic as well as other reasons.

Under the shadow of the depression, the wisdom of the present interpretation, while still a moot point among lawyers, was generally conceded. Is this interpretation to be continued indefinitely? Even with substantial business improvement it is difficult to see how for years to come we can escape a measure of unemployment—enough, at least, to give excuse for the continuation of the present "likely to become a public charge" interpretation if Washington is so minded. Unless, therefore, there is some change of sentiment or some action by Congress or our courts, new immigration is virtually at an end. This is a result certainly not contemplated by the Immigration Act of 1924,

which permitted 150,000 immigrants a year from quota countries and imposed no numerical restrictions on immigration from Canada, Mexico, and the countries of Central and South America.

This situation is one to be borne in mind when in our efforts to unite separated families and humanize our immigration laws some of us are charged with "insidious" efforts to "nullify" our immigration laws. The charge can be returned with interest. It is not we who are "whittling down" our immigration bars; it is others who are building them higher, who are trying to impose a degree of restriction, which, whatever its wisdom or un-wisdom, was certainly not contemplated by the authors of the 1924 Act.

It is a commentary indeed on our times how completely present thought on questions of immigration policy is dominated by the assumptions of our profit system and nationalistic society. Concededly the United States has the resources to support a far larger population. With our birth-rate now at the lowest level on record, the Census Bureau is estimating that the country will have a stationary population by 1950. Under a planned economy there would be no reason for excluding persons as likely to become a public charge. While such considerations suggest that a different philosophy is possible, there is no reason to believe that the economic factor will not control our immigration policy for years to come. So long as we have unemployment, exclusion will continue. In time we may expect this to be followed by a more highly selective immigration than anything the United States has had in the past. But this selection will also be based on economic needs—types of workers or experience that cannot be readily found in this country. Even with some form of selective immigration, it seems safe, however, to assume that the numbers of new immigrants will not be large.

There is, of course, the usual crop of immigration bills before the new Congress like its predecessors—proposals to suspend immigration altogether, to cut quotas 60, 90, and 99 per cent—to place the countries of the Western Hemisphere under quota.

But none of these seems likely to be pushed with much vigor, as long as virtual exclusion is maintained by administrative interpretation. Efforts to repeal the national origins plan and return to the 1890 census are likely to meet with even less success. A belated act of international good will—the extension of the quota system to the countries of the barred zone—is prejudiced by recent events in the Far East.

There are, of course, questions of reuniting families, repatriation, deportation, changing immigration status. These, however, have chiefly to do with immigrants already admitted and may best be considered in that connection. So far as the main outlines of our immigration policy are concerned, nationalistic fears have been reinforced by hard times. The country has adopted a policy of restriction which gives no promise of being relaxed. If our work concerned only the new immigrant, we should, after a century which has seen 37,000,000 immigrants admitted to our shores, be forced to conclude that we no longer have an immigration problem.

Let us turn, then, to the immigrants already here. What of our 14,000,000 foreign-born and the 26,000,000 of our people who are children of foreign-born parents? We cannot lightly dismiss this past century with its tremendous influx of peoples from every corner of the world. In their assimilation lies, if anywhere, the immigration problem of today. Are there difficulties of adjustment and integration which remain to be solved and which require special attention and treatment? Are there special problems which beset the alien and newcomer from which the rest of us are freed?

If assimilation were an accomplished fact, we might expect to find four things: first, an understanding of our language and institutions on the part of the immigrant; second, participation by our foreign-born people in the common life and activities of the nation; third, equal rights and opportunities accorded them; fourth, an attitude of friendly understanding toward the newcomer and a recognition and encouragement of the contributions which, because of his different heritage, he might make to

the development of our life and culture. How far we are from realizing these goals the facts of our daily experience testify.

Little more than half of our foreign-born people are American citizens. According to the 1930 census, there are 5,784,760 aliens in the United States and 499,853 foreign-born for whom data in regard to citizenship were not obtained—a total of 6,284,613. Many of those who have become citizens have only the most elementary knowledge of American government and institutions. Despite the figures of the last census on ability to speak English, we know that a large part of our immigrant population are not at home in the language of the country. Instead of joining in the general activities of our community and national life, there is still a tendency for our people of foreign birth, especially in our cities, to become segregated into more or less separate groups with a life of their own. In the welfare councils of our cities, foreign-born groups play little part.

From the standpoint of the average immigrant, this withdrawal into his own group is not to be wondered at, if we stop to consider the disabilities and prejudice to which he is subject. The Declaration of Independence notwithstanding, his inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is hedged in by all kinds of restrictions. In the vital matter of employment and livelihood, for example, there is, unfortunately, widespread discrimination against the alien. This is true not only in regard to employment on public works and in public service but in regard to private industry. Many concerns have dismissed employees who were not citizens or had not declared their intention of becoming citizens. Some, even, have invoked the deportation law as a means of curbing alien strikers. There has been a tendency to limit further by legislation the number of occupations to which the alien is eligible. In this year's session, for example, the New York state legislature adopted a law limiting the issue of chauffeur's licenses, after a six-year period of grace, to citizens. Licenses to sell beer in New York may be issued only to citizens. This past winter all alien nurses, a total of 1,415, in New York City hospitals were dismissed. In

Michigan aliens are debarred from becoming architects, accountants, engineers, surveyors, teachers, promoters of boxing or wrestling contests, or salesmen in businesses having an international character. Similar restrictions obtain in most of our other states. At the end of 1932, eighteen states had laws either specifically prohibiting employment of aliens on public works or giving preference to citizens in such employment. These eighteen states included close to 65 per cent of our total foreign-born population and 70 per cent of the foreign-born who, according to the 1930 census, were not yet naturalized. These figures indicate how very large a proportion of our immigrant population are affected by this type of legislation.

The most important recent instance of discrimination in this field will be found in the National Industrial Recovery Act. As this passed the House on May 26, it provided for a preference, first, to former service men with dependents; second, to citizens of the United States who are bona fide residents of the locality in which the work is to be performed; and, third, to citizens who are bona fide residents of the state where the work is to be performed. Under existing economic conditions the preferences thus proposed virtually exclude non-citizens from employment on the \$3,300,000,000 public works to be undertaken.

A number of us at once took the matter up with members of the Senate Finance Committee to whom the bill was referred. When the Committee reported the bill on June 5, with this provision unchanged, it seemed hopeless to expect any modification. Nevertheless we persevered, and on Friday, June 9, before finally passing the bill, the Senate, acting on a motion by Senator Costigan, voted to strike out the preferences to citizens. The next day, however, the House conferees refused to accept the Senate amendment. The preference to citizens was retained, but it was extended to include "aliens who have declared their intention of becoming citizens." This was a very real gain, though not all we fought for.

Many people feel, of course, that where there are two applicants and only one job, it is proper to give preference to the

citizen. Other things being equal, this may be granted. But in countless cases other things are not equal. The citizen may be a single man. The alien may have a wife and children dependent on him. In most cases, further, the children of the alien are native born. In discriminating against their fathers, we would, in effect, discriminate against hundreds of thousands of American citizens—and those least able to protect themselves. Having admitted him to permanent residence, the country ought not in decency and fairness to discriminate against the alien in this vital matter of employment and livelihood.

Such discrimination is not limited to manual labor or public works. It is unfortunately found in all fields. Early this month, for example, the Actors' Equity Association with only one dissenting vote adopted an amendment to its constitution stipulating that alien players must become citizens of the United States to qualify for resident membership. Only this week the National Commission To Advance American Art criticized Dartmouth College for employing the Mexican artist, Orozco to depict "The Epic of Culture in the New World." Its statement says: "Dartmouth College by virtue of its rank as an important national institution of learning has dealt a hard blow to the advancement of American art. The Commission condemns the thoughtlessness and unfairness of those persons responsible for this action."

In the field of social legislation, as with employment, we find similar lines of discrimination. The benefits of old-age pension laws are, with the exception of two states, Arkansas¹ and Delaware, limited to citizens. We find less discrimination, happily, against aliens in the field of workmen's compensation. But such legislation came earlier than old-age pensions, and in later years the tendency to discrimination has steadily increased. The discrimination in regard to old-age pensions is the more serious, also, because our foreign-born people are comparatively older than the native-born and are, consequently more likely to be adversely affected. Likewise, in the laws relating to public aid

¹ The Arkansas law was declared unconstitutional on June 5, 1933.

to children in their own home or mothers' pensions, five states, including Connecticut and Rhode Island, require that to be eligible to pension the mother must be a citizen. Six other states and the District of Columbia require that the applicant for mothers' pension shall have declared her intention to become an American citizen and that she obtain her citizenship as soon as the naturalization law permits. Two of these states, New York and Illinois, which rank first and third in size of their foreign-born population, give aid only for American-born children until the mother is an American citizen.

Though citizenship has thus become more important than ever before, we are constantly making it harder for the alien to obtain this goal. As you know, naturalization fees were increased 400 per cent in 1929. The \$20 in fees often is a prohibitive amount, let alone an additional \$20 which must be paid for a certificate of registry by many aliens who have forgotten the name or date of the ship on which they arrived, or of whose arrival there is no record in the government files due, perhaps, to some clerical error. While the naturalization law requires only that the applicant should be able to speak English, many courts are refusing citizenship to anyone who cannot read English as well.

Is it any wonder that the alien, discriminated against and finding it difficult to obtain citizenship, feels a sense of insecurity? The fear of deportation hangs over him. His meetings have been invaded by illegal raids—a practice which we may expect will be discontinued under our new Secretary of Labor. An alien who has joined a union with the thought of improving his wages or working conditions may suddenly find himself deported as a communist. This has happened in not a few cases where aliens have joined unions indirectly affiliated with the communist party, although they themselves are not communists and are quite unfamiliar with its doctrines. This unfortunate practice would be facilitated under the Dies Bill, which passed the last House of Representatives and is again before the present Congress. The whole situation presents a serious anomaly and

injustice. On the one hand, the government recognizes the communist party by giving it a place on our official ballots. On the other hand, we deport aliens who are directly or indirectly affiliated with it.

Offers of repatriation also make the alien feel that he is not wanted. While the government, doubtless, has undertaken such repatriation with kindly motives, too often pressure from other quarters makes the alien feel that he has no option but to go. This spring, the New York state legislature adopted a law permitting the State Department of Social Welfare to remove any alien, even against his will, who has become an inmate of any public home or is otherwise cared for at the expense of the state to any country or state legally responsible for his support. The General Assembly of Pennsylvania passed a bill making it unlawful for any officer or employee of the state to give financial aid to any alien without first requiring such alien to prove that he had legally entered the United States. We know only too well the difficulties which aliens, though legally admitted, would have in making such proof. Happily, the bill was not acted upon by the Senate before the legislature adjourned.

There is no more precious right than that of being with one's immediate family. Here, again, the alien is at a serious disadvantage. Unless he can offer competent evidence of a reasonably secure job and adequate earnings, his wife and children, still on the other side, will be refused immigration visas as persons likely to become a public charge. This situation today affects not only the alien but even citizens of the United States. On this point, certainly, the simple dictates of humanity demand modification of our law to except from the "likely to become a public charge" clause the wife and minor children of a citizen of the United States. If such persons must become public charges, let them become public charges in this country.

This series of discriminations against the alien, serious though it is, is after all a more temporary aspect of our problem. It can last only as long as we have aliens. As the alien dies, or is deported or repatriated, or becomes a citizen, this phase of the

problem—legal discrimination—must diminish. The median age of our foreign-born population in 1930 was 44.4 as compared with 23.8 for native-born whites. According to the latest life and mortality tables compiled by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, we may expect in 1940, if we have no new immigration, a foreign-born population of about 11,750,000 and in 1950 a total of 9,000,000. In the meantime a considerable part of the present 6,000,000 aliens will have become naturalized. By 1950 we may readily have an alien population of perhaps only 1,000,000, certainly not more than 2,000,000.

What is more important than the discriminations to which I have referred is the point of view which has made them possible. The prejudice and intolerance of which these discriminations are the result are directed not alone against the alien, but against all our foreign-born people, against their children, to a greater or less degree against all those who do not belong to the present Protestant, Anglo-Saxon majority.

We find this attitude of intolerance on every hand. Hard times have, of course, tended to accentuate it. As an illustration of what I mean, let me cite an all-too-typical example from the *Saturday Evening Post*. In a recent editorial (February 4, 1933) it says:

In the 1880's, the character of our immigration changed. Hordes from southern and eastern Europe descended upon us, and unassimilable blood strains abused their new-found liberties—people we foolishly thought we could Americanize by dressing them in American clothes.

Mr. Frank J. Loesch, president of the Chicago Crime Commission, leads his list of nine main causes of the current crime wave with the presence of many lawless people from southern and eastern Europe. The cost of policing them, of occasionally convicting them and keeping them in jail, is as properly chargeable to Immigration as the cash measure of the damage they do. . . .

In city districts where foreign-born families predominate, many public schools not only house their children in palatial buildings, but feed them, wash and disinfect them and provide the free services of physicians, oculists, dentists and trained nurses. These services . . . should be debited to Immigration. . . .

The forces in organized array against society, the forces that would overthrow all our national institutions, are preponderantly of foreign origin. Communists, anarchists, professional trouble-breeders and those ever ready to bite the hand that feeds them, are rarely of sound American stock.

Examples of this kind of intolerance and misinformation are widespread.

Intolerance of this sort is an insidious poison. It poisons the very soul of those who give voice to it and of those against whom it is directed. It affects the very quality of our life and culture and subtracts from the joy, fulness, and stature of our civilization. It strikes not alone at the foreign-born but involves their children. In many cases they, too, suffer the burden of this prejudice. Not infrequently, also, they reflect the attitude around them and look down on their own parents.

In this matter of prejudice and intolerance we have, it seems to me, one of the most fundamental and far-reaching aspects of our problem. We have seen what has happened in Germany. We cannot let that happen here. We must carry forward a patient and persistent campaign against prejudice—prejudice against all the accidents of race and nationality and alienage. Man, after all, is man. Such a campaign of education should be one of our chief undertakings, if we are to tackle the real immigration problem that we face. We must eliminate from our laws and practice the unwarranted discriminations, inequalities, and inequities that now exist. Families must be united, citizenship facilitated, deportation, so far as it is necessary, humanized. Efforts must be increased to effect and quicken the integration of the foreign-born and their children in all the activities of our community and national life. Assistance to individuals and education for citizenship will of course continue to be important, but their importance seems to me relatively less than the effort to eliminate prejudice and discrimination and to incorporate the foreign-born more fully in the lives of our communities.

In making such a shift of emphasis, we would, if seems to me, be keeping pace with the changing nature of our problem. If you have followed debates in Congress during the last ten years, you will agree, I think, that very few issues have evoked such bitterness and intensity of feeling as immigration questions. Why has this been so? My own belief is that here we have had pitted against each other two fundamentally divergent philosophies.

The struggle between these two points of view is a conflict that will dominate the coming century. At the moment nationalism is triumphant. But everywhere the forces of internationalism are gathering strength. Science and invention are playing into its hands. It is the issue of man as a national against man as man. Of the eventual outcome I have no doubt. In the possibility of contributing to that outcome lies what seems to me the most significant and far-reaching aspect of our immigration problem, in the years ahead.

ASSISTANCE TO ALIENS IN AMERICA

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A COMMITTEE of twelve government experts appointed by their governments at the request of the Council of the League of Nations in September, 1931, will meet in Geneva in December, 1933, to consider the ensemble of the problem of assistance to aliens. It is the aim of this paper to assist American social workers and agencies to find orientation within the outlines of the problem envisaged by the committee of government experts, and to find, if possible, common ground in the approach to the problem upon which both American and European social workers may move forward together toward constructive steps in its amelioration.

The term "assistance" is not in familiar usage in America. It envisages in the main what we mean by the terms "private" and "public relief," "custodial care," "medical care," "hospitalization," "the care of the mentally sick," "the care and supervision of children," "their primary education," "the protection of children from moral dangers," and "burial at public or private expense." The term further presupposes that these forms of assistance or relief are extended by public or tax-supported agencies.

As the organization of these forms of assistance in America is divided between public and private agencies, and as the division between public and private agencies varies in different communities, it is necessary for us to consider private assistance in America if we are to approach the problem on a basis comparable to the approach that is being made in Europe. In doing this, however, we should not include within the purview of this discussion those services of private agencies which are primarily concerned with the cultural development of the alien or foreign-born, but rather should we confine ourselves to what might be

termed the "bread and butter" services of private agencies, especially where such services assume the character of public responsibility and can be said to preclude by their existence the organization of such services directly under the auspices of public agencies.

A brief outline of the approach of European social agencies and governments to this problem will be helpful. Basic to an understanding of this approach is an appreciation of the proximity of European governments one to another, and of the close cultural and political ties which bind many of them together in different groupings. Bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements are the results of these close associations.

A comparable situation is presented in the similarities of organization of social care which exist in our own states that are contiguous and lie within certain natural groupings. Many of our states have developed with each other informal procedures, for instance, for the transfer of dependents from one jurisdiction to another, reciprocal services between courts and probation and parole offices, and working relations of one sort or another, oftentimes through the assistance of national or regional functional organizations.

One group of these bilateral or multilateral agreements, already in existence between different countries in Europe have had to do with the importation and exportation of migrant laborers, and with the resulting family problems of relief and assistance growing out of such movements of people. Then, too, political disturbances and changes—the shifting of frontiers and of minorities—have accentuated the need not only of public assistance, but of determining financial responsibility for the assistance provided.

We are already familiar with the American experience of shifting from one jurisdiction to another the financial responsibility for the relief or for the custodial care of dependents. It is, therefore, unnecessary to describe here the similar experience of European countries in this direction. Suffice it to say that there have been attempts on the part of the governments in

Europe to make a division between temporary and permanent assistance—temporary assistance to be provided by the country of residence, and permanent assistance by the country of origin. Further, the efforts to secure reimbursement for permanent assistance advanced by the country of residence from the country of origin have not met with success for varying reasons.

The principle of reciprocity has also been in vogue whereby different countries agree to give temporary and permanent assistance to the nationals of each other.

In more recent years the general principle of the assimilation of the alien to the national has gained ground, particularly among those who have given the problem a good deal of thought and study. By this principle of assimilation the countries agree with each other to treat in the matter of assistance the nationals of the other country in the same manner as their own nationals. This latter principle was first proposed in the draft convention drawn up in Paris, in 1912, and was later submitted to the governments. The onslaught of the war prevented its being implemented on a wide scale, but the proposal has found support in individual bilateral treaties since promulgated.

Since the war, as a result of rather acute problems in child care created by the disintegration of family life, the changing of boundaries, and the shifting of minorities brought about by the peace treaties, a new approach has been made to the problem, particularly by the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations, based upon the proposal of establishing certain standards of child care within the function of assistance to aliens and somewhat in the hope, I imagine, that these standards, once established for children, might later be recognized in the administration of assistance to adults. These standards, while recognizing the right of a country of residence to repatriate a child in need of permanent assistance to the country of origin, state that in such repatriation the interests and welfare of the child shall be the first consideration, and that while assistance is being rendered, it shall be rendered on the same basis as that to nationals.

Considering these principles and the procedures of the European governments in the light of American experience, let us first eliminate those for which no counterpart or comparable principle or procedure exists in American experience.

Labor treaties.—First of all, the United States has no treaties with other governments providing for the importation of labor. In fact, its immigration laws distinctly forbid the entrance into the country of contract laborers. No distinction can therefore be drawn in our American approach to the problem of assistance to aliens between so-called immigrants entering the country for special labor at specific places and those aliens of longer residence in the country who have come for permanent residence. There is, therefore, no special labor group of immigrants for whom it may be assumed that "assistance" has in the main been provided by previous bilateral treaties.

Temporary or permanent assistance.—The division of "assistance" or relief to aliens into temporary or permanent categories has no significance in our effort to approach the problem co-operatively with other governments. In European procedure temporary assistance is considered to be of thirty or forty-five days' duration. We are quite familiar with temporary and chronic dependency and, in the matter of public relief to aliens, the existence of permanent need is often a motivating factor in the attempt of states to remove the alien in permanent need to other jurisdictions. The very state of alienage, however, in most cases prevents this unless the alien himself is willing or able to go to a foreign jurisdiction or is deportable under federal laws.

Reciprocity.—For many reasons the principle of reciprocity in assistance to aliens is impractical for American consideration. Our relief costs are too high in comparison with those of other countries to expect reimbursement, and the numbers of aliens assisted is out of all proportion to the numbers of American citizens in need in other countries. Furthermore, matters of relief are under the jurisdiction of our separate states, our state relief laws are permissive rather than mandatory in character, and it is difficult to conceive that our federal government would ever

assume the responsibility under a treaty of making obligatory upon the states the relief of any category of persons in exchange for reciprocal treatment abroad for American citizens. The recent developments in federal relief legislation in America may make this judgment seem like poor prophecy in a few years to come, but for the moment the opinion must stand. It is pertinent to observe also at this point that our individual states, which have the larger responsibility in matters of assistance, have no power, under our federal Constitution, to make agreements with foreign countries.

Assimilation.—The general principle of the assimilation of the alien to the national or American citizen in matters of assistance requires a good deal of patient study and thought and, above all, further definition and illumination before any conclusions can be reached. Practically, what is meant by the term "assimilation" is that aliens shall be treated in matters of assistance and relief in the same manner as citizens.

To dispose at the moment of relief and service on the part of private agencies in America to aliens, this assimilation is already in effect. Few, if any, private agencies make any distinctions between aliens and citizens in their service to clients. When we consider public assistance in the strict sense of relief—including outdoor relief; child care; medical, hospital, and institutional care; and pauper burial—aliens are, in the majority of states, already, under existing procedures, assimilated to citizens of the United States, but not to legally domiciled citizens of the specific state by which the relief is granted. Our state poor-laws in the main make distinctions between residents and nonresidents. Residents comprise citizens of the United States who have met certain qualifications as to length of residence without relief of the individual state. Nonresidents comprise generally citizen residents of other states, citizens of the United States without residence, and aliens. In so far, then, as material relief, medical, hospital, and institutional care, and pauper burial are concerned, aliens are already generally assimilated under our poor-relief laws to nonresident citizens of the United States.

However, once relief has been given by a local public-relief administration in the form of outdoor relief or by a local county or state institution in the form of hospital or institutional care to an alien, the alien involved immediately becomes subject to the effort of the state concerned to remove him to the jurisdiction, if any, which is legally responsible for his care or which will accept it. Nonresidents, who also happen to be citizens of the United States, are subject to the same effort of removal.

In the case of the alien, the receipt of public relief stimulates on the part of local, state, and federal authorities a review and reconsideration of his status within the country. The circumstances of his admission to the country, with special reference to his liability at that time to become a public charge and to the question of his moral turpitude, are considered along with the period of time since his last arrival, the particular cause of his need, and the question as to whether any felonies have been committed. If in this examination the alien is found to be subject to any of the deportation laws, deportation will thereafter ensue.

Because of this chain of events, it has been erroneously assumed by many that there are involved in public relief for the alien grave dangers of deportation because of his need. In fairness to our American procedures, I think it should be stated that the larger number of causes of deportation have to do with the so-called sovereign right of our nation to admit or expel those whom it pleases, and that the number of deportations for causes associated with family need and distress are in the minority. It is pertinent to make this point because we must remove from our consideration of this matter of assistance and assimilation all deportations due to such causes as illegal entry and the overstaying of the time permitted by visitors' visas, because these are causes of special treatment of aliens which are not envisaged by the term "assistance."

It may even be questioned whether those deportations which result from the discovery within five years that a person was likely to become a public charge at the time of entry may not be

legitimately excluded from the consideration of those privileges which might accrue to the alien were we to visualize assimilation of the alien to the citizen as a practical proposal. This is a suggestion of the need of defining, through the medium of international conferences, more specifically just what is envisaged by the proposal of assimilation.

The need of further definition is also obvious when we raise the question whether assimilation of the alien would involve, in the case of the United States, agreement to give up its present practice of deporting those who receive public relief within five years after entry for a cause "not affirmatively shown to have arisen subsequent to landing."

In our mothers' assistance and old-age pension or compensation laws, in many states, aliens are excluded from benefits. In our workmen's compensation laws, in many states, the beneficiaries of the injured workman, when resident abroad, are deprived of benefits in whole or in part.

Unfortunately, during the depression, in some eighteen or more state laws and in certain federal legislation aliens have been excluded from the benefits of work relief provided for the unemployed. It is regrettable that alien fathers of American children and husbands of American wives and those aliens who are to all intents and purposes permanent residents of our communities are thus deprived of opportunities of self-support. This legislation reflects the spirit of nationalism in all countries today which is diametrically opposed to the general principle of assimilation.

In our procedures of child care, alien children are in the main treated as citizen children, but, unfortunately, are subject to our federal deportation laws. In certain cases of the deportation of children, our American procedures fall below the standards proposed by the draft convention recently submitted by the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations to the committee of government experts for further consideration.

In the matter of education, alien children are in the main already assimilated, as they attend public schools freely with citi-

zen children, and, in fact, such attendance is even enforced by our school-attendance laws. Opportunities for trade education are also open to them. Apprenticeship in America is becoming less and less a matter of prime importance in American industrial experience, generally because of the wide development of automatic machinery.

This attempt to test out the application of the principle of assimilation of the alien to the citizen in matters envisaged by the term "assistance" leads one to the conclusion that as Americans we should seriously consider the proposal of assimilation, that we have made certain developments in the direction of assimilation already in our American procedures, and that we should take an active interest in joining with other governments and the League of Nations in discussing the general proposal of assimilation in matters of assistance.

Certainly, as American social workers we should have no hesitancy in seeking honestly to determine those points in the organization of our social machinery, such as the exclusion of non-deportable alien widows and the aged from the benefits of relief legislation, the deportation and repatriation of children particularly, and the exclusion of aliens from work-relief projects, at which American practice may fall below the standards proposed or determined upon in any international conference in which the forward-thinking nations of the world are represented.

Assimilation would tend to reduce the problem.—It should perhaps be made clear that assimilation is one proposal for constructive steps forward which, if adopted, would tend to reduce in large part the total problem of the treatment of the alien. Are there other proposals which American social workers and agencies can make to the committee of government experts as it considers this complex problem in its totality?

Speaking generally, the principle of assimilation proposes certain steps by individual governments that would tend to reduce the deprivations of aliens within certain fields of activity. Many of these steps have to do with the internal organization of social care and of treatment within the individual countries. Are there

certain factors inherent in the problem of the alien which require international conference, co-operative action, and organization for their amelioration?

It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a very clear line between what might be called the local problem of the alien and the international problem. But is it not possible to say that certain problems of the alien are more predominantly local than international in character? For instance, the adjustment of the alien to the country of immigration is predominantly more local than international. His ability to secure work, his privilege of acquiring citizenship, his privilege of receiving relief and assistance of various kinds—these are in fact predominantly more local or internal problems than, for instance, the deportation or repatriation of the alien, which processes by their very nature involve for their accomplishment the joint action of two governments. Certainly the separation of families caused by either immigration or deportation procedures, the payment of workmen's compensation benefits abroad, the just adjudication of divorce complaints from wives abroad, the settlement of small estates, matters of nationality, dual nationality, and the state of statelessness, the conflicts of marriage and child guardianship laws, and innumerable other problems surrounding the alien are more predominantly problems which seemingly can be tackled only by common co-operative action on the part of many governments.

Would progress in finding more satisfying ways of life for those who have been obliged to cross oceans and frontiers in search of a livelihood be advanced if we attempted to make such a division between proposals for measures to be taken by individual governments by international convention and those requiring co-operative international action? The committee of twelve government experts, meeting in Geneva in December, 1933, offers the first opportunity, virtually, since 1912 for governments to consider together these problems of the alien which are both internal and international in their character and will require internal and international methods of solution.

It is an unfortunate fact that as social agencies interested in the alien we are not prepared at this time, because of lack of sufficient data and research, to propose measures suitable for international action. Further study is unquestionably indicated as desirable, and these studies can perhaps the sooner attain to reality if those interested in all countries in the problem of the alien can agree upon the specific directions which such studies should take.

At the risk of making suggestions without the opportunity for deliberation, would it be possible, for instance, for any international body, such as the committee of government experts or a subcommittee, to make a study of the deportation and repatriation procedures of the individual governments? Were the procedures to be studied, among other beneficent results would unquestionably come the realization on the part of a wider circle of people and of governments of the existence of certain international elements in the lives and welfare of aliens, which, by their nature, resist purely national attempts at solution.

A further result of such a study would be the appreciation of the extent to which individuals suffer once they have been removed from the boundaries of one jurisdiction where established standards of organized social care provide at least minimum protection to some other jurisdiction which has not in advance accepted responsibility for their social care. Wanderers in transit they become, internationally homeless, theoretically the charge upon some government, but too often unable to find assistance in any because of the many uncertainties in the conflicting laws, procedures, and immigration policies of the different governments. In the international milieu little or no organization of social care exists and things happen which civilized societies abhor, as is evidenced by the standards of social care which they have established within their own boundaries and which are ineffective beyond them in any co-operative way with those of other societies.

Under the leadership of the committee of government experts, or of any international body such as the Conference of Private

Organizations for the Protection of Migrants, at Geneva, would it be possible to stimulate in the different countries a study of the particular deprivations which aliens suffer in individual countries, and from what causes? It would seem that if common agreement among governments, for instance, on the matter of assimilation, is to become a practical fact, much more definite and detailed knowledge of the specific deprivations which are to be removed by bilateral or multilateral agreements accepting the principle of assimilation will be required. Such a study should be a common effort of legal and social-work bodies within the different countries, as these deprivations are primarily of a socio-legal nature.

In a similar manner, could those interested in the alien in the various countries come to agreement eventually through international study and conference on any standard of length of residence at the expiration of which the responsibility for social care of the country of residence would be finally and definitely assumed? After such a period of residence the alien would no longer be subject to deportation, expulsion, or enforced repatriation irrespective of conduct or previous social circumstances. From that point on the alien might enjoy at least the security of residence and the sense of a place or locality where his minimum needs of care would be met.

The particular method of developing international treaties or conventions, which in the main will be the objective of the committee of government experts and of the bodies of the League of Nations, does not, of course, pre-empt the field of possible methods of attack or of solutions. Social problems are so infinitely complex in their very nature that they oftentimes defy attempts at solutions which involve the writing-down in advance of rules and regulations for their control. International social problems offer especial difficulties of this sort. Treaties, when finally written, actually put in writing the discoveries and inventions of method and the good will of people in carrying out the methods.

This paper would fail of its aim if it did not point out the wide

field and opportunity presented to social workers and social agencies for the use of all of the imagination, skill, and good will at their command to develop those friendly relations with like-minded agencies and individuals of other countries that they may co-operatively with us discover those methods, philosophies, and international techniques which will, in time, become the meat of international treaties in the amelioration of the complex problem of the alien.

SOCIAL WORKERS AND A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

Karl Borders, League For Industrial Democracy, Chicago

MY THESIS is a simple and, I believe, a logical one. In a word it is this: "No intelligent social worker can fail to be concerned with the whole social and economic order in which his work is set. The logical pursuit of such a concern will, in the best sense of the word, bring him out a political and economic radical."

Two factors militate against this process: first, absorption in detail which prevents a view of the whole field; and, second (a corollary), discovery of the frailties of man which may consciously or unwittingly lead to a mistrust of democratic social processes.

I need not say to social workers that the technical discovery of your science is the case-work method of dealing with human beings. By this process the individual found in social maladjustment is studied in order that the peculiar circumstances which thrust him into his predicament may be determined and that he may be "adjusted"—precious word—to the world in which he lives. Whether that adjustment requires medical, social, psychiatric, or economic treatment depends much upon the predilection or the school of the social worker. Thus has social work within a generation swung from an emotion of pity or social idealism to a place of importance as a social science. The first period sent men and women into the slums to save souls, later to cleanse the slum, and finally to study it. It remains to eliminate the slum along with the causes which give it birth.

It is unnecessary here to cite the numerous studies which demonstrate the relation between poverty, crime, sickness, and poor housing which, charted on any graph, make singularly coincident lines. An increasing number of observant case workers are daily discovering for themselves the economic roots of

the social and physical maladies they are called upon to treat. They are discovering that the social patterns of a neighborhood, largely determined again by its economic status, fall with heavy impression upon the youth it bears. We know now that it is not human perversity but scientific probability which determines that a heavy percentage of boys from the interstitial areas of our cities will have records of juvenile delinquency.

I do not mean to say that social-work research discloses a picture of pure economic determinism. But I do assert that this red thread runs distinctly through the whole fabric and we should not lose sight of it because of any intricacies of pattern.

It is time, then, that the cycle should be completed. First, approached with social preconceptions, recently attacked scientifically as case studies, a proper synthesis demands that a social philosophy be worked out and that social workers shall not longer be in any way liable to the gibes directed against them as the mere wrecking crews of the capitalist order—or even as the Red Cross in the social struggle. I contend that they must be fellow-soldiers in the battle for a new social order.

Nothing has ever more dramatically tested the function and philosophy of the social worker than the present crisis. Every resource of man-power and technique of the profession has been strained to the limit to bring relief and family guidance to millions of homes. This is due, as everyone knows, at last, not to individual failures but to the inefficiency of a planless society. Any half-efficient social worker could have planned for an individual family better than society has planned for itself. And if this is true of society seen in this high light of stupidity, I wonder if all social workers are not asking themselves how much of their daily task in so-called normal times is spent in an equally unnecessary manner.

The academic background of the social worker in every good school steeps him in economics and sociology. His daily experience in the pursuit of social diagnosis leads him constantly into situations which demand an operation on the body politic instead of the local plaster which he is compelled to apply. If he

is not completely lost in the minutiae of the daily task and therefore unable to see his job in perspective, he will find that genuine adjustment for many of his cases means completely changing the social order in which his case is found. Thus he becomes a radical in the sense that he feels that he must go to the root of the situation, and do something about it. There's the rub—and the real core of this discussion. For if social work is taken seriously, it involves a job in social engineering beyond the adjustment of individual families. Because of his skill and his knowledge the social worker has a special obligation first of all to make known his conclusions and, second, to ally himself with those forces making in the direction toward which he is striving.

The first of these obligations has been met with considerable seriousness and some success. A synthesis of the research studies and articles of social-work leaders in recent years would show a growing sense of the larger social implications of their work. During the present crisis no group has been more outspoken than it in its insistence that relief is a governmental responsibility rather than an obligation of private charity. The leaders have, for the most part, stood firm for the public administration of such relief. In every other field of social work, whether dealing with orphans, delinquents, or inebriates, the steady trend can be noted toward the concept of the larger social responsibility—toward the socialized state, if you will.

Perhaps the greatest lack here is a good press agent. But there is also missing some of that fine frenzy which we commonly associate with our forebears in their attack on sin and vice. I have heard in private and in cloistered circles the voices of social workers raised against the whole rotten social order which makes relief necessary in the midst of plenty. I want to hear that voice a chorus, raised not as a variation, but as the theme song of social workers in this crisis. Who knows better than they the devastating effects of all charity, even in the kindest and most scientific hands, upon the spirit and character of men? Swedenborg said, "The worst trouble about hell is that we will not know it when we get there." It is an essential part of the duty of

the social worker, who knows this is hell, and an unnecessary one, to keep aware of it, never to let us forget it!

I do not intend to say this in a spirit of carping criticism. I know the burden of detail you bear, the tired mind and dragging feet you take home with you at night. I also know that we are not going to change the world over some fine week-end, and that in the meantime you must carry on. If you do not, someone less fitted will undertake and bungle the job. But, may I suggest, that the very passion of your outrage can prove a stimulant to frazzled nerves?

But it is in pursuit of the second obligation that all of us, but particularly the social worker, finds his greatest dilemma. What shall he do about it besides a good day's work and perhaps giving vent to the lusty shout which I have just been beseeching? Shall he play God, healing the world's wounds, but remaining above it? Shall he become a reformer, buckling on his shield for social insurance here, slum clearance there, and prison reform yonder? (In spite of all the scorn of radicals, progress has been made along this tortuous road.) Or shall he join the socialists or communists or single-taxers? Shall he join anything?

Let us dismiss at once that group which through fear or unconcern avoids decision. They are of little value wherever they may be.

My assumption has been that the serious-minded, intelligent social worker sooner or later concludes that much, if not all, of his work is due to the iniquities and maladjustments of a predatory social order. In order to change all this he must attack the whole profit system. He must work toward a co-operative society. He must set forth not with a mass of unrelated reforms as a goal, but with a clean-cut social philosophy, striking at the root of things. And he must join himself to some body or movement headed in the same direction. This step is not a matter of choice but of necessity. Social philosophies are sterile unless harnessed to some implement of action. This is an interdependent world and social changes are made by organized bodies of people.

I am not proposing to tell you what party, if any, you should

join. It may be that you will want to build a new party. I do want to say with all the power I can command that, in my opinion, it is the duty of social workers, above all people, to find an association with an organized body of people which is striving definitely, consciously, and militantly to bring about a new and radically different social order. This point of view, I realize, differs diametrically from that of most of the generation of social workers which in all sincerity adopted a non-partisan position as a tactic. They have gloried in their rôle of ferryboat between the shores of poverty and wealth, the Gold Coast and the Slum. Or, to use a favorite phrase, they have chosen to serve as "interpreters." Let us grant the usefulness of this part. It is still necessary in a world of suspicion and doubt that someone should tell one half what the other half is thinking. But, I insist, that the social worker himself is required to do some thinking and to take a firm stand upon the conclusions of that process.

There are also those among the social workers, particularly those engaged in group activities and various aspects of the teaching function, who seem to feel it is unscientific and, perhaps, even unethical in their position to hold an avowed political philosophy, or certainly to teach it. This gives rise to what appears to me to be a clear paradox. Social workers assume the task of straightening tangled lives, leading in neighborhood and even nation, rebuilding—and yet when it comes to the central question of a political and economic philosophy, those who look to them for guidance too often find them unprepared or unwilling to lead!

Let us, then, come back to the core of this argument as I see it. The social worker, in season and out, is engaged in some aspects of the process of fitting individuals and families into an intricate social pattern with the hope that by their ministrations they can live a healthy, sane, and creative life. If they discover in this process, as I believe they must, that the whole cast and spirit of the industrial world of today makes increasingly impossible such ordered, wholesome lives, then they must turn radicals. The very pursuit of their science when followed logically will in-

inevitably lead them to this end. At this point the position of the social worker again lays peculiar obligation for action upon him. The ordinary citizen may await the facts. The social worker is burdened with facts. Perhaps he is incrusted with them. Let him play his rôle of interpreter first to himself and then to the rest of the world at large, integrate his facts, and weave them into a program for a new world to live and die for.

May I revert again to the tests of the present crisis? What shall be the attitude of the relief worker, for example, to the various radical and protest organizations of the unemployed? The most natural reaction is at once the feeling that such groups and their leaders are trouble-makers at a critical and trying time. Some of them may be so in purpose; most of them probably are in fact. But again I plead for a larger view from the particular to the general. By far the greatest social menace of this time is the pauperization in spirit and in deed of millions of American citizens. Nothing could be more socially devastating than cheerful acquiescence in the permanent acceptance of charity. Therefore, let us welcome every evidence of revolt, fan every flame of discontent with charity in all its forms.

In my office nearly two years ago a member of an unemployed organization sat and overheard an unemployed fellow-man tell his story of troubles, literally through tears. When the man who had been weeping came out of my office, the other said to him, "See here, brother, you mustn't feel this way. You feel like going and jumping into the lake—but when you get to feeling like throwing somebody into the lake you'll feel a whole lot better!" Now I am not advocating a campaign of so contaminating the waters of the lake, though if such were undertaken I would have a few candidates to suggest. But I do contend that it is a great deal more socially healthy to want to throw somebody into the lake than to want to jump in. I realize it is pretty hard to take this view if you happen to be the party the unemployed want to cast upon the waters. But if it is the social salvation of your client that you are seeking, I ask you to consider whether a real "adjustment" may not lead to encouragement in revolt rather

than to that kind of docility which all of us like so well to call "co-operation."

But even leading cases to revolt is not sufficient. You must be among the leaders of this revolt. Yours is the burden of knowledge. Shout from the housetops, breathe through the written page, and whisper in every board meeting that you will not longer minister to the festering sores of a society which builds skyscrapers upon the roofs of hovels, flaunts riches in the face of poverty, condemns men to beggary while tools rust in the factories—that you will not serve the victims of this idiocy unless at the same time you can share in the building of a world in which these things cannot be. Only in such a program can you do your whole, full-rounded duty. Only in such a passion can you find any real self-justification for your weary days of binding up the tragic wounds of mankind.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL WORKERS

PUGSLEY AWARD

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The cowardly and mean nature has no part in true philosophy.
—PLATO *Republic* vi.

I

IF IT is true, as we believe, that philosophy is born of conflict, then the present time should see her birth, and social work should be her nurse. Plato says in the *Republic*, "All things in which there is opposition or proportion are suggestive of reflection. The mere impression of sense evokes no power of thought or of mind, but when sensible objects ask to be compared and distinguished, then philosophy begins." Such terms as "depression," "cycle," "change," "trend," "lag," which ring familiarly in our speech today, indicate that sensible objects are asking to be compared and distinguished; the present differs from the past; one part of social process speeds faster than another. This is no new state of affairs, nor is philosophy new. Rather, philosophy is constantly being reborn, where and when there is a consciousness sensitive to perceive differences and curious to seek their meanings. Yet for those of us who are of this moment, the time is new and it is ours, and surely the contrasts it presents are strong enough to get across even a high threshold of awareness.

Social workers, though occupied with inequalities and unadjustments, and therefore obliged to exercise judgment, and to some extent to reflect, have never produced much formulated philosophy. In this they are perhaps like other professions. The concrete comes before the abstract, the deed before the word.

Gross and obvious inequalities demand to be dealt with, and objectives are taken for granted. Means of attaining these objectives present difficulties, and attention is focused upon them; thus a technique develops. Mastery of technique and its use to create new situations becomes art; curiosity as to causes plus a passion for exactness leads us into science; and art and science effect their difficult but inevitable union in practice, before there is evolved a theory of the profession as a whole.

In the Preface of his book, *The Meaning of Disease*, Dr. William A. White quotes from Mr. Whitehead's *Introduction to Mathematics*:

It is a well-founded historical generalization that the last thing to be discovered in any science is what the science is really about. Men go on groping for centuries, guided merely by a dim instinct and a puzzled curiosity, till at last "Some great truth is loosened!" [Dr. White says himself that because of medical specialism, "While we are confronted with a list of diseases that is appalling in its length and discouraging . . . medicine is today without any adequate theory of disease as such."]

Social work is so much younger than other professions (if it is a profession at all) that its internal separation and lack of general principles is not surprising. However, there is perhaps a special reason in the very nature and extent of its subject matter why social work needs generalization more than other professions do. It is for us to see whether, under the stress of what may be the turning-point of a social epoch, we can loosen any "great truth" that may guide us in thought and feeling to adequate participation in the next evolutionary period.

Not all agree as to the critical character of the present time. Prosperity always has returned, some say, and it will return again. This is considered optimism among those who cling to the graph of the business cycle. They urge us not so to abandon hope that we institute changes in social organization which the turning of the next corner will render unnecessary. Such a point of view, to my mind, gives too little importance to the rate of economic change which is taking place, and to the fundamental nature of changes such as those in population growth revealed in *Social Trends* and other studies.

Another point of view is that the depression period is so markedly different from that preceding that facts gathered before 1929 have no bearing upon our present social problems. This seems to me to indicate an attachment of too great importance to the crisis, isolating the present moment from the main stream of time as I believe it cannot truly be isolated. Is not the great difference between then and now the speedier rate of change since the breaking of the financial wave, and not the nature of direction of the change? The answer to both points of view is the same. The social situation of today is important not because it is new, but because it is a part of all that has gone before and of all that will come after. Though history may repeat itself and there be nothing new under the sun, if we look to the forces pulling us back and forth, yet to us the old form does not return exactly as it was. We are not optimistic, but anxious and immature, when we cling to a hope of progressing backward.

What philosophy are social workers expressing in 1933, and how is it different—if it is different—from any they expressed in 1929 and before? Since there was not, and is not even now, much formulated theory as such in print, we have to answer this question for the most part by interpreting the reasoning and attitudes found in written statements on current social problems, expressed by word of mouth, and implied in action of social workers, before and since the beginning of the depression. How much of any discernible change is due to the depression, and how much to the passing of time, is a question impossible to answer and perhaps futile to ask. Time does not pass in the ticking of a clock, but in the succession of events, and we can never know how we should have thought and felt had events been other than they were. The nature of our reactions will in itself imply the character of the stimulus; change in our philosophy is the change that has come with our actual experience.

The philosophy of a group of people, as we use the term, does not mean a metaphysic. It refers to a system of concepts and values, and is, therefore, not a product of pure intellect but rather an intellectual expression of feeling. The intellect enters

because abstractions are to be dealt with, such as "freedom," for example, or "order." Our evaluation of these abstractions, however, expresses our emotional attitude toward them and all that they connote to us. Therefore we may judge the direction of change in philosophy by statements indicating feeling and interest, as well as by the formulation of abstract ideas.

II

Before inquiring into the philosophy expressed by social workers in this period, I want to suggest an outline of the area in which I believe social work may be properly said to have its main philosophical interests. As an index to our developing philosophy, we may look for changes in thought and feeling within this area. I suggest that social workers as such have a peculiar interest in first, the relation between the individual and society (cultural, economic, and ethical); second, the relation between the individual and the small group (subgroup), family especially; third, the relation between the individual and the state; fourth, the relation between individual and individual, and particularly the professional relationship; fifth, the relation between groups within society (minority-majority, sects, racial and national groups, producing and non-producing groups and others); sixth, the value of individuality; seventh, the value of the subgroup; eighth, the value of society as such; ninth, the extent to which the behavior of society is susceptible to its own conscious control, and the desirability of such control.

III

Dependency is one form of relationship between individual and society (or individual and group) toward which our attitudes as social workers may be changing. "The new poor" are different from the "old poor" in that their poverty is clearly the result of outer social circumstance and not of their individual inadequacy. We have always known that there could be physical conditions to which no organism could adjust, such as famine

and extremes of temperatures, and that there were social conditions to which no person ought to adjust, such as sweated labor and intolerance. Yet in times of peace and prosperity we have seen dependency so often associated with personal inadequacy that we had come to pay great attention to studying the person and trying to remedy his situation through himself. Some social workers have said that this focusing upon shortcomings created a tendency to blame the dependent and excuse society. Perhaps a truer statement is that society has always treated failure with contempt, modified sometimes to pity. As we admire independence and strength, so we despise their lack. Social work, arising from this matrix of stigma and constantly working within it, has yet, through understanding the person who fails, developed a relatively tolerant attitude toward him, a realization that he is fundamentally like his more successful fellows, and an interest in seeing him accept and master his environment as everyone must do. This is the individualist in us, strengthened by the scientific interest in personality which has grown up with the advance of psychological knowledge. Emphasis upon personality in treatment no doubt tends to counteract, if not to exclude, the attempt to wrest environment into a more tolerable form. Now when all persons, strong as well as weak, are either fallen or threatened, when nobody knows what day his turn in the breadline will come, attention is forcibly directed to the dependence of every person upon the network of social relations within which he lives. Poverty and dependency take on new meaning for us, citizens, and for us, social workers.

Interdependence may become our accepted ideal, rather than independence, as self-help has come to mean the organized effort of a group to satisfy its own needs, and not alone the effort of the individual.

What, then, becomes of the individual? What will be his values in our philosophy of the future?

Whitehead (*Adventures in Ideas*) illustrates the relation of individual part to whole by describing Chartres Cathedral, in which each detail of architecture, because of its own complete

beauty and fitness, shares in the creation of the beauty and harmony of the whole structure.

We must often have thought in these times of the teaching, "He that loseth his life shall save it." This other thought may also be true, that the richness of individual life may overflow into the interrelationships, and the harmonious social group be born not of poverty and fear, but of vitality and courage.

IV

I have been speaking and thinking of social workers as if they were a united band like Tammany Hall. Truly there is so much looseness and difference in the profession that it often seems as if the opposition between social worker and social worker outweighed that between social workers and the rest of the world. The long-standing occupational classifications of social case workers, group workers, and community organizers do not present so much philosophical difference as does a sort of "school of thought" separation which cuts across the three—a separation not quite easy to name.

Emphasis upon individual and emphasis upon group is one form taken. Political "right" and "left" is another form. The difference, however, is one of temperament and habit of mind and not of political theory. Again, they reflect with a heightening of values the tendencies inherent in all mankind, namely, to alter and control, to let it go its own way. There is virtue in both these opposites. Conservatism accepts things and people as they are, and avoids interference. Radicalism accepts change, and puts its own active energy into it. There is also evil in both tendencies. Conservatism opposes change even when it is the inevitable march of evolution. Radicalism insists upon having its own way at all costs. In no one, probably, does either tendency hold full sway, but in every one there is a tonus or character made up of the conflict or perhaps of a harmony of the two. From our joint action and policy-making emerges the general temper of the time. Ours of 1933 seems to be growing in the radical element, decreasing in the conservative. At least, soci-

ety is expressing great concern with the possibility of directed change in the social system.

Social workers are asking what this may mean. The more radically minded are with new vigor urging the leadership of social work in social action. June Purcell Guild, in "The Social Worker and the Depression," *Nation*, June 14, 1933, says:

The truth is, the depression has swamped social work. Whether it will ever again justify its proud claims of prevention, rehabilitation, and adjustment remains at this writing in doubt. But has social work materially altered its form or its terminology? Not noticeably. [And again:] As a social worker profoundly interested in the problems of afflicted humanity and at the same time in the professional integrity of my group, I believe the time has come for social workers to meet existing issues with a comprehensive program of social reform. Aiding individuals one by one is essential. Organizing community-welfare plans is also well and good. Clearly, however, something more far-reaching is also needed. For those who would call themselves social workers, there is no escaping the social challenge of the times.

The more conservatively minded are urging that the individual be not lost in the class. Mrs. Glenn, in "Consolidating Social Gains," *The Family*, says: "Underlying the questions as to initiative and experimentation, as to auspices public or private, is the more fundamental one: how best may social gains be consolidated and maintained?"

When we look to our experts, again we find differences. Mr. Chase is arguing the "conflicting economic philosophies of pure competition and state socialism." Dr. Freud is thinking about group behavior and the society of the future. Dr. Niebuhr is telling us that man is moral and society is immoral. Mr. Nearing says that Fascism leads to war and retrogression but Communism to world-unity or harmony and to progress.

Fear of the state is still strong. I. de Launay in "Lack of Confidence the Modern Disease," *Magazine Digest*, May, 1933, says:

Our mentality has undergone a radical change and this is why we are suffering so cruelly. The arising of the so-called new social classes was responsible for it. We no longer breathe freely, because the atmosphere is unhealthy, because it is poisoned by doctrines that are symbolized everywhere by socialism.

For socialism has laid down a principle that no monarchy has ever dared to lay down; namely, the arbitrary and dictatorial omnipotence of the state.

Socialism has generalized the practice of emergency laws and unlawful governmental proceedings and has subjected to tyranny the law, those who make it and those who are entrusted with its application.

V

The desirability, the possibility, the meaning of conscious control of society by itself is, we have already said, one of the general questions within the area of special interest of social work.

Desirability.—Would a controlled society do away, as the Russians believe, with individual unadjustment? If so, at what cost? Would the result be worth the price?

Possibility.—No one questions the possibility of technological control, theoretically, to adequacy. The fact which brings the question of possibility within the philosophy of social work is that control of society must be psychological control, and the extent to which it is possible depends largely upon its being recognized as desirable. Control is possible, in other words, whenever enough people think it worth more than competition, or, in still other words, whenever individual freedom is seen as something not to be demanded as a right but dearly bought by giving up the self for the others. In small groups such control has not infrequently been achieved; in states and nations it has occurred temporarily in war or disaster; but complete social control for a large group as an accepted way of life is a long way off.

It means not only giving up our deep-seated monkey-love of gambling for our shirts in favor of the prospect of a humdrum mediocrity of safety. (This need for security has been greatly overstressed; the need for insecurity seems to me equally strong.) Rich and poor alike hate the idea; so long as there is a shadow of a chance they want that chance to compete and win. We should have to have chance and danger in some form.

It means also giving up some sacred liberties with which we may well hesitate to interfere. For example, a planned society would necessarily be one in which population was held at an optimum, the proportion of producers to non-producing consumers also being in a ratio fixed to enable, by some method of distribution, a certain standard of living to be assured to all.

This plunges us into all the problems of eugenics; the dangers of political control in areas so uncertainly known; the difficulties of changing the mores by educational methods (whether to begin with children or adults not the least of our difficult decisions.)

Yet non-producing consumers we have always had; we have them now by the million; we cannot survive if the proportion grows beyond some point—what point? *Laissez faire* will get some help from natural changes in birth-rates perhaps; but how reasonable to hope for some way of helping the natural course of events to run more nearly to our goal of justice and guaranty of life for all.

In the meantime, we march by measures of partial control toward the goal. Insurance is one measure by which we try to combine our sense of the group with the practical necessity of starting from where we are. Practically everyone now accepts self-sustaining insurance as a useful way of extending security of the group to the individual members and keeping the wheels of production and service turning.

State and federal aid to local units is another way of extending the group unity. Community planning is still another, in which not only community organizers but social workers of all fields are doing new thinking.

VI

In one sense social work has its own philosophy in the values it sets upon social relationships. In another sense its philosophy is not a special system but only its own concern with the same values which hold for all men living in society. Social work may be said to be society's way of observing how its members are affected by living within it, and of reflecting upon the observation.

Social work could not exert leadership to help society to better self-direction, if leadership meant separateness of the leader from the led. All progress must be either toward or away from greater unity of the group (society). This can be only as all society takes part in it. The worth of any leadership social work

may have in changing the social environment for members of society must depend upon the movement of society itself toward what we may call "social self-consciousness." In terms of the members, this means not only an intellectual but also and more strongly an emotional sense on the part of each of the claim of society as a whole.

VII

One change in social-work philosophy, and perhaps the most important one, which may be taking place is the increase in common interest in questions of social value on the part of all vocational groups of social workers. If it is true, as I guess, that this generalization of philosophical interest is taking place, it would seem hopeful for the effectiveness of social work in the future. There may have been profit in the growth of schools of thought if they have driven each other to deeper exploration in order to defend their respective positions. I can see hardly any use, however, in the assumption by social case worker and community organizer of positions in which each can "look down upon the other from immeasurable height."

The various parts of social work need to work and think together to be effective in control and in leadership, just as they need to be not separate from society, but in closest relation to its advance and growth in the sense of the group as a whole.

Agreement might be reached on a minimum social program, in terms of objectives and to some extent of means. I suggest: It would combine group protection of itself with individual freedom of the members in such a way as to secure the best possible form and degree of each in view of the claim of the other. Perhaps this would mean the guaranty of economic subsistence to all regardless of behavior or contribution—the giving-up of *quid pro quo* and of charity, the focusing of society's attention upon occupation for all, not as a means of making a living. Some time of some proportion of the people would have to be drafted for production. Let it be as large as possible, for this would be the preferred occupation. The occupation of all people at all

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times would, however, be encouraged as an end in itself, the purpose of life. It should give satisfaction to the individual, and it should, potentially at least, contribute to the life of the group. Much occupation would be in form of interaction, games, teaching, learning, orchestral and choral music, mechanic and scientific experimentation.

Imagination could present an endless further list, but I would include exploration of new frontiers, the stratosphere, ocean depths, governmental and non-governmental organization in new forms, art, and technology. We feel against much social control and much guaranty of safety, because of all things the vital spark hates mediocrity and stasis. But if, recognizing all this, we set out to establish a base of group life from which we would give ourselves freedom in an upward direction, we might go on to new forms of life and death. We might still achieve what life is for—beauty and danger.

THE NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

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IN 1930, for the first time, the federal census of occupations included in its classification a separate category for social workers. This should be a source of satisfaction to the members of this group; for it will add definitely to its prestige. Since the figures thus made available will be widely used to indicate the probable size of the group, it is one purpose of this paper to afford some commentary on their quality. A second purpose is to present data derived from this first country-wide enumeration concerning the relative number of social workers in different parts of the country in comparison with other professional or near-professional groups.

I. QUALITY OF THE CENSUS FIGURES

Credit is due to the American Association of Social Workers for convincing the Bureau of the Census of the practicability of recognizing social workers as a distinct occupational group. It also deserves credit for taking two measures which without doubt materially improved the quality of the enumeration. First, with the assistance of a special committee, a detailed list of types of social-work organizations and of social-work positions in these organizations was prepared for the Census Bureau. The schedules collected in a local census of social-work positions in 1929 by the New York City chapter of the Association, which recorded by title some 4,500 social workers, were combed for this purpose. From this list the Census Bureau selected 76 titles representing social work for inclusion in the Index of Occupations which was used in classifying the 48,829,920 gainful workers found by enumerators in 1930.¹

¹ *Classified Index of Occupations, 15th Census of the United States (1930)*, p. 190.

The Association's second step was to inform social workers throughout the country of the manner in which the occupation data would be collected, and of the importance of having the correct occupation returned for each social worker. To this end forms were distributed to social agencies which individual social workers might fill in and leave at their residences for the census enumerators. When filled in, these forms showed the worker's name, place of employment, and title of position. They also bore in print the information that the position was a social-work position.

This preparation, plus the fact that in editing the occupation returns the Census Bureau had the services of a research worker with experience in the social-work field, increases confidence in the census figures for social workers. The Bureau's definition, however, does not include all positions which might be included in social work, since other occupation categories claim some positions commonly regarded as within the field. The census figures for "social and welfare workers" must, therefore, be recognized as definitely omitting certain parts of the total social-work group, as explained below. Moreover, all the occupation figures must be accepted as considerably less than exact, because of the obvious difficulty of obtaining an accurate record of occupations in a quick population census in which untrained enumerators collect a wide variety of information in hurried interviews with one person in each household. Despite these difficulties, the occupation data can in general be accepted as sufficiently accurate to be highly useful at least, and examination does not reveal ground for believing that the attempted enumeration was less successful for social workers than for most occupations.

The occupation categories most likely to contain social workers in both the 1920 and the 1930 censuses are as shown in Table I. The figures show the total number of persons in these categories. The category "trained nurses," is not listed here, although it includes public health nurses, whose work is closely related to, if not part of, social work. The National Organiza-

tion for Public Health Nursing recorded 11,171 full-time graduate nurses employed in public health nursing in 1924, and 15,865 in 1931.

The intended content of the category "social and welfare workers" may be indicated by the following adaptation of the

TABLE I

	1920		1930
Religious, charity and welfare workers.....	41,078	Social and welfare workers.	31,241
Keepers of charitable and penal institutions...	12,884	Religious workers.....	31,290
Probation and truant officers.....	2,679	Keepers of charitable and penal institutions...	15,020

list of titles falling under this heading in the Census Bureau's 1930 Index of Occupations:

Any charitable or welfare agency: agent, boys' or girls' worker, case consultant, case supervisor, case worker, cottage assistant, court worker, department supervisor or director, district supervisor, employment secretary, executive secretary, field worker, general secretary, health worker, home finder, house father, house mother, inspector, investigator, personnel supervisor or worker, placement secretary, registrar, research worker, social worker, supervisor, visitor, vocational advisor.

Any Catholic or Jewish charitable or welfare agency: case worker, executive secretary, social worker.

Any children's institution: matron, superintendent.

Children's aid society: agent.

Any health agency: executive secretary, field worker, T.B. worker.

Hospital, clinic or dispensary: case worker, social worker, medical social worker.

Red Cross: secretary, agent, case worker, worker.

Any social settlement: headworker, settlement worker.

Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts: executive, director, scout master.

Boys' or Girls' club: secretary.

Community center: director.

Community chest: manager or official.

Any court: investigator, juvenile court referee.

Playground: director, supervisor, instructor, play leader, playground worker.

Recreation or summer camp: camp director or manager.

Travelers' Aid worker, visiting teacher, director Americanization work, community service worker, psychiatric social worker, recreation director or leader, welfare manager, welfare worker.

Although there are some omissions, this list includes most of the positions which are commonly thought of as belonging in social work. But there are also several positions, such as playground workers, camp directors, or even scout masters, the inclusion of which occasions some doubt. Fortunately these are occupations in which relatively few persons will have been recorded.²

How many social workers in 1930 were classified in the other categories cannot be ascertained, but the question deserves some attention. The Census Bureau intentionally retains in the group "religious workers" certain social-work positions in religious organizations. The following titles under this heading will embrace many genuine social-work positions: Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., any official; Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A., any official; Salvation Army, any official; any church organization, visitor; sister, charity worker; Little Sister of the Poor.

According to the census ruling, all members of the religious sisterhoods who were identified as such by enumerators and who were reported as gainfully occupied were classified as religious workers, unless they were identified also as school-teachers, music-teachers, or nurses. It seems probable that few members of the sisterhoods are included in the figures for social and welfare workers, since in view of the instructions it is unlikely that enumerators would return many as social workers without identifying them also as sisters. Yet a large portion of Catholic social work is performed by sisters, an increasing number of whom have had special training for the work. Rev. Dr. John O'Grady has roughly estimated for me that as many as 8,000 sisters may be regularly employed in Roman Catholic social-work agencies and institutions and that perhaps three-fourths are in what may be regarded as social-work positions. A good many social workers employed by institutional churches and other church organizations may also have been classified as reli-

² With a good many persons these are supplementary occupations, held during part of the year or regularly part-time. Such persons by the census rule are classified according to their principal occupations.

gious rather than social or welfare workers. Thus, all told, a very considerable number of social workers employed under religious auspices may be comprised in the 31,290 religious workers enumerated in 1930.

It seems probable that the category "keepers of charitable and penal institutions" does not include a very large number of social workers, inasmuch as the heads of all children's institutions except day nurseries are classified as social or welfare workers. Were not the superintendents of day nurseries included here, the category might properly be termed "keepers of charitable and penal institutions for adults." It includes the wardens and other officers (but not guards) of jails and prisons, alms-house keepers, overseers of the poor, proprietors or superintendents of hospitals and dispensaries, and the heads of other benevolent institutions or homes for adults.

The category "probation and truant officers" is comprised chiefly of probation and parole officers, who are usually regarded as belonging in social work. The National Probation Association recorded 3,955 regularly appointed probation officers in 1931, and since there are probably several hundred each of parole and truant officers, the census figure, 4,270, for this category in 1930 seems somewhat too small.

Among "county agents, farm demonstrators, etc.,," the census includes an important group of rural social workers. They are the county agents working with rural boys' and girls' clubs and the home demonstration agents employed in the agricultural extension services conducted jointly by the federal Department of Agriculture and the state agricultural colleges. They account for perhaps 2,000 of the 5,597 persons in this census group.

Walter M. West, in his estimate of the total number of social workers in the latest issue of the *Social Work Year Book*, has added to the 31,241 persons classified as social and welfare workers by the Census Bureau all of the 4,270 probation and truant officers and 500 keepers of charitable and penal institutions, making "a grand total of approximately 36,000."³ This

³ *Social Work Year Book* (1933), p. 34.

figure does not include public health nurses as social workers, and it makes no allowance for social workers classified by the census as religious workers or as county agents and farm demonstrators. The allowance for social workers among keepers of charitable and penal institutions seems too small. Perhaps a small deduction should be made for school-attendance officers among the "probation and truant officers," as well as for camp directors and playground workers in the social-work category. But social workers under religious auspices and in the agricultural extension service should be added, so that I should estimate the total number of social workers in 1930 as at least 40,000, and perhaps 42,500, without including the 15,000 or 16,000 public health nurses. Of this total, perhaps a quarter are men. The number does not include volunteers in social work. It would be larger in 1933 because of the large increase in the staffs of relief agencies.

It may be noted in passing that the census figures for the two groups "social and welfare workers" and "probation and truant officers" in Massachusetts in 1930 total 2,071, whereas a committee of the Boston chapter of the American Association of Social Workers counted only 1,775 social workers in the state in February, 1932.⁴ The Boston committee regarded its figure as accounting for more than 90 per cent of "those reasonably entitled to be included as social workers." If allowance is made for possible incompleteness of 10 per cent, the committee's total for the state would be 1,970 in 1932, but there was undoubtedly increase in the number of social-work positions between 1930 and 1932.

The census of the New York City chapter of the Association gave 4,502 as the approximate number of full-time social-work positions in New York City and Westchester County in 1929.⁵ The census of occupations figures are not available for counties,

⁴ *A Census of Social Work Positions in Massachusetts* (1932), p. 6. Pamphlet published by the chapter.

⁵ *An Approximate Count of Social Work Positions in New York City and Westchester County* (1929), p. 3. Pamphlet published by the chapter.

but the number of "social and welfare workers" and "probation and truant officers" for New York City in 1930 is 4,016, and that for Yonkers, which includes a fourth of the population of Westchester County, is 115. Allowance for the rest of Westchester County would give a figure for these two census groups very close to the number of social-work positions counted by the New York chapter committee. This comparison proves too much, perhaps, since there are many reasons why the two figures should not be expected to agree closely. In addition to those already outlined, all persons holding social-work positions in New York City do not live either within the city or in Westchester county. Yet the comparison tends to confirm the opinion that the census occupation figures are valuable approximate data for the social-work group as defined by the Census Bureau. They should, of course, be used only in the light of the definition indicated by the controlling Index of Occupations.

II. SOCIAL WORKERS IN RELATION TO OTHER PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

The remaining portion of this paper presents briefly several quantitative comparisons of social workers with other professional or near-professional groups. In Figure 1 a roughly estimated curve indicating the growth of the social-work group is compared with growth curves of other groups derived directly from the census of occupations figures. A curve for the total population of the United States is also included. The slopes of the curves are proportional to the respective rates of growth, and it is apparent that the social-work group, if its curve is at all accurate, has been undergoing relatively rapid expansion. In this diagram the figures for social workers are intended to represent all social workers, and for 1930 the foregoing estimate of over 40,000 is used.

In Table II eighteen occupational groups are compared with respect to their size in 1930, using the census of occupations figures. In this and in the following tables, the figures for social workers are those for the restricted census category "social and

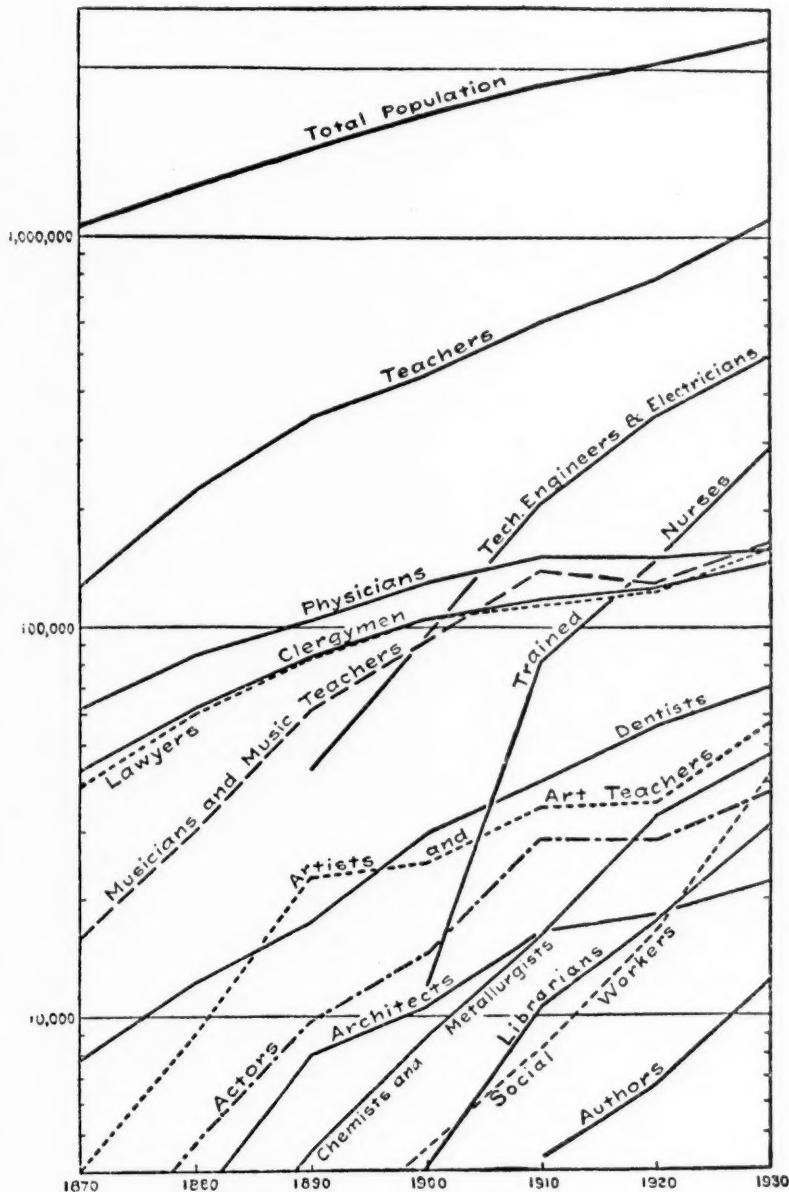


FIG. 1.—Growth curves of various professional service groups, 1870-1930. The ratio scale is used and the curves, therefore, illustrate comparative rates of growth. Actual numbers for the occupation groups may be read from the scale at the right. The scale for the total population, however, is not shown.

welfare workers" only. Table II also gives the rate of each group per 1,000 of the total population. Social workers, whether the full estimate or the count for the one census category is used, are among the smaller groups. Trained nurses are eight or ten times, and dentists something like twice as numerous. But social workers are more numerous than architects and librarians.

TABLE II
SIZE OF VARIOUS PROFESSIONAL OR NEAR-PROFESSIONAL
GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1930
(Census of Occupations Figures)

Group	Total Number	Per 1,000 Population
School-teachers.....	1,044,016	8.54
Trained nurses.....	294,189	2.40
Technical engineers.....	226,249	1.84
Musicians.....	165,128	1.35
Lawyers and judges.....	160,605	1.31
Physicians.....	153,803	1.25
Clergymen.....	148,848	1.21
Dentists.....	71,055	.58
College teachers.....	61,905	.50
Artists.....	57,265	.47
Journalists.....	51,844	.42
Chemists and metallurgists..	47,068	.38
Actors.....	37,993	.31
Religious workers.....	31,290	.26
Social and welfare workers...	31,241	.26
Librarians.....	29,613	.24
Architects.....	22,000	.18
Authors.....	12,449	.10

It is commonly recognized that social work is primarily a city calling, and it is of interest, therefore, to compare its relative distribution in urban and rural areas. Since the Census Bureau has not published detailed occupation figures for cities of less than 100,000 population or for rural areas, it is necessary to compare cities of over 100,000 population with the rest of the country. Table III gives the comparison for nine professional or near-professional groups. The final column contains an index of the concentration in large cities for each group, which

is merely the rate per 1,000 population in the large cities divided by the rate for the remainder of the country. Among these par-

TABLE III
INDEX OF CONCENTRATION IN LARGE CITIES

GROUP	NUMBER PER 1,000 POPULATION		INDEX (A divided by B)
	CITIES OVER 100,000 POPULATION (A)	REST OF COUNTRY (B)	
Clergymen.....	.98	1.29	.8
School-teachers.....	7.28	9.02	.8
Physicians.....	1.78	1.04	1.7
Librarians.....	.35	.20	1.8
Technical engineers.....	2.72	1.48	1.8
Dentists.....	.86	.45	1.9
Lawyers.....	2.03	1.01	2.0
Trained nurses.....	3.92	1.77	2.2
Social and welfare workers.....	.50	.15	3.3

TABLE IV
GEOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES IN THE FREQUENCY OF NINE PROFESSIONAL OR
NEAR-PROFESSIONAL GROUPS IN CITIES OF OVER 100,000 POPULATION

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA	NUMBER PER 1,000 POPULATION IN MEDIAN CITY								
	LIBRA- RIANS	SOCIAL WORK- ERS	DENT- ISTS	CLER- GYMEN	PHYSI- CIANS	LAW- YERS	ENGI- NEERS	TRAINED NURSES	SCHOOL- TEACH- ERS
New England, 13 cities.....	.46	.46	.67	.9	1.4	1.3	2.0	4.9	8.8
Middle Atlantic, 18 cities.....	.28	.40	.72	1.0	1.5	1.6	2.4	3.8	8.3
East North Central, 19 cities.....	.42	.39	.68	1.0	1.4	1.4	2.7	3.3	7.3
West North Central, 9 cities.....	.40	.52	1.08	1.3	1.9	2.4	2.6	5.0	8.6
South Atlantic, 9 cities.....	.27	.41	.64	1.6	1.8	2.3	3.0	3.7	7.7
South Central, 14 cities.....	.24	.35	.65	1.7	1.8	1.9	2.4	3.4	8.0
Mountain and Pacific, 11 cities.....	.53	.46	1.18	1.2	2.0	2.6	3.9	4.8	8.7
Total, 93 cities*.....	34	.40	.71	1.1	1.7	1.8	2.6	3.9	8.1

* The numbers per 1,000 population in this line are medians for the 93 cities. They differ somewhat from the ratios for cities of over 100,000 population in Table III, which are computed from aggregate figures and are, therefore, influenced more by the larger than the smaller cities.

ticular occupational groups, the urban concentration is much the highest for social workers. Clergymen and school-teachers

are relatively less numerous in the large cities than in the rest of the country. Lawyers and nurses are twice, and social workers over three times as numerous in the large cities.

Table IV concerns the geographical differences in the distribution of these nine occupational groups in the large cities only. For each group, rates per 1,000 population were computed for each of the 93 cities in the United States having over 100,000 population. The median of these city rates for each group was then found for each geographical division with the results shown in the table. The table suggests a tendency to geographical uniformity in the distribution of each group, but there are interesting variations. Clergymen, physicians, and lawyers, for example, tend to be less frequent relative to population in the cities of the three northeastern sections. Dentists are exceptionally frequent in West North Central and Mountain and Pacific cities. The extent to which professional workers are concentrated in the larger cities varies somewhat in different parts of the United States, and this has some, although not large, influence on this comparison.

NEXT STEPS IN JOB ANALYSIS

PUGSLEY AWARD

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TO OUR neat little title, "Next Steps in Job Analysis," should be prefixed some such limiting phrase as "possible direction of" or "suggested" or "implied," for truth would compel us to recognize that no next steps are inevitable and that no one person need feel himself called upon to specify what they should be. One person can, however, perhaps help a little by pointing out the direction that next steps might take, if there are going to be any. That is the only task to which we have addressed ourselves here.

In the United States we believe in social trends. We think that the past has largely determined the conditions that confront us at present and that will influence in great measure what we shall do next, if in no other way than to impel us to try something different. It is fitting, therefore, that we take a moment or two to review the analyses of jobs in social work which have been made.

It was in 1926 that the American Association of Social Workers embarked on the enterprise of analyzing the jobs in social work and began with those in three closely related types of case work. The responsibility was intrusted to Louise C. Oden-crantz, a highly competent job analyst who had been, and still is, intimately associated with social work as it relates to employment. Ten persons deeply interested in the professional and scientific aspects of social work consented to serve on the job-analysis committee to help carry the project through. The Russell Sage Foundation underwrote the expense.

In 1929 the first volume, *The Social Worker in Family: Medi-*

cal and Psychiatric Social Work, appeared under the imprint of Harper and Brothers publishers. It was well reviewed and the edition of twenty-five hundred copies is now entirely sold out. With the completion of that piece of work, Miss Odencrantz withdrew from the study to return to an administrative position in social work and Miss Margaretta Williamson came to the Association to carry forward the job-analysis studies.

Before enumerating the further projects of this undertaking, it might be well to refresh our minds about the social-psychological atmosphere in which we were then living and about the currents of thought which were flowing among social workers. Dr. Philip Klein had been the executive secretary of the Association for several years, and had been radiating an influence which led people somewhat away from the belief that social work was so much a matter of the personality of the worker and of her personal relationship to her client that nobody but the worker and perhaps an especially intelligent client could really understand what was going on. In his turn Dr. Klein had been influenced by the problems of the Social Workers' Exchange (now known as the Joint Vocational Service)—problems which had grown out of the unspecified character of social-work positions, both in public and in private agencies. Mrs. Edith Shatto King had for some years been asking that employers define the nature of their jobs and that social workers set up some kind of job specifications in order that placement might be more accurately executed.

Dr. Klein and similarly minded persons held the belief that it would certainly do no harm to try to see and to describe the tangible aspects of social-work positions and to indicate, if possible, what the nature of the intangible elements were. Thus we might gradually restrict the area in which social work still operated as a mystery, in the old sense of an art and mystery, and open up areas to more general understanding throughout the community.

Concurrent with this desire to examine objectively the operations of persons on social-work jobs came an appreciation of the

necessity to isolate for purposes of study: first, a group of similar jobs in social work, with the concept of a job as *a doing*, not a wishing, or the possession of an attitude or a belief; second, the organized body of professional social workers; and, third, social work as a totality which comprehends not only these workers in their respective positions, but the framework⁴ of agencies which create the positions and relate them to each other within a given organization. The totality of social work also includes that network of relationships not only within an agency, but also between agencies, local and national, and also between agencies and other parts of community-life relationships carried on usually by the aid of the members of the boards of directors of the organizations and the chief executives. The totality of social work also comprehends professional schools of social work, placement bureaus, some research services, organs of publication, and other allied parts of the whole social-work set-up of the country (if it can be said to have one), and it encompasses laws and endowed funds. It was recognized that a single social worker, operating on a particular job, is not a microcosm either of all of the professional body or social workers or of the totality of social work.

There was also another kind of analysis and clarification going on in the minds of those anxious that social workers should understand themselves, their jobs, and their milieu. I refer to Mr. Porter R. Lee's illuminating address at the San Francisco Conference, "Social Work, Cause and Function." In referring to causes as they are conceived by social workers, Mr. Lee says:

Whether we emphasize the elimination of evil or the establishment of a positive good as the objective of the cause, it seems to be true that once the elimination of the evil is accomplished, once the new positive good is established, interest in it is likely to slacken. The momentum of the cause will never carry over adequately to the subsequent task of making its fruits permanent. The slow, methodical, organized effort needed to make enduring the achievement of the cause calls for different motives, different skill, different machinery.

In distinguishing between cause and function, he pointed out:

. . . Their emphases are different and their demands in the long run require different combinations of human qualities. Zeal is perhaps the most conspicuous trait in adherence to the cause, while intelligence is perhaps most essential in those who administer a function. The emblazoned banner and the shibboleth for the cause, the program and the manual for the function; devoted sacrifice and the flaming spirit for the cause, fidelity, standards, and methods for the function; an embattled host for the cause, an efficient personnel for the function.

The causes here to be considered can be divided into two general types: first, those which relate to the condition of the poor and public welfare administration in the technical sense; and, second, those which relate to evils or to positive goods which are of a more general character: war and peace, good government, public health and education, control of economic institutions, equitable taxation, sex problems, etc.

Since the time when those quoted above and the other paragraphs of Mr. Lee's address were written—paragraphs which so well reflect the way in which thoughtful social workers were coming to think about their work—two sets of circumstances pertinent to our discussion here have come into being. First, the job-analysis committee has held to its course and has brought out two further volumes: *The Social Worker in Group Work* in 1929 and *The Social Worker in Child Care and Protection* in 1931. The job-analysis committee has sponsored the preparation of a manuscript on the analysis of positions in vocational guidance and placement by Mr. John Fitch and a third volume by Miss Williamson on the positions in protective and correctional agencies and institutions for children and adults. The committee has also mapped out a course which would cover the remainder of the positions in social work. These include positions in local federative agencies and local central financial organizations, in state and national federative agencies, in state and national conference positions, in field-work positions of state and national organizations engaged in promotion and standardization of specified forms of social work, public and private, and in a miscellaneous group of positions such as those for professional persons

in social service exchanges, in bureaus of public information and publicity, and in organizations for surveying, fact-finding, and research in connection with social work.

At present there is a cessation of activity in job analyses. This is largely due to the second set of circumstances which have come about since 1929. It is the enforced shift of emphasis in social work from a preoccupation with its development as a function of well-ordered community life, to quote Mr. Lee, to its business of caring for masses of people threatened with actual physical hardship and extreme forms of mental anguish resulting from the sickness of our economic institutions with the disease called "depression." More and more social work has had to provide ambulance service, and greater and greater amounts of social workers' time have had to be spent in procuring the gas to run the ambulance and in dashing off to the scene of the plague to rescue the more seriously endangered. We breathe a sigh of relief if we can keep the cars running and the stretchers in reasonably good working order.

Parenthetically, I would not have it thought that I deprecate what I have termed "ambulance service." As a matter of fact, that has been an achievement of no inconsequential character. It seems to be generally recognized that social workers have, until very recently, supplied most of the little social planfulness and of the aggressive attack that have gone into community efforts to keep the destitute unemployed from extreme suffering.

But it must be recognized that their recent experiences have forced many social workers into new attitudes toward the whole field of relief administration and the prevention of destitution and of idleness, a hardship in itself. Overwhelmed with the volume of relief need, social agencies, both public and private, have resorted to mass measures, and inevitably there has grown up a revulsion against such forms of aid and an insistence that this vast need for relief must be prevented. Social workers better than any other people know how inadequate is mass relief as a basis of health, decency, and self-respect, and how devastating are the effects of idleness.

In the face of social disturbances such as those of the last few years, the tendency toward introspection in the former concerns of the profession has somewhat receded and has been replaced by what is called "heart-searching," with much loud calling upon social workers to solve all economic and social problems, but there has been comparatively little effective mind-searching as to how social workers—or anyone else for that matter—are to solve them.

And that leads us back to our topic of job analysis. Can we not get at the nature of the problem a little better if we make a kind of two-way classification of the social-work scene? There are both *units* of activity and *types* of activity to be classified. This I have tried to do in Table I.

The areas in which the job analyses have been made to date are indicated. They relate to the functional duties attaching to a large majority, but not all of the positions in social work. They have had nothing to say regarding the promotion of causes by individual social workers or of the duties and responsibilities of the professional body or of the totality of social work. Personally I derive nothing but confusion of thought when, in speaking of duties, responsibilities, or opportunities in either the performance of functions or the promotion of causes, we begin to interchange the concepts of, first, a job in social work; second, the social-work establishment as a whole; and, third, the organized body of social workers in its extra job activities. One may say, of course, that a given social-work job is probably better filled when the social worker who fills it understands the reasons for the organization of the profession and participates in a professional organization, and when he has some conception of the background and development of the totality of social work as a constituent part of a community. But to assume and to speak of a social-work job as if it carried in itself all of the obligations which grow out of an organized professional body, or to assume that the organized professional body is the same as the totality of social work, seems a murky and careless way of thinking.

which leads us to chase around in our minds and land nowhere in particular.

TABLE I
THE SETTING OF JOB ANALYSIS IN SOCIAL WORK

UNITS OF ACTIVITY	TYPES OF ACTIVITY	
	Functional Duties	Promotion of Causes
1. Persons in given kinds of jobs in social work:		
Family, medical, and psychiatric social work.	XXXXXX†	
Group work.....	XXXXXX	
Child care and protection.....	XXXXXX	
Protective and correctional work.....	XXXXXX	
Vocational guidance and placement.....	XXXXXX	
Federating, co-ordinating, and standardizing.	XXXXXX	
2. The social-work establishment:		
Private agencies (staff, board, supporters).....		
Public agencies (staff, administrators, legislators, taxpayers).....		
Promotional and standardizing agencies.....		
Co-ordinating bodies.....		
Professional educational institutions.....		
Foundations, research agencies, and publishing organizations.....		
3. The organized body of professional social workers:		
National headquarters.....		
Chapters.....		

* Conceived as matters on which social workers can make a distinctive contribution by reason of their direct observation and their study of, and experience with, welfare measures.

† Conceived as matters on which social workers, both individually and collectively, are no better judges and advisers than other well-informed citizens.

‡ XXXXX indicates job analyses completed to date.

Next steps in job analysis and other studies of direct professional interest should, it seems to me, be taken in the light of this general situation. We are completely at liberty to shift our interest from one *unit* of activity to other units and we can

change from an interest in one *type* of activity to an interest in another type. My only plea is that we should know what we are doing when we are doing it, and make our plans accordingly. We need to adapt our work harness to the tasks which we are selecting.

It seems fairly clear that however we may feel about it, the individual social worker is employed primarily for the performance of some definite function. In a few instances this function is itself the promotion of a cause, as when some society exists for that purpose and employs a staff or a person to carry on its promotional work for it. It is also true that promotional activities of the first type are more often within the schedule of regular duties of the positions not yet analyzed than they are within those covered in the job analyses which have been completed. But, in the main, social-work positions do not call upon the incumbents to promote causes of either type, and almost never do they call upon the person employed to promote causes of the second type. Cause promotion, other than that implied in the giving of testimony on matters about which we have first-hand knowledge, the individual social worker carries on largely unrelated to the actual duties of his position, though usually very closely related to the feelings which his work engenders in him.

Social work as a totality is a large and diffuse concern with both functions and causes still pretty vague. We can often be clear enough on the nature of the functional activities of a given agency, but we are frequently at sea regarding the total functional situation in a given community. How many agencies—that is, groups of people publicly chartered and supported to carry on a given line of activity—envision the functions in which they participate in their total character? Not many, it would seem. But is it not clear that only when the people composing a given agency do understand what the community needs of the type of service offered—what a whole functional group, if there is more than one agency in the field, is doing—and see the relationship of the services rendered to the community need that it really comes to have its bearings on the functional side? This, I

take it, is the essence of the programs of co-ordination which are carried on in most of our larger communities and of the allied social-research and statistical work.

When we come to cause promotion by social agencies, not to mention social work as a whole, and when we think of the aggregate of persons who compose those agencies and of the agencies which make up the totality of social work, we begin to understand how futile it is to speak as if social work as a whole could now operate in an integrated and effective way in the promotion of causes of either of the types described here. Yet do not social workers, if they are to become promoters, have the burden upon them of getting social work into such shape that it can, if and when need be, not only perform its functions intelligently but also stand for important causes? Otherwise, when we speak as social workers we are in the weak position of using our status to give our semipersonal pronouncements special meaning before the public, without demonstrating that we are able to convince and to mobilize those most closely associated with us in our common set of social-work enterprises, to support the same causes. If we are to promote causes in the name of social work, we must get social-work forces into better shape to carry on such activity. It would seem, moreover, that the promotion of causes to which social work has some distinctive contribution to make had best be made by the totality of social work rather than by segments of it.

Finally, we come to the organized body of social workers and ask what its functions are and what its causes are. According to Article II, section 1, of the By-Laws of the American Association of Social Workers, the chartered purposes of the Association are:

To bring together professional social workers for such co-operative effort as may enable the group more effectively to fulfill its function in service to society. To this end the Association may formulate and seek to establish professional ideals and standards, encourage proper and adequate preparation and training, disseminate information concerning social work as a profession and conduct research, investigation and such other activities as it may deem appropriate to this purpose.

I hope that first sentence means something to others, because then they can help me to see what it is saying. Seriously speaking, I do believe that now we should and could be much clearer in saying what a professional association might properly be doing with regard both to the functional aspects of social work and to its cause-promotion aspects.

For the first ten years of the existence of our professional Association, our activities in both function and cause were related very closely to the improvement of personnel standards and conditions in social work. But of late, under the pressure of the times, both our national body and our chapters have redirected their activities and struck out on a somewhat new line of attack. We seem to be headed toward promotion of causes of many sorts, apparently in the belief that it is the duty of our professional Association, as distinguished from the social-work establishment as a whole and apart from the avowedly propaganda agencies such as the Labor Legislation Association, the National Child Labor Committee, the Consumers League, and others, to direct its attention in larger measure to causes of both types. Perhaps this is the best way of improving the personnel in social work. Perhaps we should be getting social workers as members of our Association to espouse common causes in the field of general social and economic organization. One can only say that if our Association is to become an active cause-promoting body, we should recognize that intention and set it up as a representative body for that purpose. Otherwise we are in another highly anomalous position, for as Mr. Lee so clearly set forth:

A cause is usually the concern only of those individuals who accept its appeal and who are willing to devote themselves to its furtherance. Its adherents may believe their cause to be so essentially right that all mankind should rally to it. There is, however, no obligation upon any individual to do so unless he wishes to. A function, on the other hand, implies an organized effort incorporated into the machinery of community life in the discharge of which the acquiescence at least, and ultimately the support of the entire community is assumed.

This would seem to be particularly true of the second category of causes.

With these general classifications in mind of *units* of activity and of *types* of activity and something of the problems attaching to an understanding of the types and the units, we can come to a final clinch with job analyses as they are technically understood, that is, with the description of the actual functional activities of people in definite groups of positions.

Next steps would seem to consist of a decision as to whether we shall abandon the whole project as originally conceived or finish the job as originally conceived. As has been said, the jobs yet to be described are those whose incumbents have come closest in recent years to the acutely needed community planning. So far we have not included positions in which the *haute politique* of social work is the major concern, and without that element our series is highly deficient. Abnormal as the present times are, they perhaps have brought into play the most characteristic functioning of persons in this group of positions and so make this a good time to study them. If we proceed immediately to complete the job analyses, we should soon be enabled to see how the whole layout of social-work jobs looks in an orderly array.

A third alternative is to try to stretch the concept of job analysis to cover cause-promoting activities as well as functional activities. This is, I think, what many social workers would like to have done. We hanker to see the whole of a somewhat idealized social worker utilizing all types of opportunities, within and without the job, to get in his work as a humanizer and socializer. Perhaps something of that sort could be done, but I doubt its significance and worth from the professional point of view, and such a description, even if not idealized, would not be job analysis. It would be more like studies of personalities as they function totally in society.

The further possibility exists of trying to specify what *ought* to be done: that is, what kind of activities ought to be carried on by workers employed by the several types of social agencies in their regular jobs, what kind of activities ought to be carried on by our organized professional body, and finally what the

whole works in the field of social service ought to be doing. But when we embark on such an endeavor—and we should not hesitate to do it if it is needed—we shall not be carrying on job analysis but shall be doing something quite different. We shall be telling ourselves what use we *might* be making of all of the opportunities which our resources and our place in the social scheme peculiarly give into our hands.

Reliable job analysis entails patient and careful analytical processes on the subject of hard and prosaic realities. Comprehensive program-making for all types of social-work units in their several types of activity requires an imaginative kind of social engineering, the like of which has not yet been practiced in this or any other country. But that is not saying that it never will be practiced or that we cannot each do his bit to help bring it into being. Willingness to put our respective houses in order in relation to some more general concepts of the social-work scheme and to wrestle with a mass of complex facts is the first step. Of one matter we can be assured: Emotion will play its part, but it will never be a substitute for intellect and a vast amount of exceedingly hard mental work.

THE PROBLEM FOR SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

A. Wayne McMillen, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

I HAVE never heard anyone ask: "What special training must we give to teachers who expect to teach in public schools?" Nor have I ever heard anyone suggest that colleges and universities must offer a special curriculum for those who hope to teach in private schools. It has been generally assumed among educators that a teacher is a teacher and that he needs, first, a reasonably thorough knowledge of the subject matter he engages to impart; and, second, practice teaching under supervision, with some opportunity to discuss educational methods with older and more experienced instructors. It has been further assumed that if the budding teacher chanced to affiliate with a private school dedicated to the progressive-education movement or to some other experimental method, the school itself would wish to mold the new teacher to its procedures and would expect to provide such supervision as might be necessary to accomplish this result.

A similar parallel might be drawn in the field of medicine. One doctor engages in private practice while another devotes his life to public welfare, serving in hospitals or clinics that are financed and controlled by governmental agencies. But both leave medical school with the same professional equipment. Any differentiation in skill or knowledge that ensues is a result of experience and of interchange of ideas among those engaged in similar undertakings when they foregather for annual meetings and conferences.

Broadly speaking, the situation in social work is identical. A social worker needs to be educated for his work. He may become an employee of a private agency or he may enter the public

service. If he is reasonably flexible, he should encounter little difficulty in adapting himself to the traditions of the private agency that engages him or to the procedures under which the local governmental unit operates.

The subject assigned — "Preparation of Personnel for Public Welfare"—is phrased in such a way as to suggest that those who wish to engage in public social work must pass through a baptism of fire very different from the laying-on of hands which constitutes the novitiate for service in private charities. I am not willing to accept that implication. I defend the thesis that there is a body of knowledge, a group of methods, and a philosophy which should be imparted to the prospective social worker and that the probability of being on a public pay-roll rather than on a community-chest budget does not indicate a need for a bifurcation in this curriculum.

These assertions, however, do not imply that the problem of education for public welfare is solved. Any experienced public welfare official knows that the schools fall short of meeting his personnel needs. One of the chief reasons is that many of the schools have been training students, not for the broad general field of social work, but for the specific field of private charity. An examination of the catalogues of the schools might seem to refute this assertion.

But the real test is not in the catalogue announcements. It is in the contacts which the teachers and executives of the school cultivate. Here the evidence is clear. The contacts of the schools with the field of practice have been restricted in extraordinary degree to the private societies. Practitioners in the public field have been either ignored or treated with condescension. Schools have assigned their students for field work almost exclusively to the private agencies. Here the students have often imbibed something of the contempt in which many private agencies have held all public social work.

The failure of the schools to form relationships with public social agencies and their executives is not wholly the fault of the schools. The low standards in many public agencies and the

ignorance and incompetence of their executives have encouraged some schools to believe nothing could be gained from wasting time with them. A vicious circle resulted. So long as the public agencies remained wholly unprofessional, the schools held aloof from them—and so long as the schools held aloof, the public agencies remained untouched by the leavening influence which the schools should be able to impart.

Nevertheless, the burden of responsibility rests upon the schools; for they are all spending public or quasi-public money on the theory that they are equipping students to perform skilled functions which an evolving society has found essential to its growth and well-being. By and large, the schools thus far have not measured up to this challenge. Until recently many of the schools have been distressingly ignorant about the field of public welfare. They have envisaged it as a political pasture—a happy hunting ground for bestowers of patronage. They have looked upon poor-law officials as a group of social illiterates so benighted that they would be incapable of comprehending the case-work method. This attitude has been reflected in their curriculums, which have tended to concentrate on techniques at the expense of knowledge. If their students were to be assured of respectable jobs in orthodox private charities, the schools had to immerse them in case-work methods as viewed from every point of the compass. Little time was left to learn the entire field of public welfare—local, state, and federal. Curriculums with such disproportionate emphases may have produced trained social workers, but they did not produce educated social workers. If this situation had continued, it might ultimately have been desirable to make a distinction in terminology, using the title "trained social worker" for those drilled in case work and reserving the title "educated social worker" for those who, in addition to case-work training with an ample amount of supervised field work, had also received a comprehensive knowledge of the field of public welfare and a basic familiarity with research methods.

In their failure to recognize earlier and in a more vital sense

the essential relationship between social work and government, some of the schools have lagged far behind certain departments of social science that traditionally have been more interested in theory than in practice. Departments of political science, for example, have for a considerable period been attempting to train students to become city managers and chiefs of police. In seeking this objective, these departments have at all times sought to maintain very close relationships with municipal government. Some of the schools of social work should have seized earlier upon this precedent.

But, happily, in the field of social work a better day, I believe, is dawning. The heavy responsibilities imposed upon social work by the economic crisis have brought readjustments in attitude throughout the field. The schools have shared in these changes. Probably a majority of them are now aware of their obligation to provide competent functionaries to administer the expanding programs of the public social services. No development was more sorely needed. Whenever the emphasis was almost wholly upon techniques, the schools were in the position a medical college might be if it dropped the courses in anatomy and physiology in favor of added work in surgery.

It is significant that the new outlook is thus far reflected primarily in attitudes rather than in actual changes in curriculum. This is as it should be. In a dynamic field such as ours, improvements in curriculum will be needed always in order that professional equipment may keep pace with social change. This was true long before the new attitude toward public agencies became general, and it will be true long after the public social services have become firmly established.

The importance of attitude cannot be overemphasized. So long as many of the schools ignored the public agencies or entertained a feeling of either hopelessness or contempt with respect to them, little progress could be made. Now that most schools have become aware of the significance of the public agencies, a new vista of profitable interrelationships has appeared. The future holds promise of intimate acquaintanceships between the

schools and the public welfare officials. The near future will witness an increased number of schools making use of the public agencies for their supervised field-work training. The curriculums of many schools will change. These changes will chiefly consist not in the addition of new courses but rather in the revamping of old ones. Courses in community organization, for example, are at present very different in content in the various schools. Some teachers of community organization have hitherto spent most of their time discussing the interrelationships of the private agencies. This approach will change. Function will be recognized as more important than interrelationship. Courses in community organization will become increasingly interested in such questions as these: "What functions, in an orderly evolution of society, will social workers be called upon to perform?" "To what extent should such functions be subdivided in the interests of efficiency?" "Who should be responsible for the financing and the administration of these functions?" "What plan for administering the essential social services can be effected which will provide channels for spontaneous expressions of benevolence without destroying rational principles of community organization?"

Perhaps the most important result of the new attitude in the schools will be upon the students. Not in a few special courses but in every course students will hear about the public social services—past, present, and future. They will catch from their teachers an appreciation of the importance these services are destined to assume. And when they leave school to enter the field of practice, their minds will be receptive to opportunities in the public service. Unlike the earlier generation of social workers, they will not feel that the private agency provides the only channel through which youth, enthusiasm, and ambition can hope to get a hearing.

For some time certain groups have recognized the inadequacy of the facilities this country has afforded for education in the field of social welfare. The deficiency has been not in the number of schools but in the poor quality of their educational

offering. Recognition of this vital defect led ultimately to the organization of an Association of Schools of Professional Social Work. This Association has faced an uphill job. Every university which, in addition to courses in theoretical sociology, afforded opportunity for a semester's course in case work immediately believed it was entitled to admission to the Association. Much blood has been sweat—and not always successfully—in an effort to restrict membership in the Association to those schools that were willing to develop a curriculum sufficiently broad and sufficiently practical to bear the distinctive qualities of professional education. Recently a great effort has been made to establish minimum standards to which member schools must conform. Progress has been slow. Each member school quite naturally has a bias in favor of the particular courses upon which it has been concentrating. The Curriculum Committee of the Association has submitted a carefully worked-out report, and some of its recommendations have been adopted. Many divergent points of view remain yet to be reconciled. There is ground for hope, however, that a working agreement will be reached which will insure the offering of certain basic professional courses in all member schools, and the inclusion within these courses of a certain minimum prescribed content. If and when that agreement is reached, an important step forward in the field of professional education for social work will have been recorded. Until that time, public welfare executives will be uncertain as to the equipment which graduates of the schools are bringing to their tasks.

The social agencies themselves, both public and private, have frequently been unreasonable in their demands upon the schools. They have often insisted upon intensive specialization. Some have called for courses that would quite specifically fit students to become community-chest executives, child welfare workers, or psychiatric social workers. They have implied that courses not leading directly to the field of their special interest were not worth the student's time. Fortunately, most of the

schools have not yielded to this pressure. They have read the record of the older professions. They know that law schools do not set students apart in distinct water-tight compartments, training some to be corporation lawyers, others to be criminal lawyers, income-tax experts, or judges. All students of law are introduced to a body of professional knowledge and are encouraged to acquire a professional attitude and professional discipline. These assets fit them for their profession and provide the basis for such specialization as may be subsequently required.

Some of the agencies seem to think that men and women never learn anything after they leave school. A corollary of this view is that unless you get the last-minute detail of your specialty in the school, you will never get it thereafter. Actually the learning process continues throughout life—especially among practitioners of the professions. The basic professional learning acquired in school is simply interpreted, reinterpreted, and augmented by all subsequent experience.

But in only one case out of a hundred will the basic professional equipment ever be acquired unless it is acquired in a strong, well-staffed school. I refer here not only to the fundamental problems of social legislation, social reform, and social administration, but also to that intangible but potent motivating factor which we call "professional attitude" and to the methods of research and treatment which subserve all subsequent activity. The novice from the schools, working today perhaps in the family field or the juvenile court under careful supervision, may in the future be called upon to recommend revisions of the poor-law or the adoption acts, to organize a system of prison labor, or to administer a far-flung plan of social insurance. He must be equal to these tasks. Only by ignoring the pleas for intensive specialization before basic knowledge has been acquired and by insisting that professional education cannot be restricted to a drilling in a few methods or techniques can the schools keep faith with the responsibility which is theirs.

Training for public welfare and training for social work present one and the same problem. This problem will best be solved, not by increasing the number of professional schools, but by improving their quality. Public welfare officials will serve the interests of their own field best, not by asking the schools to provide many kinds of rather narrow specialties, but by urging them to maintain scholarly faculties capable of imparting broad professional training and of inspiring students to pursue independent and purposeful study.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES FOR SOCIAL WORK

A SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE COMMITTEE ON
FEDERAL ACTION ON UNEMPLOYMENT OF THE AMERI-
CAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

*Edited by Helen Crosby from an Original Report printed in the
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NEED FOR A PROGRAM FOR SOCIAL WORK

OUR functions as social workers in dealing with individual and community problems make us aware of lacks in social and economic organization and involve us as a professional class in a group responsibility for formulating constructive solutions of these problems. Otherwise, though many individual situations in a limited area are being remedied, our very efforts at relief may be serving to postpone more comprehensive social and economic provisions. The depression, with its vast social maladjustments, has made social workers particularly conscious of the basic relations to social well-being of what are clearly inadequate or undesirable social and economic arrangements.

Many of the proposals offered as solutions for social and economic ills which need to be considered on their merits have become controversial issues between political parties and economic classes. Consequently, there has been a tendency on the part of many social workers to avoid expression and activity concerning major economic issues. Through a lack of positive expression the social worker thereby aligns himself with reactionary elements and with laissez faire methods of social organization.

Social workers have an obligation to participate in active consideration of proposed social measures which we cannot ignore.

It is incumbent upon us to bring whatever testimony we have to bear upon the consideration of social problems and to set forth our knowledge and judgments concerning the values and practicability of general economic proposals. It is our minimum responsibility to use whatever foresight we possess concerning the administrative aspects and the social effects of proposed legislative measures. It seems desirable to go farther by taking the initiative in stimulating and sponsoring important legislative advances and extending our interest to a national program.

General principles.—The following may be suggested as general considerations which might guide social workers in the approach to new measures:

First, the obligation of the social order to provide a minimum standard of living for all.

Second, a comprehensive plan of social and economic organization. We do not believe that a desirable social order adjusted to the radical changes in industrial organization can be achieved through the operation of the blind forces of individual competition or left to the operation of individual incentive for gain.

Third, if this desirable social order is to be achieved through orderly and rational processes, there must be more than a number of scattered legislative victories. Social workers should interest themselves in measures for social reform and economic protection, for their present value, and because they appear to be consistent with the objectives of a planned society. Unless the rational tendencies in social life are given an opportunity for expression, there is a probability that force and violence may be resorted to both by the reactionary elements opposed to change and by those attempting to break through the rigidity of a static control of our economic and political life.

SPECIFIC MEASURES

I. ACHIEVEMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF LABOR STANDARDS

General objectives.—Labor standards in the past have been determined largely through individual bargaining in the open labor market although collective bargaining and trade agree-

ments with employers by organized labor have been a factor for some classes of skilled labor. State labor laws and regulations have in the main been concerned with hazardous occupations and shop sanitation, with contractual obligations of employer and employee, with compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases, and with some regulation of hours and ages of child laborers and of hours of women workers. Except for some minimum wage legislation for women, there has been no organized attempt by government to influence or control wage income. During the depression we have witnessed the falling-off of consumers' purchasing power, owing to lowering of wages and loss of incomes resulting from the unemployment of our productive industrial capacity. It is obvious that a desirable maximum purchasing power properly distributed among consumers involves the full utilization of the productive resources of the nation, limited only by such restrictions as may be necessary for the efficient conservation of natural resources. There are a number of special measures which have reached the status of discussion by Congress for which support and promotion by social workers would be logical.

Labor boards to regulate.—The disastrous reduction of wages and, in many cases, the lengthening of hours to standards thought barbarous many years ago cannot be brought under control, in most industries, by single employers acting alone. Certainly individual wage-earners have no control over such matters. The pressure from the vast reservoir of unemployed upon available jobs destroys bargaining power of labor and renders workers helpless before exploitation. If wage income is not to drop to unprecedented low levels, it is necessary in this emergency to establish control over wages, hours, and labor conditions on a nation-wide scale.

Legislation has been recommended which shall require the Secretary of Labor to establish a labor board in any industry. Such a board should have power to fix or alter wages, hours, and other employment conditions for the industry in its jurisdiction, such decisions having the force of law. Hours shall be set at

thirty, or some other appropriate maximum, per week. The board should also have authority to establish or administer any other measure desired in the interest of stability of employment or of the income of wage-earners.

Measures for regulating hours of labor are undesirable if they result merely in a sharing of work and wages between the employed and the unemployed. In order to safeguard against a reduction in total wages earned through regulation, it is essential that provisions for establishing minimum wages be incorporated in the measure regulating hours. Minimum wage laws should be based upon figures found in the standard industries voluntarily paying the best wages; be administered by joint boards representing equally the employers, employees, and the public; should make provision for beginners, the handicapped, etc.; should be subject to review at reasonable intervals; and should be *mandatory*, with penalties for violation. While the goal should be to make such legislation inclusive, it may be easier to secure minimum wage standards first for women and children.

Regulation of child labor.—The most effective way of protecting children from the hazards of employment is through passage of a federal statute prohibiting child labor under sixteen years of age. With the broadening interpretation of federal powers upon the part of the Supreme Court, a law might be attempted which meets constitutional requirements. If this is not feasible, the federal government should take the lead in urging the ratification of the pending amendment to the Constitution which would confer upon Congress the power to legislate upon child-labor standards.

Continued federal support and maintenance of the Children's Bureau are essential in order that there be maintained an effectively functioning federal bureau to concern itself with the problems of child labor and other matters of child welfare.

Involved in the problem of child labor is the matter of educational preparation of children during the compulsory school

period set by the child-labor laws. It is important during this period of the depression that the educative agencies in the federal government, serving youth in the fields of vocational education and agricultural extension and through the essential functions of the Bureau of Education, be maintained.

II. RELIEF MEASURES

Social workers recognize that measures of relief for the unemployed as at present organized do not attack the crucial problem of unemployment or the effects of unemployment on the individual and his family. Nevertheless, an adequate and satisfactory organization of relief measures is the first essential in the program of dealing with large-scale unemployment.

The need for more adequate organization.—The co-operation and assistance of the federal government are necessary to promote effective state and local organization for the relief of need. Such co-operation can be most helpful in advising and assisting states concerning the organization of relief agencies, methods of distribution of relief, and the maintenance of desirable policies and adequate standards of relief-giving.

Work relief.—There are values in programs of work relief which are preferable to large-scale direct-relief measures for idle persons. Properly organized so that work-relief programs do not interfere with normal public works or regular governmental services, and maintained with competent administration for the selection of unemployed, planning of occupations suitable to their vocational skill, and the maintenance of wage rates and labor policies which will not interfere with the normal labor market, work relief is a desirable part of an unemployment-relief program.

Relief for the homeless.—Special programs are required for relief of unemployed individuals who are not members of family groups. The depression has increased the numbers of transient and homeless for whom an adequate program of relief and service is generally lacking. This is a field of relief which primarily requires federal leadership and financing.

Adequacy of relief.—It is unfortunate that adequate minimum standards of relief have not been maintained during the depression. More vigorous effort to promote such standards needs to be undertaken locally. Not only does inadequate relief to the unemployed jeopardize further the depleted standards of living of the large section of the population subsisting on relief, but it affects unfavorably the wage standards of the community and is a factor in further wage reduction and exploitation of labor.

Co-operative production exchange.—Local efforts of unemployed groups to barter their labor or to produce consumption goods for each other's needs deserve the sympathetic support of social work, not because they are likely to remove large numbers of the population above the need for relief, but because they constitute a more effective program than social work itself has ever developed for conserving the self-respect and general morale of people out of work.

Since the major value in the movement lies in the springing-up of initiative from within the group, it is doubtful whether social agencies should control the policies over long periods, though they may well have a hand in starting the organization. They can best help by sympathetic counsel, helping constructive leadership to get firmly in the saddle, securing premises and other necessities which do not readily enter into the barter process, furnishing raw materials free or on a loan basis, interpreting the movement to a community which may be hostile to organizations of the unemployed.

Social work should also study and keep discussion alive upon the plans which have been advanced by Dr. Frank Graham (*The Abolition of Unemployment*, Princeton University Press), and others for a national production-for-use program by the unemployed, with federal subsidies. This scheme would be outside of, but not in opposition to, industry as operated for profit, and would be vastly superior to either our work-for-relief programs or those which subject the unemployed to relief in idleness.

III. PUBLIC WORKS

The federal government can engage in large-scale constructive projects in which a large number of the unemployed may be absorbed.

In addition to furnishing jobs to those who will be directly employed, public works in sufficient volume would prime the pump of private industry. Federal credit boldly used for public works would increase the volume of employment and of demands for products at least for a short period. During that period private employers would have an incentive and an opportunity to resume their usual functions.

Whether public works should be wholly federal or part local and state and part federal is not of primary importance. The funds and the initiative will have to come from the federal government, because local governments in general have exhausted their borrowing power during good times.

It is essential that projects for governmental expenditures should be planned carefully on the basis of their utility, practicability, and their relation to the vocational needs of those actually unemployed. There are important needs waiting to be met in programs—conservation of land, forests, and other resources; development of water power and in flood control; building of schools and other institutions required in the public interest; development of slum clearance; and large-scale projects for improved housing of the population.

An important problem is the basis upon which a public-works program shall be financed. The floating of government-bond issues assumes the availability of idle private capital which is ready to be intrusted in investments of the relatively assured security of government obligations. The question has been raised, however, whether a large issue of government bonds necessary for an effective program, which has been estimated as totaling between four and six billion dollars, would not only draw upon idle capital but also operate less desirably to divert liquid capital from private industry to government investments.

This is one of the reasons why the financing of public works should be discussed in conjunction with an enlargement of the federal currency and credit. Although the question has not as yet been fully answered, it is apparent that the values of a large program of public works are sufficient to overcome the risks which may be involved.

IV. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

We believe that the establishment of insurance funds would free a large proportion of the unemployed from the necessity of subsisting on charity and would provide for their maintenance on a basis more orderly and far more adequate than that of the relief measures which are today available.

We further believe that its adoption would actually reduce the amount of unemployment both by transferring the purchasing power during the depression to those who are certain to use it and also by giving to the employer a direct financial incentive for the more regular operation of industry.

Legislation for these purposes should conform to the following standards:

Benefits should be given as a matter of right resting upon previous service to industry and readiness to continue in such service. The amount of payment should be a percentage of previous earnings, with a specified maximum, but no individual should receive benefits until after a specified waiting period or for more than a specified number of weeks during the year. Care must be taken neither to infringe on the worker's rights as unionist or non-unionist nor to interfere unduly with the mobility of labor.

Contributions should be drawn either wholly or largely from the employer in order to place the cost of necessary unemployment upon industry itself and to make possible the greatest incentive toward regularization. Workers should be permitted to make contributions to increase the scale of benefits, and it may be found necessary to make such contributions compulsory and even to add subventions from the state.

Incentives for more regular operation should be provided whether the fund is administered in separate establishment reserves or as a single pool. This is easily done in the first case, since each employer's contributions go only to his own former employees, but power should then be given to compel pooling in certain industries where separate funds would be unworkable. If, on the other hand, a central pool is established, which has certain advantages in spreading the risk, the rates of premium should be adjusted to varying degrees of irregularity by a system of experience rating.

Under present constitutional limitations, the main field for action must be the several states. The federal government, however, should set the example by enacting legislation for employees in interstate commerce and should encourage the progressive states through grants-in-aid or through credits and exemptions in the corporation income tax. Moreover, if the states fail to pass adequate legislation, the Constitution should be amended to permit the establishment of a nation-wide system of unemployment reserves.

V. EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES

A national system of employment exchanges is a requisite for a national program dealing with the usual as well as with the extraordinary problems of business depressions.

The federal government should not duplicate the work of the states in the field of direct placement but should develop an organization that will co-ordinate and provide leadership for the state employment services, that will organize interstate transfer of workers, serve as a clearing house for accurate and timely statistical information, and promote standards of efficient administration both in and among the states, organized in regional areas. To these ends the federal organization should grant subsidies to the state services on condition of their functioning as units in the federal-state system and of their observance of the prescribed federal standards.

VI. ACHIEVEMENT OF ECONOMIC SECURITY BY SOCIAL INSURANCE

Proper provision for relief of *mass* economic distress must be based upon the following principles:

First, public appropriation of funds as a fundamental source rather than private philanthropic generosity, which may be retained only as a subsidiary source.

Second, recognition of the principle of a social obligation to relieve distress, divorcing as completely as possible the granting of aid from the exercise of individual benevolence with the inherent dangers to a democracy which are implied in the relationship between benefactors and beneficiaries.

Third, necessity of a distribution of cost in time through accumulation of reserve funds, equalizing the burden between prosperous and hard times, so that lack of funds shall not cause a lowering of standards of relief below minimum standards of decent living.

Fourth, as far as possible, a system which creates a psychological attitude toward relief as self-aid and mutual aid rather than charity.

The principles here announced can best be realized through some system of social insurance, as has been effectively demonstrated by the experience of all of Europe and many industrial countries on all the other continents.

The program for the immediate future should include a system of contributory insurance for old age and a plan for health insurance which should make available funds for medical expenses during illness of individual members of the family and provide in addition compensation for living expenses when protracted periods of illness interrupt the regular income of wage-earning persons.

At present the first step toward legislation of this kind must, or at least will, come from state legislative powers, but if a comprehensive national system is to be achieved within a reasonable time, participation of the federal government is essential.

VII. TAXATION

The social provisions which are set forth above require for their enactment and effective expression an acceptance of new social principles upon the part of government, industry, and the public. In addition, some of these measures involve questions of finance by either industry or government or both.

Most of the established forms of taxation in the past have been premised upon the basis of ownership of land, residences, and other forms of wealth. More modern forms of taxation, however, have been based not upon the ownership of property but upon the ability of the individual to pay taxes and upon resources which are actually a part of the production of wealth.

A larger part of our local taxes and a considerable part of state taxation are based upon the principle of the individual citizen as consumer of governmental services and taxes are collected from property owners for this reason. Since the assessed value of a house or farm or productive enterprise is not an index to the actual earnings of the owner, it is logical that the more modern forms of taxation should be directed against productive incomes, productive capacities, and the ownership of those forms of wealth which are held as capital assets.

Income and inheritance taxes.—Students of public finance generally have accepted the theory of the ability to pay as the proper and desirable basis of taxation. In our present economy, incomes and inheritances form the best index of such ability. It is all too true, of course, that our recent shrinkages in income have greatly reduced this ability to pay. The advantage of the income tax, however, is that if an individual's income drops to such an extent that he slides into a lower bracket, his tax drops in greater proportion.

It is claimed in some quarters that heavy income taxes deprive the investment field of necessary funds. But business has not been stagnant these last few years for lack of capital. There has been a plethora of it, seeking foreign investment, being hoarded and lying idle. It was buying and not investing that

business needed. An income tax may remove some capital from investment but it does not have an adverse effect upon consumption. On the other hand, a sales tax decreases consumption and thereby sterilizes the very investment capital that is so zealously safeguarded. The inheritance tax shares with the income tax the two very desirable features of being based upon ability to pay and of not having a disrupting effect upon the business structure.

Land values.—Increase of land values affords a striking illustration of socially created wealth being permitted to go entirely to the enrichment of private individuals. Under existing systems of real estate and property taxation, every city or county government collects from the owners of land in the community much less than the benefits which public expenditures and the growth of population confer upon such landowners. At the same time we handicap home-building and local industry and trade by imposing needless taxes on improvements, machinery, and personal property. The gradual reduction and ultimate removal of all personal-property and improvement taxes, with a corresponding increase in the taxes on land values, would tend to encourage construction and to curb speculation.

Taxation to prevent superfluous savings.—To achieve its highest destiny, the public taxing power must be used not merely to meet the growing public needs of an advancing civilization, but to prevent to a large extent the unwise private expenditure of superfluous savings and monopolistic accumulations. A scientific system of taxation might protect society from the evil effects of the tendency to put too much of the surplus wealth back into investment in competitive and unneeded facilities for production and trade rather than into wisely and widely distributed purchasing power for increased comfort, culture, and enjoyment.

Taxes on consumption.—Sales taxes and taxes on consumption are socially undesirable because of two major defects. First, because the general sales tax disregards taxpaying ability and bears most heavily upon the poorest classes. It is passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices so that it becomes in

reality a tax upon consumption. Second, the general sales tax tends to postpone business recovery by reducing purchasing power. The bulk of the population spend substantially the whole of their income. If a considerable part of their income is taken in taxation, it reduces their purchasing power to a similar extent.

Conclusion.—Governmental expenditures for these reasons should preferably be based upon income and inheritance taxes, taxes on unearned increment of property, and, if necessary, during times of emergency upon taxation of private capital wealth to be devoted to public activities which serve the needs of the population. Such resources may be obtained by government through the method of current taxation, and by the flotation of government securities, which is a method of postponing or spreading out tax collections over a period of years.

THE CASE WORKER LOOKS AT LEGISLATIVE PLANNING

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THE question of whether or not the social worker has a responsibility for legislative planning is challenging, but how he shall meet that responsibility once he has accepted it is an even more challenging problem. But does not legislative planning and promotion require, after all, only an extension of case-work philosophy and method to apply to the larger unit of the community, the state, or the nation, instead of to the small unit of the individual or the family? Enlarged scope brings, of course, increased complexity and confusion, but it may very well bring also increased fascination and interest.

As the first premise of all sound case-work procedure, we concede, therefore, that in legislative planning also there is need for careful inquiry and investigation before any diagnosis or treatment is attempted. But the social worker who has developed real skill in the approach to the many and multiple phases of family life is still pathetically unaware of all the intricately interwoven complexities of community life or of how to reach them. He who would never dream of asking that a family provide insulin for a diabetic child without testing carefully other family needs in relation to family income will often discredit himself with his community by blind insistence upon funds for this or that social need while utterly ignorant of the limits of community resources or of other community problems. A "new deal" mayor of Omaha, bombarded with requests for clarification of the city's welfare program, pointed out most aptly that the integrity of his administration rested upon his ability to re-organize the police and fire departments. One good fire beyond control, one spectacular murder unsolved, and what he would

have to give to social work or any other activity would be negligible. Certainly we must face the problem in all of its aspects. We would be most critical of the case worker who demanded of the client something he could not do for reasons unknown to her. Yet what do we really know of the racial strains, the industrial needs, the political temper, the financial resources, and the religious ideals and prejudices of the social unit for which we try to plan?

Conceding the need of research, let the social worker recognize that that research should involve a testing of something besides the adequacy or inadequacy of the provisions in the statute-books. I am always a little amused when an outstate authority writes that he has carefully analyzed the Nebraska statutes and believes the first law to be passed in Nebraska is something in line with his particular interest or the purposes of his particular organization or foundation. Yet we all know that a state department may be doing such a good job under an absolutely obsolete statute that you had better leave it alone and concentrate on how to reorganize the bad political mess functioning under model law No. 934. It is a complex problem, of course, and yet the social worker's position here is no different from her position in relation to her family. A hundred needs thrust themselves upon her notice, a dozen people submit this or that advice. When she talks with the mother's aunt, she antagonizes the father's nephew. When she co-operates with the doctor, she alienates the attorney. Yet she keeps steady. She sees that undernourished Helen is not half so serious a problem as nervous, arrogant John. She sees that loss of morale here may be more significant than an economic gain there. She weighs and tests and plans. She compromises and arbitrates, and all the time she pushes ahead. The social worker must learn to be just as analytical, just as objective, just as selective, and just as farsighted when she plans for her community.

Certainly she must insist also that first things come first. For years Nebraska organizations concentrated all their social service zeal in a futile effort to obtain the ratification of the National

Child Labor Amendment—in a state fearful of eastern dominance, fanatical regarding of states' rights, and aware that it had no serious child-labor problem. All this effort was expended for the benefit of the child in the Virginia coal field and the Massachusetts spinning mill. It was a worthy project, but hardly more important than all of Nebraska's child-welfare needs combined. The tendency toward state commissions and ten-year plans should do something to give us perspective and insight, but I sometimes wonder when I read their reports just what they have been studying besides the statute-books.

Our second big job, as in all sound case work, is to obtain the understanding and co-operation of those with whom and for whom we plan. That the women's clubs, the League of Women Voters, the American Legion, and the Parent-Teacher Association must be brought to understand and support the program is a method so well known and utilized as to need little discussion. In Nebraska, and certainly in many other states, professional social workers have gained sufficient status so that their leadership on social legislation is fairly well accepted and organization support is almost a foregone conclusion. Whether that support is won on the basis of an intellectual appreciation of the problems involved or a purely emotional desire to do something for society is a matter for most careful testing by both social workers and club leaders. There are organizations in Nebraska that will indorse anything proposed in the name of social work by anyone who calls himself a social worker, a welfare worker, or "what have you." There is a large group, who, having come to trust the skill and ability of certain professional workers, follow blindly that professional leadership. There is an ever increasing group which must be intellectually convinced. It is a source of great pride to us in Nebraska that certain organizations are not only inevitably for us, but must miraculously know what it is all about. To catch the community attention on an emotional appeal and to hold that interest on the basis of intellectual conviction is one of the skills which the social worker has yet to perfect.

In community promotion and education, as in everything else, it seems stupid and futile not to recognize that three or four people do most of the thinking in most groups. I would rather have those three know the project intimately than to have the entire organization lukewarm. We spread ourselves very thin and we place much too little emphasis upon strategic points.

Certainly, also, we must test carefully just how rapidly any community can be brought along on social service planning. Every case worker knows that if in her preliminary approaches she outlines for the family all that she has in store for it, the long, long stairway of regained health, readjusted habit, improved morale, and financial independence that he should climb, that he would collapse on the first step and refuse to budge farther. So she takes him slowly up the first flight, rests with him a while, shows him the outlook from this new vantage point, and urges him step by step upward. From this standpoint I doubt the sound psychology of ambitious commissions, which after much study dump into the unsuspecting lap of the women's clubs and the Parent-Teacher Association 197 proposed laws for the improvement of civic life. Infinitely less do I concede the wisdom of such a dump into the lap of state legislatures. Minnesota swallowed in one grand gulp three-fourths of the recommendations of the Minnesota code commissions of 1918 and passed them as laws in one session. With all the prejudice of a native daughter, I consider Minnesota one of the few states in which that could be done, even should one be so fortunate as to assemble again such a galaxy of talent as originated that program, and such a tide of civic consciousness as swept through America with the war. And even in Minnesota I suspect that such a huge mouthful precipitated not a few digestive pains.

In Nebraska, the legislature of 1918 spat out almost the entire code report, consisting of 107 laws, and developed such a sensitive stomach that social legislation has had to be chocolate-coated ever since. The mere rumor that a bill now proposed was included in the original report is almost enough to kill it. But,

you protest, the program could not have been backed by broad community education and promotion. How can any community be prepared to support intelligently 107 laws at any one session? It is true that a strong emotional tide can be set running and that there is no doubt but that politicians often flee before it, but emotional tides not infrequently recede and leave very barren ground.

Let us concede, first, that any sound legislative program should embody research, analysis, and careful drafting; and, second, that it should have a broad background of community education and support. Our tendency is to believe that we are then "all set." As a matter of fact, the program is like a beautifully built and perfectly equipped canoe just ready to shoot the rapids. I do not think that we can emphasize too often or too emphatically the necessity of the first two steps. I think we are worse than naïve if we ignore the third—the political game ahead. Legislation is not necessarily passed on its merits. It is often largely a question of skilful manipulation.

I am convinced that the professional group which accepted initial leadership must follow through and steer and direct. Rare, indeed, I concede you is the social worker who combines the analytical mind and the persistent energy necessary for the drafting of an adequate program; with the imagination, the personality, and the perception so necessary for legislative promotion. But bringing others to accept this plan once it is drafted is the real test of his skills.

No case worker would think of promoting a plan within a family group without knowing every ramification of relationship within that group. When approaching a legislative body he must know what factions control it: who are its friends, who are its enemies, what are the important committees, and who controls them. Certainly he must have on his finger tips the ins and outs, the jargon and the abracadabra, of legislative procedure. And apart from party and group factions he must know his legislator as an individual. How does he think and why does he think that way? Is he honest or corrupt? To

whom is he indebted? From what part of the country does he come, and what is the thinking of that region? What are his affiliations and what is their attitude upon important public questions? Certainly one must consider the amount of his intelligence and education as well as those life-experiences which have molded him. Every skill and technique of interviewing should come into play in the approach to him or to the man or woman who can reach him. He probably comes no nearer to functioning purely as a rational being than you do, and all the appeals to pride, to loyalty, to sentiment, and to ego work effectually here as elsewhere.

All of which has indicated to you that I see no possible objection to direct lobbying by social workers when there is reason to believe that it will be of help. Often the social worker needs to have an entrée made for her by another person. Certainly there are times when you may be the last person in the world to approach him and when only lay sources should be used. But I doubt if anyone is as articulate on social service as the social worker himself. Also, there are times when discretion may be cast to the wind and the social worker will beard the lion in his den, much as she beards the drunken husband that the entire neighborhood has warned her will kill her. On a certain piece of social legislation in Nebraska the minority leader in the House was assembling unto himself a few non-conformists and practically controlled the legislature. Yet from every clue the social workers could reach, he was unapproachable. The political boss of his party was against the legislation requested. His two most intimate friends were opposed to all social work. He belonged to a religious group which was intolerant of further state interference. There were not even people available who could make an introduction. He had indicated personal animosity toward the professional people lobbying the bill. Yet, one of them approached him boldly and fearlessly, confident that he would not cast his vote against the bill simply because he had not had first-hand information. Nothing was discussed but the bill's merits. No pledge of any kind was asked. Nothing in the

expression of the legislator's face gave any insight into his attitude. He made absolutely no statement. No rumors could be picked up in the legislative hall to indicate his reaction. Yet the day of the hearing he silenced his entire contingent by the statement that the merits of the bill were so obvious that one questioned the motives of those opposing it.

Let us concede to begin with that the ethics, the honesty, and the decency which would guide the social worker in his relationship to his family hold here. There are certain political tools that he cannot use. Political pressure as such is out of the question. Yet if the social worker discovered that Mrs. Jones was so susceptible to the next-door neighbor that he guided all her decisions, she would hardly count the neighbor out on any plan made. Why, then, ignore the fact that Senator O. always votes as told by the head of a certain public utility? If you know that a certain man in the House controls a block of votes, can you ignore that? The appeal to the person who must be reached is a straight intellectual appeal, based upon the merits of the legislation. Clubs and organizations incapable of discussing the program intelligently, yet emotionally sold, are left no weapons but political approach. I once stood beside an organization leader who lobbied an honest and decent senator with the bold assertion that twenty thousand people stood behind her and would vote against him for re-election if he did not give support. Small wonder that he shrugged his shoulders and gave consistent opposition.

I do not think a social worker should ever ask for a pledge of support, but should request only fair consideration. Always respect a man for his position, even if he is against you. Assume that he acted with integrity and according to his own convictions. Be regretful and offer to make more information available. It is barely possible that you can win him on the next round. At least you will not have made an enemy. I would make more effort to greet graciously the legislator who had voted against me than to thank my supporters, though I should certainly not let that go undone. Vote-swapping likewise is be-

yond the pale. Bribery need not be mentioned since no social worker ever had the price to bribe anybody on anything.

And yet, conceding observance of all ethical rules, there are many who will cry out against such frank and open political participation as I have outlined. Yet no problem facing the family has ever seemed too complicated or sordid for the social worker to touch. He goes ahead with perfect assurance that he can touch any problem and have contact with any person involved without fear of personal contamination or of bad repute. Wherein does the difference lie in community planning? Chiefly in this—the community can challenge the social worker's security and the client cannot. But boards of directors and community supporters can be brought to see that legislative planning and promotion is one of the social worker's many community responsibilities. Someone must fight the battle for that vast group of politically silent ones who are made up of the world's inadequate and unfit. If the social worker has not the courage, who has?

INTERPRETATION OF SOCIAL WORK IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM—HOW DETROIT LAYS THE FOUNDATION

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WE HAVE come to believe that at all times, whether during a great depression period or in prosperous days, a fuller understanding and appreciation of the work of social agencies by the rank and file of citizens is needed. Too often at the time of the Community Fund drive we hear these statements, "There are lots of those agencies I don't believe in" or "Those are church organizations, why doesn't the church support them?" or "How much of our tax money really does go to help the poor and sick?" These and many other questions come as a result of ignorance. To counteract such misunderstanding a program has been inaugurated by the intermediate schools of Detroit, co-operating with the Educational Department of the Council of Social Agencies, as a part of their course in public relations. We are trying to create in our future citizens the right attitude toward all unfortunate people. We hope this will develop enough interest in the homes of the students to make grown-ups eager to do their share in a wise and thrifty plan for handling the city's social problems.

It was at the request of our superintendent of schools, Mr. Cody, who from its beginning has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Council of Social Agencies, that Miss Anne Sprague, a social worker, was put at the disposal of the school system. Being at all times acutely aware of the problems of our city, Mr. Cody felt that someone should be responsible for providing material on the work of the various social agencies in metropolitan Detroit. Although it was agreed that such a program should extend throughout our school years, the best place

for a concentrated effort was felt to be in civics classes. In the intermediate schools of our city the civics part of our social sciences is in the eighth grade and the unit on city problems, known as "Care of the Handicapped," in Grade 8 B. In this unit of study it was decided to put our effort. Our text, *Citizenship through Problems*, by Edmonson and Dondineau, gives a clear, though rather brief summary of the general treatment of the problem—emphasizing particularly care of children, Red Cross, and rehabilitation. Some older texts by Dunn and Hill, used as reference works in our libraries, give a similar generalization. But no author writes a textbook for just our community, and information about our local situation must come from some other source.

Mr. C. C. Barnes, head of the social sciences in the Detroit public schools, working with the social worker from the Council of Social Agencies, planned a mode of procedure which would provide for our libraries and classrooms the necessary material about social work. Their first accomplishment was a chart prepared by the Bureau of Governmental Research. It is a comprehensive picture of social agencies at work in metropolitan Detroit, showing how each is supported: by taxes, Community Fund, or private funds. Around this chart was built the little book, *The Modern Way of Being Neighborly*, which chapter by chapter takes up the work in the different fields of social service. Fifteen thousand of these books, printed by the Council of Social Agencies, were put into classroom use in the schools of our metropolitan area and have proved to be of great value in giving needed information about the social work of the community.

A pamphlet for teachers called *How Social Service Work Is Carried On in Detroit and Michigan* was also prepared from a series of lectures by social workers given in the College of the City of Detroit. This book of lectures was published by the Detroit Board of Education and sent out to five hundred social-science teachers in intermediate and high schools. It accomplishes the aim expressed by Mr. Barnes in his Preface: "In

order to teach, teachers must know. In order that teachers may have a better understanding of the social service work in the metropolitan district of Detroit, the papers in this pamphlet have been brought together." "Social Problems of Michigan," by William J. Norton; "How Detroit Protects Her Young People," by Claire Sanders; and "Negro Achievement in Detroit," by John Dancy, were three of the twelve lectures included.

Slides showing the work of the various social agencies are in process of being made available for classroom use. They will be in the visual-education department of the schools, to be sent out upon request. But, as you already know, bank deposits in our city have not been available, no matter for how worthy a cause. We hope this project may soon be completed as it will be of great value to teachers and pupils.

A further piece of fine co-operation is being carried on at Detroit Teachers' College where a class in children's literature under Miss Ramsey has taken on the project of writing stories illustrating the work of the various social agencies. These will be part of our reference material in the libraries. A dozen stories have already been prepared by the Educational Department of the Council of Social Agencies and are in use. It is a great help to have this particularized information. "The Story of the Ford Republic" and "The Story of the Mothers' Pension" have proved most popular reading material.

At one time in the development of this program a committee of teachers from the social-science, English, and auditorium departments of three intermediate schools studied plans together. Suggestions were made and discussed as to how to put across this unit in our new civics course of study. They included: plays written by pupils, usually in social-science classes, checked by English classes for correct form and diction, then read to play-production groups in the auditorium for their choice; essays on work of certain social agencies, often illustrated by newspaper pictures or original drawings; poems; posters; reports from trips to our Community Fund Building or to insti-

tutions like the Ford Republic where children would be welcome visitors; models of institutions such as the Convalescent Hospital; debates on such subjects as "It is better to care for aged people in their own homes than in institutions" or "It is more efficient to have social agencies in a community organized under a central council." All of these things, you see, are those which would come first into the minds of teachers as fitting into the requirements for academic subjects. It was not always possible to correlate the English and social-science work, but much was done in each school. Tentative outlines for lesson plans which resulted from the work of this committee have proved useful.

I wish every city had a Mr. Campbell like ours. He is the executive of the Detroit League for the Handicapped, but in addition has for many years taken snapshots of the work of the various agencies and given countless talks illustrated by his slides for the Educational Department of the Council. He is the answer to our prayers on the question of motivation for this unit in our schools. Our pupils in Grade 8 B hear him give in our auditorium a most fascinating, instructive, and curiosity-provoking illustrated lecture. It takes us from the time of Cadillac, when each family in the little French village cared for itself and helped its neighbors if emergency demanded, to the present time when we need co-operation from everyone to make us a happy community. This all leads very logically to our little guide, *The Modern Way of Being Neighborly*. This semester two most helpful talks for our classes were given by representatives of the Children's Aid Society and one of the settlement houses. These did not interrupt our auditorium or class schedules because two groups doubled up in one of our larger rooms and were held simply spellbound by the speakers. They had to be forcibly sent off to their next classes or they would have been still asking questions at three o'clock. So often speakers do not get down to the children's level of understanding, but the right persons can do much to arouse the proper interest.

As the time allotment for the entire unit on "Care of the Handicapped" is only three weeks, it is of course impossible to

do as much with the subject as we might wish; but once you get youngsters curious about people—how they live and how they got that way—you will have reports of all kinds coming in for many weeks after the formal study of the unit is over. This semester, in our building the unit was shifted from sixth to second place, which brought it in February. I set the zero hour for our reports on the last day before spring vacation, April 13, and allowed fifteen or twenty minutes at the end of the hour four days a week for their presentation. On some days there was only one long report taking the entire time; other days, two or three were given; sometimes none at all. The less ambitious children made written reports, the peppy ones wrote plays, produced them, and then wrote them up in attractive manuscripts. One class in our building put on shadow pictures of scenes in various institutions, and one girl made amateur slides from pictures cut out of papers and magazines which she used in a little lantern of her own, using the wall for her silver screen. Out of classes of forty-three and forty-five not more than two or three will fail to contribute a special report of some kind. In every way possible we try to drive home the fact that help from a central organization is much more efficient and economical than promiscuous giving can ever be. Miss Sprague's first chapter is given over to a thorough and convincing proof of this fact, and I notice in pupils' reports that the method of support is nearly always included as a matter of important consideration.

Children enjoy writing letters asking for information about certain agencies or for an appointment for a visit. This often supplies the English teacher with usable projects in the letter-writing unit. My group this semester were amply able to go where they chose, parents in some cases loading up their cars and apparently enjoying the visit as much as the children. But one poor William, his own family being aided by the welfare agency, told me with tears in his eyes that he did not have carfare to go down to the Community Fund Building or to any institution. Having just that day received my first grocery order

in lieu of salary, I did not give him the twelve cents but reminded him of the interesting and helpful stories on the Red Cross, the visiting nurse, and the Children's Hospital, written by the Educational Department of the Council of Social Agencies, which are in our own school library.

I am always happy when I teach this unit to see the surprise and sympathy of children over the plight of elderly people. They usually know about some of the help given to children through school or church but they so seldom come in contact with needy old folks. One girl wrote for information to an evangelical home, omitting to state that she was studying the problem in school. Such a hearty laugh as we had when she read us their reply; it stated costs of living at the home, told of pleasures and comforts provided, and assured her that they could make her declining years pleasant.

What have we in Detroit accomplished from our special efforts in the study of the care of the handicapped? One thing has been the opportunity for emphasizing the principle of helping people to help themselves, which social workers and teachers are always trying to drive home. We have also noticed the development of self-reliance in these children (yes, there are many even now who do not have enough), shown by their ability to go after information at its source, clearing up for themselves points in organization and activities they did not at first understand.

The students also have come to understand the work of the social-service agencies of the city and how they are co-ordinated for efficiency and economy in the Community Fund and the Council of Social Agencies. Certainly after our sad experiences of the last three years, no one will invest one cent in anything about which he knows nothing. Our unit must so educate the students that they will have no doubts on this point.

It will, I believe, be at least ten years before all that we have accomplished will be evident. The manner in which these pupils meet and solve the city's problems of social welfare will show

how worth while it has been. If at a meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in 1950 some speaker acknowledges that the proper approach to his city's social problems is in even a tiny measure due to the kindly and understanding attitude toward the handicapped which was instilled in some eighth-grade schoolroom, we shall not have labored in vain.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION—SOME POLICIES, HOPES, AND FEARS

Honorable John Collier, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington

THE Indian section of the Social Worker Conference has probed deeply into the Indian facts and philosophy, across several years. The proceedings are in print. In those proceedings the Indian is revealed as an excessively underprivileged group—rather, as a hundred groups—in situations extremely variegated and yet bound together by certain common conditions. These conditions have arisen out of the past, but they exist today as facts of law and administration, and of commission as well as omission.

Three main necessities have been driven home by your proceedings in these earlier years:

First, the resources of helpfulness, federal and local, official and unofficial, have largely been withheld from the Indians or actually have been shut out from them. Those resources must be extended to them systematically; but, co-ordinately, the federal responsibility for Indian protection must be kept intact.

Second, Indian administration needs to become decentralized and democratized. The changes must be not only administrative; basic legal reforms are needed, and these reforms should provide for the Indians clear and abundant civil status and a framework of group organization. Broadly, the constitutional rights.

Third, the laws affecting Indian property and the system of administering the physical assets of the Indians must be drastically changed. These laws at present necessitate the continued wastage of the Indian estate. The Indian lands have been cut down from 133,000,000 acres in 1887 to 46,000,000 today; the cutting-down goes steadily ahead, and the archaic property sys-

tem necessitates a paternalism whose ramifications grow more elaborate each year and impede Indian administration and paralyze the Indians more hopelessly with each passing year.

From these conditions, which your early proceedings display, there flows a program which is many-sided and which in the matter of time is absolutely urgent. I can only hope to deal with two or three items on which new information has arisen, and with respect to which the understanding of social administrators is particularly needed. Let us glance first at the financial situation of the Indian Bureau.

From last year (the fiscal year 1932) to the coming year (the fiscal year 1934, beginning July 1 next), the federal appropriation for Indian service has been cut from \$27,030,047 to \$16,586,059. The reduction is \$10,443,988, or 39 per cent. The Indian tribal trust funds available for Indian Bureau costs have been reduced from \$3,385,934 to a sum not yet precisely known but totaling \$2,450,000 approximately—about a \$930,000 diminution. And the tribal trust funds available for payment in cash to the Indians have been reduced from \$3,289,160 to \$2,000,000. A grand total appropriation of \$33,704,000 for last year (1932) is cut to approximately \$21,142,000 for the coming year (1934), and the total reduction is approximately \$12,562,988. For simplicity, I omit certain unexpended balances of tribal funds from the totals, and certain revolving funds from irrigation projects.

Let us examine more closely that part of the reduction which is a taxpayer's saving. That is \$10,443,986 of a total reduction of \$12,562,988. It is divided between a saving of \$5,890,440 on physical construction of all types and a saving of \$4,553,546 on personnel, administration, and institutional costs. Of this cut in personnel and in institutional costs, \$1,500,000 is represented by the uniform pay-cut of 15 per cent, leaving \$3,000,000 to be absorbed principally through abolition of positions and through institutional savings.

Roughly to finish off the picture, let me add that the payment of cash to Indians from their tribal funds, and the use of tribal funds for Indian service costs are largely diversions of capital

assets into current maintenance; and the capital assets in liquid shape have, for some tribes, shrunken actually past the vanishing-point; for all tribes possessing such funds they are vanishing swiftly. Another year may see activities of the Indian service transferred from the tribal to the tax budget in the amount of \$2,000,000. In large part they ought to be thus transferred. The use of Indian trust funds for administration costs is wrong; but inasmuch as the grant from tax sources can hardly be increased in the years just ahead, the effect of this shift from tribal to tax-raised funds will be a serious additional cut in the total appropriation available for Indian service. Incidentally, the sharp reduction in per capita payments to Indians from tribal funds (more than \$1,000,000 in the coming year) may throw upon the tax appropriation an increased relief burden of several hundred thousand dollars.

I hurriedly complete the fiscal picture. Partially balancing the \$12,500,000 reduction of total appropriations is a new grant of \$5,800,000 for the emergency reforestation camps in which 14,000 Indians will be enrolled; and we are hoping for substantial grants under the Industrial Recovery Act for road-building and for construction. The Indians and the Indian lands will be benefited through these emergency grants, and through the emergency reforestation work especially we hope to achieve big advances in Indian organization for self-help. But the strain on the permanent Indian service—the mandate for swift and drastic readjustments in the complicated institutional work of the Indian Bureau—is hardly at all diminished by the emergency grants. We do not complain at all; ultimately we know that a permanently bettered Indian service is going to be forged out through the economy blast, but we face extreme difficulties.

Now I pass to a very human topic whose involvement with the fact of reduced and still shrinking appropriations is immediate and mandatory. I refer to our schools. There are 90,000, approximately, of Indian children of school age. Of this total, 16,000 have not yet been provided with any schooling opportunity whatever. And of this number—90,000—there are

20,000 in government boarding schools. On these 20,000 institutionalized children we have been spending, year after year, 80 per cent and upward of our whole appropriation for Indian education. We have left totally unprovided an almost equal number of "forgotten" Indian children. We have thrown upon the local school districts, with no federal aid or supervision, more than 25,000 Indian children. We have paid tuition for perhaps an equal number in public schools and other schools. And to all of the Indians we have denied the opportunity for advanced professional, vocational, and liberal education.

It is a state of affairs typifying a wider state of affairs in the Indian service. We have, during all past years, concentrated on the institutional and the centralized and therefore, incidentally, the most financially expensive of the many services which we might have chosen to render the Indians.

This institutional concentration has typified our medical work as well as our school work; it has been characteristic of our agency work on the reservations; and it has been again expressed in an overcentralization, reaching degrees which were and are fantastic, of policy-making and of detailed administrative control at the remote Washington headquarters of the Indian office. I need not spin out the picture of the human, the social, and the fiscal consequences of an exclusive reliance on institutional devices when one is trying to raise the life-level of masses of people scattered amid the general communities of twenty states and with backgrounds and destinies as widely differing as can be imagined between the social poles.

Let me pause to explain that I am not here formulating anything new, or anything first thought of by the new Indian administration or even by its immediate predecessor. I do but summarize the facts and the conclusions of the Merriam report of 1928. And that report, while adding vastly to the factual data about Indian service, did but state with careful application a conclusion at which many of the then superintendents in the Indian Service, and probably all of the Indian welfare bodies,

had previously arrived. The years since 1928 have made the beginnings in the transformation of Indian service from institutional concentration toward diffusion of services, toward use of all resources of helpfulness for and by the Indians, toward decentralization of responsibility and of power, and toward substitution of Indian self-help (communal and individual) for the more or less forced bottle-feeding, by institutional methods, of a minority of the Indians. The transformation, as yet, has been very incomplete; and the Indian administration since two months ago has not yet proved that it is going to have the skill or audacity decisively to speed up the transformation. But in common with the administration which preceded us, we do at least know that our success or our failure will rest in one thing more than all else. There are many collateral necessities, but to move, and to move faster, from institutional concentration toward Indian-participated distribution of services is the one absolute mandate. And we welcome the forced economies, because they drive us forward on the one line that may bring to an end the social entombment of most of the Indians and the biological sentence of death which still hangs over a majority of the tribes.

Returning to our Indian school situation: On 20,000 children in institutions (three-fourths of whom, and probably more, are not properly institutional cases) we are spending \$7,000,000, or 80 per cent of our whole educational fund. Sixteen thousand children have no schooling opportunity at all. Forty-eight thousand Indian children are enrolled in public schools, and many of these public schools are threatened with suspension by the failure of local tax resources, while the federal government withholds from them any payment whatsoever for the schooling of untaxed Indian children. The federal government pays tuition for a minority only of the Indian children in public schools. I say nothing of the relative advantages of institutional boarding schools for non-institutional children as over against day schools near the homes; the superiority of the day schools, when adequate social aid is given, has been declared by every investi-

gating body since 1922—every official and unofficial body. Why, then, do I pause to comment upon the obvious?

I do so because we now are encountering, as the prior administration encountered, intense and organized resistance to the program of moving out of boarding schools one child in order to make for him and for two other children, and for their families and their communities, a more adequate provision. Invested in the boarding schools are millions of dollars—perhaps as much as twenty-five million dollars—in plant investment. In the boarding schools there is one government employee for every seven children. Each boarding school is a civic institution and an economic feeder to the local community where it is situated. And many Indians have been trained by the boarding schools to expect to be relieved of the cost and the bother of rearing their own families. Hence, the intense and the many-sided resistance to the deinstitutionalizing program. But in addition there is a resistance growing out of real considerations of emotion and of philosophy.

These Indians—these Mongoloid peoples; this broken and sequestered race; this underprivileged race, victim of a century-long federal bureaucratic monopoly over its life, victim of the unconscious ideal of institutionalism; and victim of a mortality excessively high and of a poverty excessively deep; this alien race, so perpetually in the “limelight” and so wildly, so romantically not understood! Indeed, are not the institutional methods proper to such a race? Are they not situated like the buffaloes, these Indians? Very general, indeed, is this view of them, and it has not as yet by any means faded from many minds even within Congress; and the resistance against the closing of boarding schools “rationalizes” itself convincingly, through evoking from our own racial unconsciousness this view of the Indian which has in it elements which are powerful indeed of envy and of fear, of hate and of love.

We expect that nine boarding schools will be suspended July 1, and the attendance at many others will be somewhat reduced. Of the nine schools which may be closed, three were de-

cided upon long ago. The others would normally have been closed not this year, but next, or the year after; their immediate suspension, if it takes place, will be due to the emergency requirements under the Economy Act. The future speed of change will depend on two conditions primarily: how much money can be obtained from Congress for the construction of day schools and how broad an authority can be secured for reapplying to public school uses the money saved from the boarding schools. If 12,000 children are transferred from boarding schools, the effect will be to save about \$4,400,000 gross. If each child is schooled at a public school, and if \$80.00 tuition is paid the school district and an additional \$45 is supplied toward social and health service, the expenditure will be \$1,500,000. The net saving will be \$2,900,000. If we are allowed to apply toward Indian education even half of this net saving, and if the needed construction of buildings is supplied under the Industrial Recovery Act, we shall be enabled to place in school 10,000 children now denied any schooling. Or were we allowed to reapply half the savings toward other Indian needs, we could, for example, out of this single adjustment finance, in behalf of all the Indians, an adequate system of agricultural credit; or we could finance, year by year, the recapture of at least 20,000 acres of allotted heirship lands now destined to pass to white ownership; or we could institute, and make general through the Indian country, the health and home education which is now almost completely neglected and on which the survival of the tribes may be even more dependent than it is dependent on our clinical services.

So much time given to the school question may appear to disproportion it. It is not so, as one realizes the instant he looks at the Indian work of Mexico. In Mexico the community day school has been made the foundation of all the government's Indian effort and of the Indian co-operative effort. Indian administration has been decentralized to the last outpost—the day school with its teachers' cottage. At this day school the agricultural work centers; also the health work, the political

education, and the art expressions. The day school is the headquarters of the local co-operative society and the credit union. Adult education bulks as large as child education in many of these schools. The Indian program is integrated through the school, and, being thus a local expression, this program is found with each year more diversified as one goes from region to region in Mexico. And so largely does the Mexican effort rest upon the locally organized Indians that if through revolution or bankruptcy the governmental Indian program of Mexico were tomorrow completely abandoned, still the main elements of Mexico's Indian work would not perish. This is not a speculation but a fact of experience. Until three years ago half of all the Indian schools of Mexico were locally supported by the Indians; even the teachers, chosen by the local Indian communes, were paid by them through moneys not derived from taxation.

The release of ambition and vision, the joy of work, the excitement of adventure, in the Mexican Indian system, are very impressive. The absence of red tape, the vividness of local responsibility, and the sense of free option among the Indian workers are noted by every investigator. The fulness of Indian participation is noteworthy above everything else. Indeed, the whole operation is Indian-made, and Indians are holding in the Mexican Indian service every class of technical position to the highest and most professional.

* You will see, returning to our own Indian service, that the issue is not merely a contest between boarding schools and day schools. It is not merely an issue as between a luxury expenditure and an economy. The issue, if our Indian-service people have the genius to make it such, lies as between an institutional practice that is archaic, on the one hand, and a development of social enterprise, on the other hand, with the day school as its nucleus, which in its potentialities reaches far out beyond the present achievement of our white communities. The Indian, if we and he can make the transition, will move from the condition of an underprivileged group, locked within outmoded institutional provisions, to the position of a group claiming and

having those advantages which lie out beyond our present day, which are the hope of the great century ahead. Indian affairs thus will become one of the social pioneering enterprises, and the Indian will be the principal in a social experiment critical to the whole world.

The next session of Congress will be for the Indians and the Indian service a fateful time. The allotment law must be radically amended. Tribal status and the machinery for Indian organization must be defined. Civil rights must be extended—a budget of measures constituting an Indian bill of rights. Legislation widening the co-operative relationships between the federal and local agencies in all types of Indian service while preserving intact the federal guardianship must be secured. Legislation protecting and fostering the Indian arts and crafts must be advanced. A system of financial credit for Indians must be established. The discretion of the Secretary of the Interior and of the Indian Commissioner must be curbed. The ultimate discretion of Congress itself—its plenary power over Indian affairs—must be curbed, if Congress can be so persuaded. The system of budgeting for Indian service must be overhauled from top to bottom. Tribal funds must be given a protection equal to that enjoyed by the Canadian Indians.

The drafting of this legislative program will be in competent hands. The legal staff of the whole Interior Department is being reorganized and concentrated under Nathan R. Margold, who is a lawyer both experienced and brilliant. The inspectorial forces of the whole Interior Department are being concentrated under Louis R. Glavis, a conservationist and a master of the techniques of investigation. To head the emergency unemployment and reforestation work for Indians we have enlisted Dr. Jay B. Nash, known probably to all of you, than whom there is no better expert in community organization. We have announced that hereafter, as soon as we can achieve the result, the Indian timber holdings, exceeding 7,000,000 acres, shall be administered no longer through contract sales but by tribal operation with a view to perpetual conservation and to the maxi-

mum of Indian employment and Indian communal development.

I can assure you that from the Secretary of the Interior right down through the Indian Office and out to many of its field agencies, there is an acute consciousness that Indian affairs have reached their crisis. It is a crisis which time has brought; and for most of the Indians, realization has not come too late. We know that we are facing a challenge to be met not by words but by deeds. We do not know that we shall have the resourcefulness to meet the challenge. Ultimately the decision concerning the Indians' fate will be made in large part by Congress. Of course, the Indians themselves, and only they, will finally cast the die; but we, their official and unofficial friends, must first correct those many and strange mechanisms which, in their total effect, amount to nothing less than a benign (and not always benign) enslavement.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIAN HOMES AND SCHOOLS

*Ben Dwight, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation,
Durant, Oklahoma*

THE purpose of this article is to present a general outline of the social and economic status of the Choctaw Indians in Oklahoma, giving specific attention to some of the more pressing problems confronting these people and suggesting certain ways and means of intensifying and improving service to this tribe.

In order to appraise properly the conditions that now exist among this tribe of Indians, we may well make succinct reference to some preceding influences. During the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth centuries, the Choctaws were established agriculturists in what is now the state of Mississippi. When the lands occupied by them were needed for the use and benefit of a dominant civilization, it became necessary for these Indians to move westward into the territory which is now southeastern Oklahoma. Through determination, staunchness of racial character, and the beneficent influences of the missionaries, the Choctaws converted a veritable wilderness into a happy and prosperous country. They established homes, churches, schools, and other institutions for the betterment of their race. A highly developed communistic social order obtained. There grew up the great Choctaw nation, with a government complete in all its phases: the executive, legislative, and judicial departments functioning for the best interest of its people.

In the beginning of the present century, the Choctaws again had to meet the demands of the westward march of empire. It became necessary that they give up their tribal form of self-government, and the institutions which had served their people

so well had to be turned over to an entirely new régime. The lands and property which had theretofore been held in common, and which had been administered for the general good of the tribal membership, had to be converted to an entirely different status in order that a new commonwealth might flourish. It became necessary that the lands be allotted in severalty and that the members of the tribe accept the responsibilities, as well as the privileges, of individual ownership. Despite deprivations, the Choctaws realized that a change in their social, economic, and political status would bring to them and their posterity many advantages; and, with high hopes for the future welfare of the tribe, they graciously accepted the new order.

The Choctaws are proud of the progress that they have made since statehood. They are zealous about the part they have played in the development of Oklahoma. Members of the Choctaw tribe assisted in writing the constitution of the state and others since have held high positions in the various departments of the federal and state governments. Many Choctaws have attained high rank in the field of education and other professions; many have become capable farmers, merchants, mechanics, and successful business men in various walks of life. Nevertheless, while a majority of the Choctaws have taken their proper station in the new order and have become thoroughly assimilated with the Oklahoma citizenry, are taxpayers and have assumed their full responsibility for the support of the government and its institutions, there is a vast number of Choctaw families who have been unable to withstand such a sudden impact with a new civilization and who have been unable to cope with the new competition.

Accordingly, during the last twenty-five years Choctaw problems have crystallized with ill forebodings unless they are approached with immediate and judicious remedial action. There are several hundred Choctaw families who have met an economic Waterloo and who have fallen into a social retrogressive movement. These families are fighting with their backs to the wall for a mere existence. Many of them have lost their lands

and homes; many have no live stock, implements, and other necessities requisite for self-support. Among these families, bad sanitary conditions exist and the health problem is reaching serious proportions rapidly. There are numerous aged and infirm who must have special privileges for the rest of their lives. There are over one thousand children of school age who must have special attention in order that they may not be denied an equal opportunity. Whatever causes have contributed to these conditions—whether these families find themselves in this plight because of the lack of business experience and acumen or because of some racial shortcomings—we face the stern realization that these facts do exist and that this retrogressive movement must be thwarted.

I do not wish to leave the impression that these problems are being ignored at this time. The federal government recognizes that it has a grave responsibility in working toward the solution of such problems, and it has rendered some very valuable service in this connection. I think, in justice, that the United States Indian Service should be highly commended for its sympathetic, practical, and intelligent work among the Choctaws in the last few years. It is gratifying to note that the facilities of the state of Oklahoma are legally open to these Indians upon the same basis as they are to the other citizens. But I do think that the facilities of these governmental agencies have not been properly co-ordinated and that the program at work has been too limited and not well balanced.

Rehabilitation of this group of unfortunate families can be effected by a plan which contemplates putting the adults to work in order that they may earn their own living and re-establish their homes; the institution of a health program looking toward the recuperation of the afflicted and the correction of the poor sanitary conditions in order that the members of the families may become more efficient in the pursuit of self-support and self-reliance; and the appropriate education of the children in those families.

Since the Choctaw nation is distinctly an agricultural section

and the Choctaw people are primarily agriculturists, it is paramount that the farming industry be used as the cornerstone for the reconstruction program. It is not enough that these families be instructed in modern methods of planting, harvesting, canning, etc. The landless must first be provided with an appropriate amount of land to cultivate and the necessary live stock, implements, etc., commensurate with their needs. This program need not presuppose that such provisions should be made upon a strictly gratuitous basis, but it should be predicated upon a basis whereby these families would have an opportunity to earn their way. This can be done under proper supervision and encouragement, and not until they shall have had this new impetus will those families get a new and proper start in life. In this connection it should be said that the farming division of the Indian Service has been making a valiant effort to carry out such a program, but that division has been limited in personnel and funds with which to operate. The Choctaw nation comprises approximately two thousand square miles, and these underprivileged families are scattered over the entire area. It is a physical impossibility for the two federal farm agents even to make contact with all of these families, much less serve them as they should. This service should be extended and co-ordinated with other agencies in order that appropriate results may be obtained.

We may reasonably expect that the social conditions surrounding these families will improve when they shall have been afforded a positive opportunity of again earning their own livelihood and of rebuilding their homes; but the program will move along much faster and with a greater degree of efficiency if at the same time a comprehensive health program is also set to work. I do not wish to underestimate the service that is being rendered to the Choctaws by the federal hospital facilities now available to them; but I do believe that this service is not reaching far enough afield. As indicative of the health situation now existing among these disadvantaged families, I will refer to two fact-disclosing events recently recorded among the Choctaws. A short

while ago eighty children of school age were assembled for school purposes and it was found that 50 per cent of these children had to be hospitalized before they could be placed in the classrooms with other students. The trouble ranged from diseases brought on by unsanitary and bad living conditions to serious hereditary and social diseases. Another survey developed that one-third of the entire student body at a certain school was affected with tuberculosis. A majority of these tubercular cases were found among the children of the first and second grades. These two illustrations give a cross-section of what we may expect to find when a complete survey is made of the health conditions among those families that have met an economic Waterloo.

At the present time there is one trained nurse doing general duty in the entire Choctaw nation among the Choctaws. Though there are government hospitals in other parts of the state that are available to the Choctaws, there is only one tubercular sanitarium and no general hospitals in the Choctaw area. The truth of this matter is that the health program among the Choctaws is too limited and there are no reliable statistics available to give us an accurate picture of the true situation. A determining survey should be made and the health service of the federal and state governments co-ordinated in the interest of efficiency and justice.

As we lay the foundation of Choctaw family rehabilitation by putting roofs over the heads of the homeless, by providing gainful employment for the adults, and by re-establishing the fireside under living conditions in keeping with the demands of well-being, we may then proceed with appropriate education of the children with hopes of establishing the family as a useful and integral part of the community—socially, economically, and politically. Despite the lack of a well-balanced general welfare plan among the Choctaws, the education program has been developed to a high degree on a far-reaching and fundamentally correct basis.

In order that Indian boys and girls may be properly trained to face their lot as men and women, it is not only necessary that

they be taught to read, write, and cipher, but also that they assimilate the ways and mannerisms of those with whom they must live and deal in later life. No better opportunity for assimilation and the development of the best racial characteristics of both the red and the white races will be afforded than during their school days in the classrooms, on the playgrounds, and in the extra-curricular activities. It is, therefore, exceedingly gratifying to note that the facilities of the state and federal governments have been wisely co-ordinated in an educational program whereby approximately 85 per cent of the Choctaw children are now receiving scholastic instruction in the public schools, which in turn are subsidized by the federal government on a per diem tuition basis.

The Choctaws heartily approve of this general policy of placing their children in the public schools, whenever possible. We are cognizant of the fine work that is being done in the application of this policy, whereby providing many needed children with clothes and school supplies—it is made possible for them to attend the public schools—whereas, otherwise, they would be denied that opportunity. It is hoped that this service may be augmented by additional social workers who can analyze the problem of the homes and supervise necessary steps of improvement therein; who can correlate the advantages of the schools with the deficiencies of the home; who can expertly assist in the proper selection of students for special training—and thus make even more efficient an excellent program already moving along satisfactorily.

Though it is incumbent upon those of us who are responsible for the welfare of the Indian race intensively to promote the policy of placing the children in the public schools, we must not, however, lose sight of the fact that there are approximately one thousand Choctaw children who are underprivileged and laboring under disadvantages because of their state of orphanage or because of their home conditions. Many of these children live too far away from the district schools for them to attend the public schools. Many of them are estopped from attending the

public schools because of their personal unfitness. Many other reasons may be assigned for the impracticability of placing this group in the public schools at this time. Consequently, special arrangements must be provided for this group for several years. In order to accommodate this retarded and underprivileged group of Choctaw children, I think that the federal Indian schools now being operated in this area, as well as the contract schools operated with tribal funds, should be continued.

In connection with Choctaw welfare and education, I wish to refer briefly to Old Goodland Indian Orphanage, an institution which has been serving the Choctaw people gloriously for over three-quarters of a century and which continues to justify its existence by rendering a needed service to humanity in keeping with changing conditions.

This institution is fostered and sponsored by the resources and prestige of all the agencies interested in the type of students there accommodated. The land and equipment are owned by a church organization. Part of the maintenance and support is provided for by the tribal funds of the Choctaw nation. The tuition expense is met by joint contribution of the state and federal governments. Hence, at Goodland, we have an institution that is thriving because of the co-operation and co-ordination of the efforts and resources of the various agencies responsible for the welfare of the underprivileged and disadvantaged Choctaw children.

The cornerstone of the Goodland system is religious understanding—faith in the purposes of God. It is around this cornerstone that Goodland seeks first to make a good home for the students and then to give them appropriate scholastic training. By special arrangement with the state school district, the scholastic instruction is given under the direction of the state school authorities and the curriculum is that of a fully accredited twelve-grade school. The character of the instruction there is on a par with that of any other state school giving similar work. Students from the homes of white families in the neighborhood constitute about 25 per cent of the entire student body, thus an

excellent opportunity is afforded for the assimilation of the two races in that community under most excellent direction and supervision.

One of the most important phases of the work at Goodland is that the students are taught every operation necessary in the making of an honest living. These students are using the same type of equipment that they may be expected to use in that community where, when they are ready, they will become home-makers on their own responsibility. They are taught to work as they must needs work when they become home-builders.

Goodland is not only an ideal home for underprivileged Indians and an ideal school for both the red and the white Goodland students, but it is also a community institution, a community builder. The facilities of the institution are available to the entire population living around Goodland. The Goodland hospital, though modestly equipped, is serving the underprivileged families in the community. Goodland medicines, foods, and nurses are being provided for the needy cases in that neighborhood.

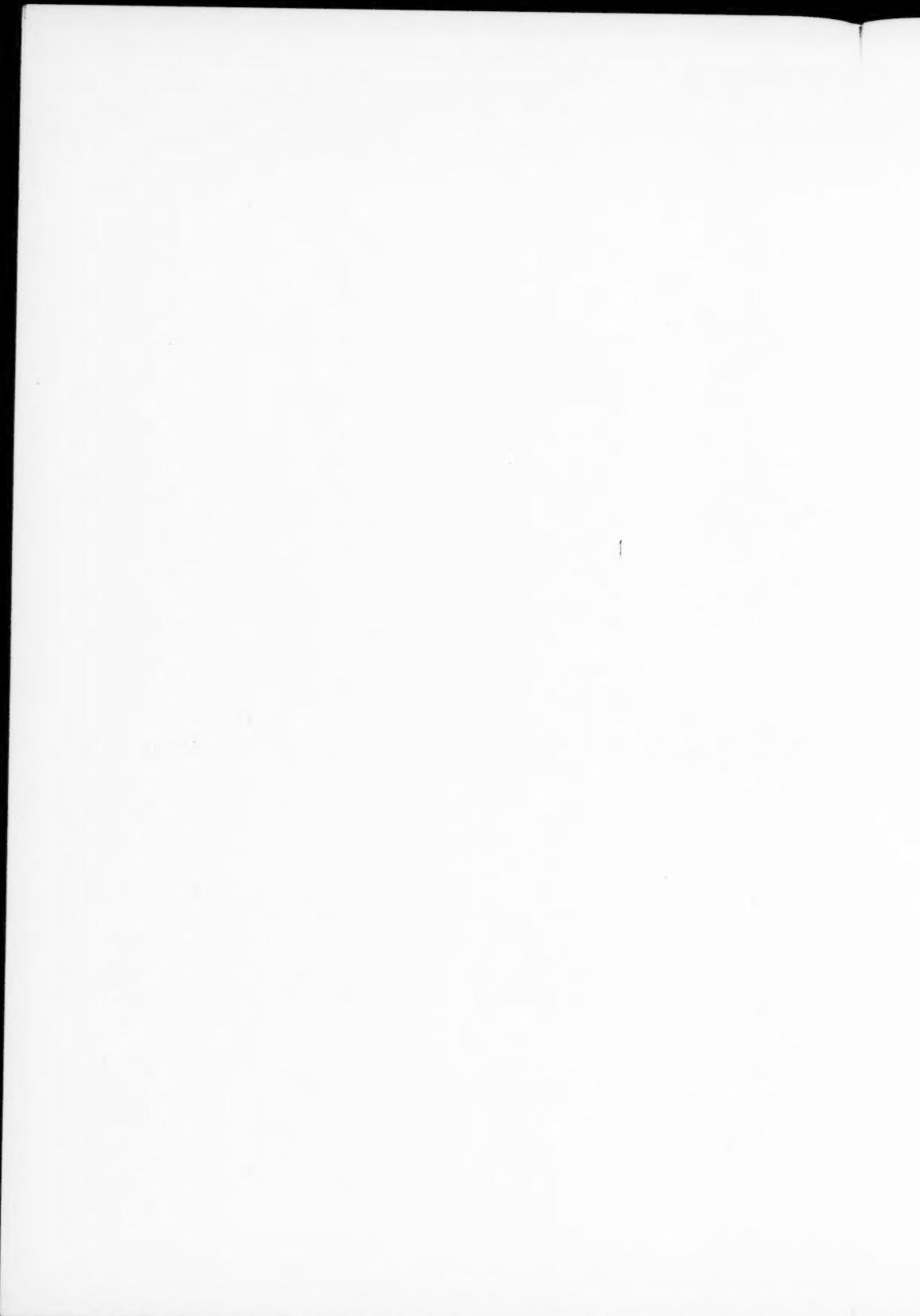
Moreover, Goodland is not through serving its students when they are graduated from the school. Steps are taken to see that these graduates, who are in line for higher education, establish themselves in that community. An effort is made to provide them with land to till and the necessities for that purpose. In other words, Goodland is training its students for good citizenship and then helps them to be good citizens.

I cannot agree with those who think that the federal government should relinquish its responsibility over the Indians, though I do think that paternalism should not be continued. The competition that the Indian now has to meet is keener than ever, and more intensified effort must be put forth in order that he may receive his just rights and privileges, and thereby be in a better position to assume his responsibilities. We need the trained farm agents, day-school representatives, nurses, and social workers to make the proper contacts among the Cherokees in their respective fields, and to carry on their work in an

expert way; and we need the material assistance that can be given us under appropriate programs. With the help of the agencies now at work among the Choctaws, these people will continue to make further progress, but it is also essential that the strength of the Choctaws themselves be marshaled and set to work. I believe that the responsibility for the welfare of the Choctaw tribe of Indians rests not alone upon governmental agencies, but also upon the tribe itself. I perceive that not until the Choctaws reassume this responsibility and fully recognize their duty to their tribe and to one another, may we expect to attain for our race that station to which we aspire. Not until the Choctaws revitalize their own efforts and utilize their own resources in alleviation of tribal distress and in behalf of tribal advancement will they properly approach a solution of our dilemma.

I do not mean that the Choctaw people should attempt to duplicate the work of the other agencies, but I do think that we should supplement that service. I think that we should take up the cudgel where the other agencies leave off.

The tribe still owns in common several thousand acres of mineral lands and deposits, and just claims against the federal government worth several million dollars. In my judgment this remaining tribal estate should be converted into a definite sum of money, and a part thereof be administered under a definite program for a number of years, for the benefit of the underprivileged and disadvantaged portion of the tribe. I think that a general welfare organization, manned by members of the tribe, should be set up to administer that fund under appropriate supervision of the federal government and to stimulate and correlate the work of all the agencies. When we shall have had the co-ordination of the facilities of the nation, the state, and the tribe—and not until then—we may expect the fullest measure of success and permanent progress among the Choctaw people.



PROGRAM



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GENERAL SESSIONS

- Sunday, June 11—Invocation. Rev. R. W. Woodrooffe, Rector, St. John's Episcopal Church, and President, Detroit Council of Social Agencies.
Address of Welcome. Tracy W. McGregor, Chairman, Detroit Committee.
Sources of Poverty. Harold G. Moulton, President, Brookings Institute, Washington. Page 22.
- Monday, June 12—Get-acquainted Dinner. Alexander Johnson, Senior Past President, National Conference of Social Work, in charge. Informal program.
Necessary Changes in Public Opinion in the New Social and Industrial Order. David Cushman Coyle, Consulting Engineer, New York City. (A discussion period followed the address). Page 29.
- Tuesday, June 13—Public Relief as a Social Policy. Homer Folks, Secretary, New York State Charities Aid Association, New York City. Page 43.
The English Scheme of National Health Insurance. George McCleary, M.D., Formerly Principal Medical Officer, National Health Insurance Commission of England. Page 57.
- Wednesday, June 14—Annual Business Session. Conference Boat Ride. President's Reception.
- Friday, June 16—William J. Norton, Past President, National Conference of Social Work, presiding. The President's Address.
Social-Work Objectives in the New Era. Frank J. Bruno, President, National Conference of Social Work, St. Louis. Page 3.
- Saturday, June 17—Conference Luncheon. Invocation. Rev. Frederick Siedenburg, S.J., Executive Dean, University of Detroit.
The Developing National Program of Relief. Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, Washington. Page 65.

DIVISION MEETINGS

DIVISION I. CHILDREN

- I. Certain Philosophical Contributions to Children's Case Work. J. Prentice Murphy, General Secretary, Children's Bureau, Philadelphia. Page 75.
Charlotte Towle, University of Chicago.
- II. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family—and Division VII—Mental Hygiene)
Youth in a Troubled World
- III. Group Discussion 1. (Joint Session with the National Probation Association)
Youth and Crime. Discussion Leaders: Charles L. Chute, Executive Director, National Probation Association, New York City; Herbert E. Chamberlain, M.D., Bobs Roberts Memorial Hospital, Chicago.
Group Discussion 2. (Joint Session with the Girls' Protective Council)
Youth and Protective Agencies

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1. The Girl. Rachelle S. Yarros, M.D., Secretary, Illinois Social Hygiene League, Chicago.
2. The Boy. R. K. Atkinson, Boys' Club Federation, New York City.
3. Social Hygiene as It Affects Protective Agencies. Mrs. Margaret Wells Wood, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.

Discussion Leader: Tracy W. McGregor, Washington

Group Discussion 3. The Dependent Homeless Youth

1. The Responsibility of a Large City for Its Dependent Homeless Boys. Robert M. Beasley, Director, Clearing House for Men, Chicago.
2. Cleveland's Plan for Its Dependent Homeless Boys. John F. Fryer, Director, Cleveland Boys' Bureau.
3. A Work-Relief Program for the Dependent Homeless Girl. Bonita Busian, Employment Secretary, Service Bureau for Women, Chicago.

Group Discussion 4. Youth's Own Problem as Seen by the Group Work Agencies

1. What Unemployment Means to Youth. Frank Emerson, a member of Jewish Centers, Detroit.
2. A Youth Institute—a Chicago Venture. Viggo Bovbjerg, Director of the Institute and Member of the Faculty of the National College of Education.
3. Recruiting Rural Resources. Alice Hinkley, Westchester County Children's Association.

Group Discussion 5. (Joint Session with the Child Welfare League of America)
Youth and Foster-Care Agencies.

(Joint Session with the National Child Labor Committee)

A Minimum Wage for Minors

(Joint Session with the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies)

Transients and Homeless

IV. (Ten Group Discussions)

Group Discussion 1. Methods of Revising Social Legislation. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Henry P. Chandler, Inspector, Board of Public Welfare Commissioners and Secretary, Illinois Conference of Social Welfare.

Group Discussion 2. Specific Problems in Institutions Created by the Crisis. Discussion Leader: H. W. Hopkirk, Special Assistant for the Study of Institutional Needs, Child Welfare League of America, New York City.

Group Discussion 3. Specific Problems in Child-placing Agencies. Discussion Leader: Louis E. Evans, Secretary, Department of Child-placing, Joint Service Bureau, Chicago.

Group Discussion 4. The Housekeeper—an Old Tool Resharpened.

1. Maintaining the Integrity of the Family in a Crisis. Discussion Leader: Sadie Adelson, Jewish Welfare Society, Philadelphia.
2. Housekeeper Service as a Permanent Plan for Motherless Families. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Dorothy E. Alter, Jewish Home Finding Society, Chicago.
3. The Attitude of Fathers toward the Housekeeper Plan. Herschel Alt, St. Louis Children's Aid Society, St. Louis.

V. The Present Status of Children's Work

1. The Experience of England and Its Lessons for America. Maud Morlock, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.
2. The Situation in the United States. C. W. Areson, Cleveland Humane Society, Cleveland. Page 91.

3. The Importance of a Federal Census of Dependent and Neglected Children. Emma A. Winslow, Director, Social Statistics, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington.

Financing of Children's Work

1. During the Period of Depression. Leader: Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary, Children's Aid Society, New York City.
2. As a Long-Time Program. Leader: Mrs. Alice F. Liveright, Secretary of Welfare, Department of Welfare, Harrisburg.

Business Meeting

DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

- I. The Function of a Police Department in a Community Social Welfare Program. James K. Watkins, Police Commissioner, Detroit. Page 107.
Discussion Leader: James Owens, Director of Probation, New York State.
- II. The Function of Courts in a Community Social Welfare Program. Justin Miller, Dean, School of Law, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. Page 115.
Discussion Leaders: John S. Bradway, Professor of Law, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Jonah Goldstein, Judge, Magistrate's Court, New York City. Page 126.
- III. (Joint Session with the National Probation Association)
Probation in a Community Social Welfare Program. Charles L. Chute, Secretary, National Probation Association, New York City. Page 136.
Discussion Leaders: Herbert C. Parsons, Secretary, Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, Boston; Arthur Evans Wood, Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan.
- IV. Correctional Institutions in a Community Social Welfare Program
 1. Prisons and Reformatories. Edward R. Cass, Secretary, American Prison Association, New York City. Page 146
Discussion Leader: William J. Ellis, Director, New Jersey, Department Institutions and Agencies, Trenton
 2. Women's Reformatories and Institutions for Delinquent Children. Edna Mahan, Superintendent, Woman's Reformatory, Clinton, New Jersey.
Discussion Leader: Mrs. Blanche LaDu, Chairman, State Board of Control, St. Paul.
- V. (Joint Session with Division XI—Professional Standards and Education)
Preparation of Personnel for Public Welfare
Parole in a Community Social Welfare Program. Frederic A. Moran, Director, Parole Division, New York State, Albany. Page 157.
Discussion Leader: Clark Tibbetts, Professor, University of Michigan. Page 170.

DIVISION III. HEALTH

- I. (Joint Session with Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems—the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, and the American Social Hygiene Association)
Costs of Medical Care
 1. Experience in England. George McCleary, M.D., Formerly Principal Medical Officer, National Health Insurance Commission of England.

2. Trends and Problems of Medical Care. Michael M. Davis, Director, Medical Service, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago. Page 186.
3. The Significance to Social Work. Samuel A. Goldsmith, Executive Director, Jewish Charities of Chicago.

Discussant: John A. Kingsbury, Executive Director, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York City.

II. How To Maintain Health Standards in a Depression

1. What Are the Essentials? C. E. A. Winslow, Yale University, New Haven.
2. Alleviating the Bad Effects of Unemployment with Special Reference to the Health of Children. Anna Drake, Assistant Secretary, Public Health Federation, Cincinnati.

Business Meeting

(Joint Session with the American Association of Hospital Social Workers)
 Status of Social Service in Tuberculosis Institutions; Report on a Recent Study.
 (Joint Session with the American Association of Hospital Social Workers and the National Tuberculosis Association)

III. A Demonstration as to Childhood Tuberculosis

1. The Problem. H. D. Chadwick, M.D., City Health Department, Detroit. Page 197.
2. The Child, through Case Records, Making and Reading Skin Tests, Examination, X-Ray and Interpretation of Findings. Horton Casparis, M.D., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. Page 203.
3. Methods of Treatment. J. A. Meyers, M.D., Lymanhurst School, Minneapolis. Page 206.

(Joint Session with Division XII—Educational Publicity)

The Truth and Public Health

(Joint Session with the National Urban League)

IV. Negro Health

1. Major Health Problems. M. O. Bousfield, M.D., President-Elect, National Medical Association, Chicago. Page 216.
2. Local Experiences (North). Henry D. Chadwick, M.D., Detroit City Health Department. Page 227.
3. Local Experiences (South). M. J. Bent, M.D., Director of Department of Biology, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee.

V. (Joint Session with Division VI—Neighborhood and Community Life)

Health Teaching in Neighborhoods

1. Health Programs for Groups in Settlements, Y.M.C.A.'s, and Y.W.C.A.'s (Joint Paper). Helen Crosby, Assistant Welfare Supervisor, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York City, and Mrs. Katherine Z. Whipple, New York Tuberculosis and Health Association. Paper presented by Miss Crosby. Page 236.
2. Health Programs for Use of Lone Workers in Rural Areas. Edna L. Hamilton, Director of Nursing Service, Children's Fund of Michigan, Detroit. Page 245.

DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

I. (Joint Session with the Home Economists in Social Work)

The Depression and the Child's Nutrition

- II. (Joint Session with Division IX—Administration of Public Social Work—the American Public Welfare Association, and the Family Welfare Association of America)
- III. 1. Problems in the Administration of a Joint Plan of Family Case Work and Unemployment Relief. Edward D. Lynde, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland. Page 256.
2. The Use of Cash, Orders for Goods, or Relief in Kind in a Mass Program. Dorothy C. Kahn, Executive Director, Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia, and Director, Philadelphia County Relief Board. Page 270.
3. Conceptions as to the Primary Grant. Frederick I. Daniels, Executive Director, Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, New York City.

Business Meeting

DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY; DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

Division IV, The Family, and Division VII, Mental Hygiene, this year combined their National Conference time and held joint sessions throughout the week. They did this as an experiment and as a possibly useful demonstration with two primary objectives: (1) to organize a program along functional lines rather than along the usual divisional lines according to fields of work; (2) to provide more opportunity for informal group discussions in small groups by utilizing the nine-o'clock hour for the general meetings and the eleven-o'clock hour for group discussions.

- I. (Joint Session with the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers)
Activity in the Case-Work Relationship. Elizabeth Dexter, Director of Case Work, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City. Discussant: Hyman S. Lippman, M.D., Director, Amherst H. Wilder Child Guidance Clinic, St. Paul.
Mrs. Helen C. White, District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City. Page 280. Discussant: Laura Deitzel, District Secretary, Family Welfare Association, Milwaukee. Page 288.
- II. Some Technical Problems in the Case-Work Relationship
Group Discussion 1. The Intake Process in Family Welfare: Private Agencies. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Marion Schmadel Goodwin, Case-Work Consultant, Associated Charities, Cincinnati
Group Discussion 2. The Intake Process in Family Welfare: Public Agencies. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Clara Paul Paige, Assistant Director, Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago.
Group Discussion 3. The Intake Process in Mental Hygiene Clinics. Discussion Leader: Margaret Barbee, Chief of Social Work, Child Guidance Center, Pittsburgh.
Group Discussion 4. The Intake Process in Mental Hospitals. Discussion Leader: George F. Inch, M.D., Superintendent, Ypsilanti State Hospital, Ypsilanti, Michigan.
Group Discussion 5. (Joint Session with the Social Service Exchange Committee of the Association of Community Chests and Councils). The Intake Process as Related to the Social Service Exchange. Discussion Leader: Pearl C. Salsberry, Family Welfare Association, Minneapolis.
Group Discussion 6. Direct Treatment Work with the Child. Discussion Leader: Hyman S. Lippman, M.D., Director, Amherst H. Wilder Child Guidance Clinic, St. Paul.

Group Discussion 7. Current Practice in the Clinic Approach to Parents. Discussion Leader: Deborah Rosenblum, Case-Work Supervisor, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City.

Group Discussion 8. The Use of "Limitation" in Therapeutic Treatment. Discussion Leader: Rachael Childrey, Family Society, Philadelphia.

III. (Joint Session with Division I—Children—and Division X—The Immigrant)
Youth in a Troubled World

1. Problems for Contemporary Youth. Jane Addams, Hull-House, Chicago.
2. Government Responsibility. Grace Abbott, Children's Bureau, Washington. Page 291.
3. Youth and Mental Hygiene. Herbert E. Chamberlain, M.D., University of Chicago. Page 301.

Group Discussion 1. The Function of a Family Consultation Service. Discussion Leader: Karl de Schweinitz, Executive Secretary, Community Council, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 2. Life Insurance Adjustment from the Social-Work Standpoint. Discussion Leader: Edwin G. Eklund, Manager, Life Insurance Adjustment Bureau, New York City.

Group Discussion 3. Factors Making for and against Successful Adjustment in Marriage. Discussion Leaders: E. W. Burgess, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago; L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Department of Sociology, University of Chicago.

Law as a Creative Force in Social Life

1. Law as a Creative Force in Social Welfare. Joseph N. Ulman, Judge, Supreme Bench, Baltimore. Page 314.
2. Realistic Reflections on Law as a Constructive Social Force. Jerome N. Frank, Department of Agriculture, Washington. Page 326.

IV. Group Discussion 1. Panel meeting on: Problems of Compulsory Education. Discussion Leader: M. Edith Campbell, Director, Vocation Bureau, Cincinnati Public Schools, Cincinnati.

Panel: Herbert E. Chamberlain, University of Chicago; Courtenay Dinwiddie, National Child Labor Committee, New York City; C. W. Hoffman, Judge, Court of Domestic Relations, Cincinnati; Fern Lowry, New York Charity Organization Society; Rev. Thomas L. Brennock, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York; S. A. Courtis, University of Michigan; Herbert D. Williams, Dobbs Ferry; Monsignor Marcellus Wagner, Cincinnati Catholic Charities; Eleanor Rowland Wembridge, Juvenile Court, Cleveland; Maud Watson, Detroit Child Guidance Clinic; Winifred Hayes, Detroit Public Schools; Charlotte Carr, Pennsylvania Department of Labor; William Arbaugh, Willard School, Highland Park, Michigan; Sarah Kerr, Detroit Public Schools.

Main Question:

Which child is developing toward better citizenship: the supervised child in school who is rebellious under compulsion, or the unsupervised child out of school whether he be idle or in industry?

Subsidiary Questions:

1. What is compulsory education?
2. What are the state's functions and responsibilities toward education?
3. When is compulsory education or supervised work inimical to the welfare of the individual?

Group Discussion 2. Problems of Parental Neglect. Discussion Leader: Elizabeth

Cosgrove, Supervisor, Boarding Homes, Department of Public Welfare, White Plains, New York.

Group Discussion 3. Problems of Interpreting "Moral" Fitness in Mothers' Allowance Cases. Discussion Leader: Gertrude Vaile, University of Minnesota.

Group Discussion 4. Problems Relating to the Protection of Women in Industry. Discussion Leader: Hansi P. Pollock, Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Group Discussion 5. Problems of Administration of Old-Age Relief. Discussion Leader: Richard Cadbury, District Supervisor, Division of Old Age Security, State Department of Social Welfare, New York City.

V. Economic Problems and Social Work

1. Emotional Responses to Economic Change. Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia. Page 333.

Discussant: Dr. Paul Rankin, Director, Department of Research and Adjustment, Board of Education, Detroit.

2. The Problem of Economic Reform. Leo Wolman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York City.

(Joint Session with Division VIII—Organization of Social Forces—and Division XI—Professional Standards and Education—and the American Association of Social Workers)

The Developing National Program of Relief

The State's Responsibility for Standards in the Administration of Relief. John G. Winant, Governor of New Hampshire.

Other papers will be presented by members of the Committee on Federal Action of the American Association of Social Workers.

DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

I. (Joint Session with Division III—Health) Costs of Medical Care

II. The Makers of Our Automobiles

1. Wages, Hours, and Productivity in the Automobile Industry. J. C. Bowen, Chief Statistician, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington.

2. The Effects of the Depression on Women and Their Families (in South Bend, Indiana, a Representative Industrial Community). Mary Anderson, Chief, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington.

Discussion Leaders: William Haber, Professor, State College, East Lansing, Michigan; John L. Lovett, Manager, Michigan Manufacturers' Association, Detroit; John J. Scannell, Secretary, Michigan State Federation of Labor, Detroit.

III. (Joint Session with the National Child Labor Committee)

A Minimum Wage for Minors

Group Discussion 1. Self-Help Committees of the Unemployed. Discussion Leader: Elizabeth Nutting, Council of Social Agencies, Dayton.

Group Discussion 2. (a) Organized Labor and Social Work; (b) The Church and Labor. Discussion Leaders: Nell Scott, Pittsburgh Family Welfare Association, Pittsburgh; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Detroit University.

Group Discussion 3. Housing.

IV. (Joint Session with Division VIII—Organization of Social Forces—and the American Association for Labor Legislation)**Unemployment Insurance and Reserves**

1. Ohio Presses for Unemployment Insurance. Marvin C. Harrison, Member, State Senate, Cleveland.
2. Legislative Action in Other States. Paul A. Raushenbush, Consultant on Unemployment Compensation, Wisconsin Industrial Commission, Madison.

Discussion Leaders: Glenford W. Lawrence, Executive Secretary, Illinois Commission Economic Security; Joseph P. Chamberlain, Columbia University, New York City; Mrs. Kathleen Jennison Lowrie, Probation Department, Recorders' Court, Detroit.
Business Meeting

V. (Joint Session with the American Association for Labor Legislation and the National Consumers' League)**The Minimum Wage in Industry**

1. The Rôle of the Minimum Wage in a Planned Industrial Order. William Gorham Rice, Jr., School of Law, University of Wisconsin.
2. Minimum Wage Laws: Legislative and Administrative Progress. Lucy Randolph Mason, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York City. Page 378.

Discussion Leader: Elizabeth Magee, Secretary, Consumers' League of Ohio, Cleveland.

DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE**I. The Community in the Economic Crisis**

1. Evidences of Factors Contributing to Disorganization of Community Life. Clara A. Kaiser, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.
2. Evidences of Factors Contributing to Integration of Community Life. Karl Borders, Secretary, League for Industrial Democracy, Chicago.

II. (Joint Session with Division IX—Administration of Public Social Work)**The Community in the Economic Crisis**

1. Can the City Be Adapted to the New Leisure? An Answer. Clarence A. Perry, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 387.
2. The Responsibility of the Public Agencies in Providing Leisure-Time Activities. William G. Robinson, National Recreation Association, New York City.

III. The Community in the Economic Crisis

1. A Survey of the Recent Barter and Exchange Movement and Its Implications. Witt Bowden, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington. Page 398.
2. A Survey of the Recent Movement for Producers and Consumers Co-operatives: Implications. Jerome Davis, Yale University. Page 408.

Business Meeting

IV. Group Discussion 1. Criteria for Evaluating the Group Work Method. Discussion Leader: Frank J. Skalak, Director, Brashear Settlement, Pittsburgh.

Group Discussion 2. Integrating the Contribution of Negro Culture to Community Life. Discussion Leader: James H. Hubert, Executive Secretary, New York Urban League.

Group Discussion 3. Volunteer Leadership in Community and Neighborhood Agencies. Discussion Leader: Lea Taylor, Chicago Commons, Chicago.

Discussants:

1. Use of the Volunteer in Rural Social Work. J. H. Montgomery, Executive Director, the Co-operative Education Association of Virginia.
2. Recruiting and Retaining Men as Volunteer Workers. Joseph A. Beattie, Franklin Street Settlement, Detroit.

The Strategy of Community Action in a Period of Recovery

1. Slum Clearance and Housing. Howard Whipple Green, Secretary, Health Council, Cleveland.
2. Urbanization of the Negro. James H. Hubert, Executive Secretary, New York Urban League. Page 418.
3. Social Implications of Slum Clearance and Housing Programs. William W. Biddle, Western Reserve University, Cleveland. Page 426.

V. (Joint Session with Division III—Health)

Health Teaching in Neighborhoods

DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

I. (Joint Session with Division X—The Immigrant)

II. Mental Hygiene and Recreation

1. Recreation as an Integral Part of the Mental Hygiene Program. Lewis R. Barrett, Director of Recreation, Department of Education, Newark.
2. The Place of Recreation in Developing Wholesome Personality. Henry M. Busch, Head, Division of Informal Adult Education, Cleveland College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland. Page 362.

Business Meeting

DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

I. New Experiments in Unifying Community Programs

A. V. Cannon, Chairman, Cuyahoga County Joint Committee on Relief Measures, Cleveland; Carter Taylor, Secretary, Welfare Federation, Harrisburg.

II. (Joint Session with Division XII—Educational Publicity—and the National Committee of Volunteers in Social Work)

Planning for Volunteer Service

1. Volunteer Service in the Rural Community. Robert E. Bondy, National Director, Disaster Relief, American Red Cross, Washington. Page 434.
2. Training for Board Membership. Mrs. DeForest Van Slyck, Executive Director, Association of Junior Leagues of America, New York City.
3. The Volunteer Looks at the Social Agency. Rev. Robert W. Woodroffe, St. John's Episcopal Church, President, Detroit Council of Social Agencies.
4. Possibilities of Volunteer Service in Public Agencies. Mrs. I. Albert Liveright, Secretary of Welfare, Department of Welfare, Harrisburg. Page 439.

III. (Joint Session with Division XI—Professional Standards and Education)

Centralizing the Administration of Private Social Work. Julius Amberg, Attorney, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Page 447; Linton B. Swift, Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City.

Business Meeting

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- IV. (Joint Session with the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies)
Transients and Homeless
(Ten Group Discussions. Joint Session with the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies).
Government Economics and Social Service Programs. Louis Brownlow, Director, Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago; Arch Mandel, Secretary, Community Chest, Dayton, Ohio. Page 456.
- V. (Joint Session with Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems)
Unemployment Insurance
Social Planning on a Neighborhood Basis. Mrs. Mary Clarke Burnett, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Department of Social Work, Pittsburgh. Page 465. Percival Dodge, Executive Secretary, Community Fund, and Council of Social Agencies, Detroit. Page 473; Arthur A. Guild, Director, Community Fund, Richmond, Virginia. Page 478.
(Joint Session with Division IV—The Family—and Division VII—Mental Hygiene)
The Developing National Program of Relief

DIVISION IX. ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

- I. Co-operative Effort for Unemployment Relief—Federal, State, and Local
1. Organizing Governmental Agencies for Unemployment Relief. Fred C. Croxton, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington.
2. Civilian Conservation Camps. W. Frank Persons, Department of Labor, Washington.
Business Meeting
- II. (Joint Session with Division VI—Neighborhood and Community Life)
The Community in the Economic Crisis
Co-ordination of the Work of State and Local Units for Welfare Administration. Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Director of Medicine, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton. Page 481; Mrs. Blanche L. LaDu, Chairman, State Board of Control, Minnesota. Page 494; Margaret Reeves, State Director, Bureau of Child Welfare, State Board of Public Welfare, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Wilfred S. Reynolds, Executive Secretary, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, Chicago. Page 506.
- III. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family)
Problems in the Administration of a Joint Plan of Family Case Work and Unemployment Relief
- IV. (Joint Session with the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies)
Transients and Homeless
(Ten Group Discussions Joint with the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies)
- V. (Joint Session with Division XII—Educational Publicity)
1. A State Handles Its Public Welfare Problems. David Adie, Commissioner of Department of Social Welfare, New York. Page 516.
2. Pioneering in the Southwest. Aubrey W. Williams, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago. Page 534.

Local, State, and Federal Interrelationship in Public Welfare.

1. Finance. S. D. Leland, University of Chicago. Page 542.
2. Administration. Paul V. Betters, American Municipal Association, Chicago. Welfare Institutions and Agencies and the Depression. J. A. Brown, Secretary, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis; Fred K. Hochler, Director of Public Welfare of Hamilton County, Cincinnati.

DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

- I. 1. The Legal Status of the Alien Viewed Historically. David W. Wainhouse, Director, American Branch of the International Migration Service, New York City. Page 556.

2. The Administration of the Alien Laws. Colonel Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner-General of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington.

Discussion Leader: Edith Terry Bremer, National Board, Y.W.C.A., New York City.

- II. (Joint Session with the Committee on Relations with Social Agencies of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations)

Collaboration between the Legal Aid Worker and the Social Worker in Germany.

(Joint Session with the National Conference of International Institutes)

Are the First Five Years the Hardest?

- III. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family—and Division VII—Mental Hygiene)

Youth in a Troubled World

Group Discussion 1. Cultural Factors in Case Work with the Foreign-Born.

Discussants: Evelyn Hersey, Executive Director, International Institute, Young Women's Christian Association, Philadelphia; Theddeus Slezinski, Cook County Public Welfare, Chicago.

Group Discussion 2. Youth Speaks to Social Workers.

Discussants: Rose Esperti, Senior Case Worker, International Institute of the Young Women's Christian Association, Detroit; Mary Beck, Editor, Ukrainian and English *Women's World*, Pittsburgh; William Toderan, Senior, Northeastern High School, Detroit.

Group Discussion 3:

1. Have We Still an Immigration Problem? Read Lewis, Director, Foreign-Language Information Service, New York City. Page 566.

2. Assistance to Aliens. Andree Colin, Assistant to Director, Social-Questions Section of the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

3. Assistance to Aliens—in America. George L. Warren, International Director, International Migration Service, New York City. Page 578.

Business Meeting

- IV. (Joint Session with Division VII—Mental Hygiene)

Mental Hygiene and Recreation

- V. (Joint Session with the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship)

Citizenship, a Pivot in Family Adjustment

Panel meeting on: What Are the Problems of the Alien Today?

(Joint Session with the Conference on Immigration Policy)

The Hospital, the Alien, and the Immigration Law

Panel meeting on: What Is Our Program?

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DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

- I. 1. Social Workers and a New Social Order. Karl Borders, League for Industrial Democracy, Chicago. Page 590.

2. Recent Changes in the Philosophy of Social Workers. Antoinette Cannon, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 597.

Discussion Leader: Rev. John O'Grady, Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington.

- II. Economic Objectives for Social Work—a National Program. Statement Prepared by the Committee on Federal Action of the American Association of Social Workers and Presented by H. L. Lurie. Page 639.

Discussants: I. M. Rubinow, Secretary B'Nai B'rith, Cincinnati; Paul U. Kellogg, Editor, *The Survey*, New York City; Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; Edith Abbott, Dean, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago; Helen Hall, Head Resident, University House, Philadelphia; Kenneth Pray, Director, Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, Philadelphia; Wilber I. Newstetter, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

Business Meeting

- III. (Joint Session with Division VIII—Organization of Social Forces)
Centralizing the Administration of Private Social Work

IV. Social-Work Personnel in the United States

1. The Number and Distribution of Social Workers in the United States. Ralph G. Hurlin, Director, Department of Statistics, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 608.
2. The Massachusetts Census of Social Workers. Maurice Taylor, Boston, Jewish Family Welfare Association, Boston.
3. Unemployment among Social Workers and Vocational Trends. Lillian A. Quinn, Director, Joint Vocational Service, New York City.
4. Next Steps in Job Analyses. Neva Deardorff, Director, Research Bureau, Welfare Council, New York City. Page 619.

(Joint Session with Division II—Delinquents and Correction—and the American Association of Hospital Social Workers)

Preparation of Personnel for Public Welfare

1. The Recruiting and Selection by Public Agencies. Margaret Reeves, Bureau of Child Welfare, Santa Fe.
2. The Problem for Schools of Social Work. A. Wayne McMillen, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. Page 631.
3. Special Training Programs for the Personnel of Public Agencies. Elizabeth Wisner, Acting Director, Tulane University School of Social Work, New Orleans.

Discussants: Agnes Van Driel; Kathleen J. Lowrie.

- V. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family—and Division VII—Mental Hygiene)

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DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

I. Education for Legislation

1. The Responsibility of Social Workers for Legislation. Peter Kasius, Director, Provident Association, St. Louis.
2. Planning the Legislative Program. Lillian J. Johnson, Director, Child Welfare Association, Omaha. Page 652.

II. (Joint Session with Division VIII—Organization of Social Forces) Planning for Volunteer Service

III. Regaining Lost Territory—a Discussion

Discussion Leaders: Clare M. Tousley, Associate Director, Charity Organization Society, New York City; John F. Hall, Executive Secretary, Seattle Community Fund, Seattle; Bart Andress, Director of Finance, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn; Charles C. Stillman, Director, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University.

Business Meeting

(Joint Session with Division IX—Administration of Public Social Work)

A State Handles Its Public Welfare Problems

IV. (Joint Session with Division III—Health)

The Truth and Public Health

1. The Jig-Saw Puzzle of Health Publicity. T. J. Edmonds, Executive Secretary, Iowa Tuberculosis Association, Des Moines.
2. Subject to be announced. Howard Whipple Green, Secretary, Cleveland Health Council, Cleveland.

V. The Interpretation of Social Work in the School Curriculum

1. How Detroit Lays the Foundation. Beatrice Farnham, Hutchins Intermediate School, Detroit. Page 660.
2. The Cincinnati School Program. Otto W. Davis, Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati.

COMMITTEE ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

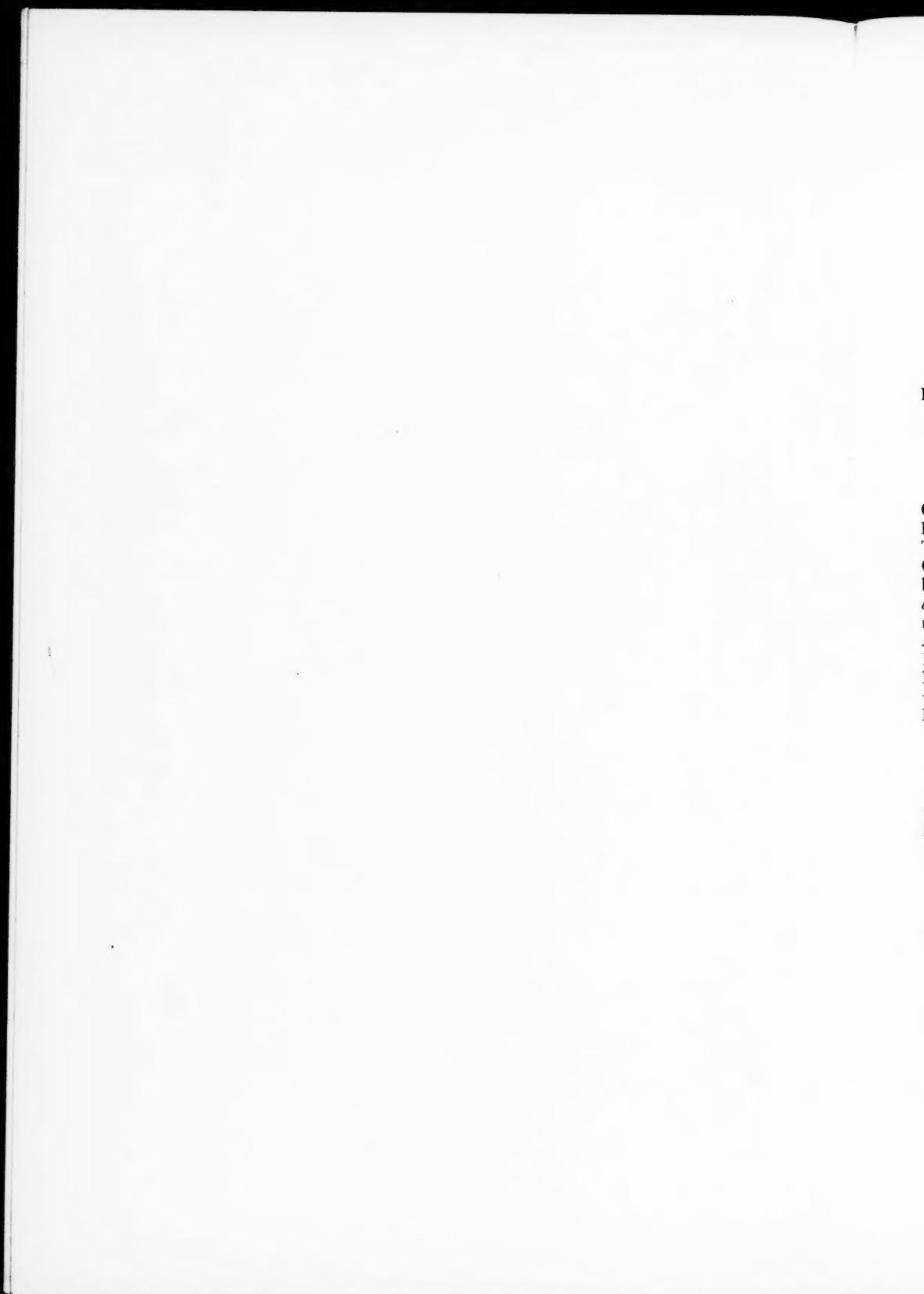
I. Indian Administration

1. Some Policies, Hopes and Fears. Hon. John Collier, U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington. Page 667.
2. Recent Developments in Social Aspects. Edna Groves, Supervisor of Home Economics, U.S. Indian Office, Department of the Interior, Washington.

II. Relationships between Indian Homes and Schools. Mrs. Kate Wagon Smith, School Social Worker, U.S. Indian Office, Department of Interior, Washington; Ben Dwight, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, Durant, Oklahoma. Page 677.



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DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman: George L. Warren, New York City*Vice-Chairman:* Aghavnie Yeghenian, New York City*Secretary:* Harriette F. Ryan, St. Louis

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

James H. Batten.....	Claremont, Calif.	Mary E. McDowell.....	Chicago
Emory S. Bogardus.....	Los Angeles	Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell.....	Pittsburgh
B. F. Coen.....	Fort Collins, Colo.	Rev. W. F. Mullally.....	St. Louis
Ida L. Hull.....	Boston	Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich.....	Chicago
Leifur Magnussen.....	Washington	Aghavnie Yeghenian.....	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Edith Abbott.....	Chicago	Mary E. Hurlbutt.....	New York City
Mrs. Cecilia Razovsky-Davidson.....	New York City	Katherine M. Kohler.....	Minneapolis
E. S. Howard.....	Cincinnati	Bruce M. Mohler.....	Washington

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Jane Addams.....	Chicago	Max J. Kohler.....	New York City
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.....	Chicago	Ruth Larned.....	New York City
Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer.....	New York City	Florina Lasker.....	New York City
Jane Perry Clark.....	New York City	Read Lewis.....	New York City
Allen Eaton.....	New York City	Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer.....	Boston

DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman: Harry L. Lurie, New York City*Vice-Chairman:* Agnes Van Driel, Chicago*Secretary:* Walter West, New York City

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Frank J. Bruno.....	St. Louis	Rose J. McHugh.....	New York City
C. C. Carstens.....	New York City	Gertrude Vaile.....	Minneapolis
Almena Dawley.....	Philadelphia		

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Mrs. Edith M. H. Baylor.....	Boston	Forrester B. Washington.....	Atlanta
Philip Klein.....	New York City	Helen Leland Witmer.....	Northampton
Ellery F. Reed.....	Cincinnati		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

R. E. Arne.....	Berkeley	Eva Smill.....	New Orleans
Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad.....	Syracuse	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall.....	Montgomery
Dorothy C. Kahn.....	Philadelphia		

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman: Philip L. Ketchum, Omaha*Vice-Chairman:* Bart Andress, New York City*Secretary:* Paul O. Komora, New York City

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Paul S. Bliss.....	St. Louis	Mrs. Mary Swain Routzahn New York City
Philip L. Ketchum.....	Omaha	
Charles I. Madison.....	Des Moines	Mrs. Gertrude H. Springer New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

D. M. LeBourdais.....	Toronto	Elmer Scott.....Dallas, Tex.
A. Wayne McMillen.....	Chicago	Leon Whipple.....New York City
Kenneth L. Messenger.....	Wethersfield, Conn.	

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Louise M. Clevenger.....	St. Paul	Albert H. Jewell.....Kansas City
Arthur A. Guild.....	Richmond	Mary S. Sims.....New York City
Olga Edith Gunkle.....	Denver	Anne Sprague.....Detroit

PART II

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1934

OFFICERS

President, William Hodson, New York City.

First Vice-President, J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; *Second Vice-President*, Mary L. Gibbons, New York City; *Third Vice-President*, Joel D. Hunter, Chicago.

Treasurer, Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio.

General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: William Hodson, President, J. Prentice Murphy; *First Vice-President*; Charles C. Stillman, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1934*: Sanford Bates, Washington; Richard C. Cabot, M.D., Cambridge, Massachusetts; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia; Emil G. Steger, St. Louis; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta. *Term expiring 1935*: Pierce Atwater, St. Paul; Frank Bane, Chicago; Paul T. Beisser, Baltimore; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia. *Term expiring 1936*: Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; William J. Ellis, Trenton, New Jersey; William Hodson, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot; Washington; Harry L. Lurie, New York City. *Chairmen of Divisions*: Lawrence C. Cole, Cleveland; William J. Ellis, Trenton, New Jersey; Virginia R. Wing, Cleveland; Edward Lynde, New York City; Mary Anderson, Washington; Stuart A. Queen, St. Louis; Herbert E. Chamberlain, Chicago; Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis; Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe; Florence Cassidy, New York City; Harry L. Lurie, New York City; E. C. Lindeman, New York City.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

(Following are the committees for 1933-34, including the new members and officers elected at Detroit. All those appointed or elected have not yet accepted.)

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: William Hodson, New York City; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expires 1934*: Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia; Rev. Frederick Siedenburg, Detroit. *Term expires 1935*: Florence Hutsinpillar, Washington; George Rabinoff, New York City. *Term expires 1936*: Stanley Davies, New York City; Gordon Hamilton, New York City.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Blanche L. LaDu, St. Paul, Chairman; Ruth W. Atkinson, Tampa; Marguerite Boylan, Brooklyn; Roy M. Cushman, Boston; Effie Doan, Chicago; John M. Glenn, New York City; Solomon Lowenstein, New York City; Rev. John O'Grady, Washington; Mrs. M. C. Sloss, San Francisco.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Fred S. Hall, New York City, Chairman; David C. Adie, Albany; Florence Nesbitt, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Elwood Street, Washington, Chairman; Paul Bliss, St. Louis; Lucille K. Corbett, Cleveland; Louise Drury, Los Angeles; Edith F. Foster, Milwaukee; Samuel Goldsmith, Chicago; Howard R. Hush, Minneapolis; Clarence King, New York City; Eileen M. Kinsella, Montreal; Charles O. Lee, Memphis; Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York City; Louise McGuire, Washington; A. Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Gay Shepperson, Atlanta; Marietta Stevenson, Chicago; Mary Stotsenburg, Louisville; Ralph A. Tracy, Detroit; Lieutenant Colonel Edward Underwood, New York City; Charles E. Vasaly, St. Cloud, Minnesota; C. V. Williams, Chicago.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis, President; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio, Editor; Katharine Hardwick, Boston, 1934; Jessie F. Binford, Chicago, 1935; Mary E. Hurlbut, New York City, 1936.

DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

DIVISION I. CHILDREN

Chairman: Lawrence C. Cole, Cleveland

Vice-Chairman: W. W. Burke, St. Louis

Secretary: Elsa Castendyke, Minneapolis

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Matty L. Beattie	Providence	L. H. Millikan	Indianapolis
Harrison A. Dobbs	Chicago	James S. Plant, M.D.	Newark, N.J.
Jacob Kepes	Chicago	Margaret Reeves	Santa Fe
Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Elizabeth E. Bissell	Boston	Charles F. Hall	St. Paul
Louise Cottrell	Portland, Ore.	William C. Headrick	Nashville
Loula Dunn	Montgomery	Leonard W. Mayo	Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.
Leon W. Frost	Detroit		

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Helen Cole	New York City	C. F. Ramsey	Coldwater, Mich.
Violet Greenhill	Austin, Tex.	Verna Smith	Cincinnati
Edith Lauer	Baltimore	Forrester B. Washington	Atlanta
Olive O'Brien	Detroit		

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Edith M. Baker, St. Louis, representing the American Association of Hospital Social Workers.

Charles L. Chute, New York City, representing the National Probation Association.

Courtenay Dinwiddie, New York City, representing the National Child Labor Committee.

Pauline Fairchild, Cleveland, representing the American Association of Visiting Teachers.

Ruth Roberts Mix, New Haven, representing the Girls' Protective Council.

Bert Printz, Youngstown, Ohio, representing the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation.

Emma C. Puschner, Indianapolis, representing the American Legion, National Child Welfare Division.

Marjorie Crain Upton, New York City, representing the National Federation of Day Nurseries.

DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Chairman: William J. Ellis, Trenton, N.J.

Vice-Chairman: Justin Miller, Durham, N.C.

Secretary: Henrietta S. Additon, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Edward R. Cass.....	New York City	Eleanore L. Hutzel.....	Detroit
Harrison A. Dobbs.....	Chicago	Edwin H. Sutherland.....	Chicago
Jane M. Hoey.....	New York City	Miriam Van Waters	Framingham, Mass.

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Grace Abbott.....	Washington	Edith N. Burleigh.....	Los Angeles
Sanford Bates.....	Washington	William J. Ellis.....	Trenton, N.J.
Arthur L. Beeley.....	Salt Lake City	George M. Read.....	Detroit
Jessie F. Binford.....	Chicago		

TERM EXPIRES 1936

C. W. Hoffman.....	Cincinnati	James S. Plant, M.D.....	Newark, N.J.
Charles E. Hughes, Jr.	New York City	Kenyon Scudder.....	Los Angeles
Herbert C. Parsons.....	Boston		

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Charles L. Chute, New York City, representing the National Probation Association.

John D. Crowley, Cambridge, representing the American Legion, National Child

Welfare Division.

Mrs. George V. McIntyre, Chicago, representing the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation.

Ruth Roberts Mix, New Haven, representing the Girls' Protective Council.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

DIVISION III. HEALTH

Chairman: Virginia R. Wing, Cleveland*Vice-Chairman:* Kendall Emerson, New York City*Secretary:* Ira V. Hiscock, New HavenG.
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TERM EXPIRES 1934

Paul L. Benjamin.....	Buffalo	Kathryne Radebaugh.....	Minneapolis
Robert H. Horan.....	Louisville	Ira DeA. Reid.....	New York City
Eleanor E. Kelly.....	Boston	Mary Ross.....	New York City
Robert W. Kelso.....	Washington	Evart G. Routzahn.....	New York City
S. C. Kingsley.....	Philadelphia		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

T. J. Edmonds.....	Des Moines	Elba L. Morse.....	Marquette, Mich.
Howard W. Green.....	Cleveland	John Sundwall.....	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Bleecker Marquette.....	Cincinnati	Katharine Tucker.....	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Margaret Byington.....	New York City	Katharine F. Lenroot.....	Washington
Michael M. Davis.....	Chicago	Helen MacMurchy.....	Ottawa
Anna M. Drake.....	Cincinnati	Sophie Nelson.....	Boston
Alice Hill.....	New York City	William P. Shepard.....	San Francisco
Albert H. Jewell.....	Kansas City	Estelle Warner.....	Washington

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Charles H. Lerrigo, Topeka, representing the National Tuberculosis Association.
 Valeria H. Parker, M.D., New York City, representing the American Social Hygiene Association.

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DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

Chairman: Edward Lynde, New York City*Vice-Chairman:* Frances Taussig, New York City*Secretary:* Francis McLean, New York CityJ
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TERM EXPIRES 1934

W. S. Bixby.....	Nashville	Dorothy E. Kellogg.....	Niagara Falls
Sara Alice Brown.....	New York City	Rose J. McHugh.....	New York City
A. A. Heckman.....	St. Paul		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Rev. Thomas L. Brennock	New York City	Florence Hutsinpillar.....	Washington
Susan D. Copland.....	Detroit	Evelyn P. Johnson.....	Milwaukee
Frederick Daniels.....	Syracuse	Florence Nesbitt.....	Chicago
Leah Feder.....	St. Louis	Esther Twente.....	Kansas City
J. Blaine Gwin.....	Washington	Helen Wallerstein.....	Philadelphia

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION FOR 1934

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TERM EXPIRES 1936

G. B. Clarke.....	Montreal	Betsey Libbey.....	Philadelphia
Angela Cox.....	Atlanta	Mary Luella Sauer.....	Pittsburgh
Mrs. Edward Lewis.....	Chicago	Eva Smill.....	New Orleans

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Rev. C. Rankin Barnes, New York City, representing the Episcopal Social Work Conference.

Brigadier Louis C. Bennett, Chicago, representing the Salvation Army.

J. Blaine Gwin, Washington, representing the American National Red Cross.

Katharine Hardwick, Boston, representing the American Association of Schools of Professional Social Work.

Violet Kittner, Cleveland, representing the National Conference of Jewish Social Service.

Francis H. McLean, New York City, representing the Family Welfare Association of America.

Ethel Taylor, New York City, representing the Child Welfare League of America.

Marjorie Crain Upton, New York City, representing the National Federation of Day Nurseries.

Marjory C. Warren, Boston, representing the National Association of Traveler's Aid Societies.

Rev. L. Foster Wood, New York City, representing the Church Conference of Social Work.

Margaret Wells Wood, New York City, representing the American Social Hygiene Association.

DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman: Mary Anderson, Washington

Vice-Chairman: John A. Lapp, Chicago

Secretary: Dorothea de Schweinitz, Philadelphia

TERM EXPIRES 1934

John B. Andrews.....	New York City	Raymond P. Sanford.....	Chicago
John A. Fitch.....	New York City	Rev. Frederic Siedenburg.....	Detroit
Paul U. Kellogg.....	New York City	William H. Stead.....	Minneapolis

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.....	Chicago	Paul H. Douglas.....	Chicago
Lucy P. Carner.....	New York City	Helen Hall.....	Philadelphia
Elisabeth Christman.....	Washington	W. Frank Persons.....	Chicago
Tracy Copp.....	Washington	Dorothea de Schweinitz....	Philadelphia

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Paul L. Benjamin.....	Buffalo	Rev. John R. Mulroy.....	Denver
Elizabeth S. Magee.....	Cleveland	Philip Randolph.....	New York City
Leifur Magnusson.....	Washington	Ben M. Selekman.....	Boston
James Mullenbach.....	Chicago	Agnes Van Driel.....	Chicago

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Courtenay Dinwiddie, New York City, representing the National Child Labor Committee.

Fred K. Hochler, Cincinnati, representing the American Public Welfare Association.

Spencer Miller, Jr., New York City, representing the Episcopal Social Work Conference.

James Myers, New York City, representing the Church Conference of Social Work.

DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman: Stuart A. Queen, St. Louis

Vice-Chairman: J. Edward Sproul, New York City

Secretary: C. M. Chick, Kansas City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Robbins Gilman.....	Minneapolis	Robert W. Kelso.....	Washington
Ray Johns.....	Detroit	Walter W. Pettit.....	New York City
Clara A. Kaiser.....	Cleveland		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Helen Hall.....	Philadelphia	Eugene T. Lies.....	New York City
Eugene Kinckle Jones.....	New York City	Eduard C. Lindeman.....	New York City
Paul U. Kellogg.....	New York City	Lea D. Taylor.....	Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Eleanor Flynn.....	Chicago	Wilber I. Newstetter.....	Cleveland
Esther M. Hawes.....	Pittsburgh	Edna Porter.....	Minneapolis
Helen Morton.....	Boston		

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVE

Elizabeth Herring, New York City, representing the National Board, Young Women's Christian Association.

DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman: Herbert E. Chamberlain, M.D., Chicago

Vice-Chairman: Hyman S. Lippman, M.D., St. Paul

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Frederick H. Allen, M.D. . . Philadelphia	Margaret Moffit Platner.....	Chicago
Asher T. Childers, M.D. Cincinnati	Christine C. Robb.....	New York City
Elizabeth H. Dexter..... New York City	George Stevenson, M.D. . . New York City	
E. Van Norman Emery, M.D.	J. C. Thurrott, M.D. Flint, Mich.	
	New Haven	

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION FOR 1934

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TERM EXPIRES 1935

H. E. Chamberlain, M.D.	Chicago	Esther Heath	Pasadena
Stanley P. Davies	New York City	Sarah Ivins	New York City
Mrs. W. F. Dummer	Chicago	George Reeve, M.D.	Cleveland
Sarah C. Hartman	Richmond	H. M. Tiebout, M.D.	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Cornelia Hopkins Allen	Chicago	Edith Burleigh	Los Angeles
Margaret Barbee	Pittsburgh	Franklin G. Ebbaugh, M.D.	Denver
Augusta Bronner, M.D.	Boston	Charlotte Towle	Chicago

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Elizabeth Brockett, East Orange, N.J., representing the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.

Gladys Hall, Portland, Ore., representing the American Association of Visiting Teachers.

Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe, representing the Child Welfare League of America.

DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman: Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis

Vice-Chairman: Roy M. Cushman, Boston

Secretary: Mary B. Stotsenberg, Louisville

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Pierce Atwater	St. Paul	John F. Hall	Seattle
Otto F. Bradley	Minneapolis	Carter Taylor	Harrisburg
Raymond Clapp	Cleveland		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Charles J. Birt	Madison, Wis.	E. J. Lerrick	Akron, Ohio
Roy M. Cushman	Boston	Wilfred S. Reynolds	Chicago
Percival Dodge	Detroit		

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Ralph H. Blanchard	New York City	Arch Mandel	Dayton, Ohio
Frederick I. Daniels	New York City	Mary B. Stotsenburg	Louisville
J. Howard T. Falk	Vancouver		

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Brigadier J. J. Allan, New York City, representing the Salvation Army.

Robert E. Bondy, Washington, representing the American National Red Cross.

Lucy Carner, New York City, representing the National Board, Young Women's Christian Associations.

Harry Greenstein, Baltimore, representing the National Conference of Jewish Social Service.

Wilbur F. Maxwell, Pittsburgh, representing the Community Chests and Councils.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

DIVISION IX. ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

Chairman: Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe
Vice-Chairman: Arthur W. James, Richmond
Secretary: Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Mary Irene Atkinson	Columbus, Ohio	Charles H. Johnson	Albany, N.Y.
Sanford Bates	Washington	Walter V. McCarthy	Boston
W. S. Bixby	Nashville	Ruth Taylor	East View, N.Y.
Jeffrey R. Brackett	Boston	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall	Montgomery
J. A. Brown	Indianapolis	Mabel Weed	Redwood City, Calif.
John L. Gillin	Madison, Wis.		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Grace Abbott	Washington	Blanche L. LaDu	St. Paul
Mrs. W. T. Bost	Raleigh	A. W. Laver	Toronto
Amos W. Butler	Indianapolis	Gay B. Shepperson	Atlanta
Calvert H. Estill	Charleston, W.Va.	Marietta Stevenson	Chicago
Arthur W. James	Richmond	George S. Wilson	Washington

TERM EXPIRES 1936

David Adie	Albany, N.Y.	Emil Frankel	Trenton, N.J.
A. L. Bowen	Springfield, Ill.	Leroy A. Halbert	Washington
Richard K. Conant	Boston	Mrs. I. Albert Liveright	Harrisburg
Grube B. Cornish	South Portland, Me.	Helen C. Mawer	Tallahassee
Louise Cottrell	Portland, Ore.	Ellen C. Potter, M.D.	Trenton, N.J.

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Rose Porter, New York City, representing the Family Welfare Association of America.

Ella Weinfurther Reed, Cincinnati, representing the National Association of Travelers' Aid Societies.

Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans, representing the American Association of Hospital Social Workers.

DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman: Florence G. Cassidy, New York City
Vice-Chairman: Leifur Magnusson, Washington
Secretary: Zena Saul, Pittsburgh

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Edith Abbott	Chicago	Bruce M. Mohler	Washington
E. S. Howard	Cincinnati	Cecilia Razovsky-Davidson	New York City
Mary E. Hurlbut	New York City		
Katherine M. Kohler	Minneapolis	Marian Schibsby	New York City

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION FOR 1934

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TERM EXPIRES 1935

Jane Addams.....	Chicago	Max J. Kohler.....	New York City
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.....	Chicago	Ruth Larned.....	New York City
Edith Terry Bremer.....	New York City	Florina Lasker.....	New York City
Jane Perry Clark.....	New York City	Read Lewis.....	New York City
Allen Eaton.....	New York City	Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer.....	Boston

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Mrs. Leo Bernstein.....	New York City	Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich.....	Chicago
Ethel Bird.....	New York City	Alice Sickels.....	St. Paul
Frank J. Bruno.....	St. Louis	George L. Warren.....	New York City
Mary McDowell.....	Chicago	Bessie B. Wessel.....	New London, Conn.
Alice O'Connor.....	Boston	Aghavnie Y. Yeghenian.....	New York City

DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman: Harry L. Lurie, New York City

Vice-Chairman: Agnes Van Driel, Chicago

Secretary: Walter West, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Edith M. H. Baylor.....	Boston	Forrester B. Washington.....	Atlanta
Philip Klein.....	New York City	Helen Leland Witmer.....	
Ellery F. Reed.....	Cincinnati		Northampton, Mass.

TERM EXPIRES 1935

R. E. Arne.....	Berkeley	Eva Smill.....	New Orleans
Irene Farnham Conrad.....	Syracuse	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall.....	Montgomery
Dorothy C. Kahn.....	Philadelphia		

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Ewan Clague.....	Philadelphia	Kate MacMahon.....	Boston
Leah Feder.....	St. Louis	Florence Sytz.....	New Orleans
S. C. Kohs.....	New York City	Aubrey Williams.....	Chicago

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Perry T. Denune, Columbus, Ohio, representing the State Conference Secretaries.
Sarah Ivins, New York City, representing the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.

M. J. Karpf, New York City, representing the American Association of Schools of Professional Social Work.

John D. Kenderdine, New York City, representing the *Survey*.
Ellen C. Potter, M. D., Trenton, N.J., representing the American Public Welfare Association.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman: E. C. Lindeman, New York City*Vice-Chairman:* David Liggett, Indianapolis*Secretary:* Paul Komora, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

D. M. LeBourdais...	Toronto	Elmer Scott.....	Dallas, Tex.
A. Wayne McMillen...	Chicago	Leon Whipple.....	New York City
Kenneth L. Messenger			

Wethersfield, Conn.

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Louise M. Clevenger...	St. Paul	Mary S. Sims.....	New York City
Olga Edith Gunkle...	Denver	Anne Sprague.....	Detroit
Albert H. Jewell...	Kansas City		

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Margaret Byington.....	New York City	Elizabeth Nutting.....	Dayton, Ohio
Arthur Guild.....	Richmond	Leroy Ramsdell.....	Hartford, Conn.
H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D.		Elizabeth Sanborn.....	Kansas City
	New York City	Virginia Wing.....	Cleveland

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Louise Franklin Bache, New York City, representing the Community Chests and Councils.

Maude Bryan Foote, Newark, N.J., representing the State Conference Secretaries.

Albert H. Jewell, Kansas City, representing the National Tuberculosis Association.

John D. Kenderdine, New York City, representing the *Survey*.

Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio, representing the Social Work Publicity Council.

PART III

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Sunday, June 11, 1933, 8:30 P.M.

The Secretary read the following appointments by the President upon the authorization of the Executive Committee: Committee on Elections: Clarence Pretzer, Rhode Island, Chairman; W. J. Adams, Oklahoma; Ada Baker, Iowa; L. A. Halbert, Washington, D.C.; Luella Harlin, Pennsylvania; A. A. Heckman, Minnesota; Helen Morton, Massachusetts; John Neal, Missouri; Kurt Peiser, Michigan; Ellery Reed, Ohio.

Committee on Tellers: Raymond Clapp, Ohio, Chairman; Louis W. Horne, Nebraska; Sarah B. Schaar, Illinois.

Wednesday, June 14, 1933, 11:00 A.M.

The regular annual business session of the Conference was called to order by the President, Frank J. Bruno.

The Secretary read the report of nominations for Division officers and committee members. (See Conference organization on p. 732). Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to elect the Division officers and committees as nominated.

The report of the Treasurer, Mr. C. C. Stillman, was then presented as follows:

Three statements appear herewith:

1. Cash income and expenditures, January 1 to May 31, 1933.

You will note that with all bills paid, there is a cash balance of \$48.82. Obviously, the important question about this statement centers around the hypothecation of income logically applicable to the balance of the fiscal year which is the calendar year. The situation in this respect is favorable, as appears in the next exhibit.

2. The budget and our present financial status.

Of \$25,000.00 budgeted for income from memberships, \$13,710.11 are accounted for, leaving \$11,289.89 to be secured, which is our reasonable expectation.

I call your attention especially to the Revised Budget of disbursements. Your President, Treasurer, and Secretary assumed that reductions, though greatly beyond the figures authorized by the Executive Committee, would meet your approval. Such reductions, involving both salary and personnel cuts, as were adjudged necessary were made with the full acquiescence of the executive staff, and in fact upon their suggestion. You will note that we are living within this revision.

3. Total actual and estimated receipts and expenditures, January 1 to December 31, 1933.

On the basis of this submission, there will be a balance of \$651.98 at the end of the year. Of course, the estimated income is the budget figure of \$15,289.89. If there is any "joke" in the picture, it lies here. I confidently believe, however, that by hard work all

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

around, the Secretary's ambition will be realized. At least it can be said with confidence that the National Conference of Social Work is in a solvent condition.

Be assured that the accomplishments to date, and those to be realized, have not been and will not be an easy task. It has required rigid economies in the administration of the Conference and for the balance of this year drastic reduction of staff which can be only a temporary measure. It will require that every member of the Conference renew membership promptly, that all persons who have an interest in what the Conference can do for social work will express that interest through membership. It assumes that all unpaid pledges of the special campaign last spring will be paid during the fiscal year.

You will be interested to learn the results of letter campaigns to secure extra funds. The Treasurer's letter requesting membership renewals, plus an extra dollar each, yielded \$264.00 cash plus \$47.00 in promises. Mr. Lee's letter, asking for contributions, yielded \$681.00 cash plus \$252.00 in promises. Five hundred dollars were received from the Committee on International Conference. These three items total \$1,445.00 in cash and \$299.00 in pledges.

I present this report with considerable satisfaction, and with expression of great appreciation of the patient and exacting service of the Executive and his staff, of Mr. Porter Lee's considerable help, and of the support, so generously rendered in these difficult times, of all friends of the Conference.

Questions or comments were requested from the floor. There being none, and upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to accept the report of the Treasurer.

MINUTES

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STATEMENT NO. I

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK CASH STATEMENT
(January 1-May 31, 1933)

Operating balance, January 1.....	\$ 660.35
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Receipts:

Memberships.....	\$14,775.11
Contributions.....	1,388.94
Sales, <i>Bulletin</i>	30.38
Sales, <i>Proceedings</i>	51.42
Refunds.....	71.05
Miscellaneous.....	256.06
	<hr/>
Total.....	16,572.96

Total receipts and balance.....	\$17,233.31
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*Expenditures:**

Salaries.....	\$ 6,677.81
Travel.....	1,649.75
Printing.....	3,764.99
Postage.....	1,333.31
Supplies.....	537.48
Telephone and telegraph.....	193.12
Rent and light.....	560.00
Equipment and repairs.....	160.73
Miscellaneous.....	244.95
Refund.....	62.35
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Total.....	15,184.49

Balance.....	\$ 2,048.82
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Unpaid bill.....	2,000.00
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Balance.....	\$ 48.82
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*Functional distribution of expenditures:

Administration.....	\$ 5,836.15
Membership and publicity.....	762.03
Annual meeting.....	500.53
<i>Proceedings and Index</i>	2,416.74
<i>Bulletin</i>	1,411.34
Office operation.....	4,194.10
Other.....	54.60
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$15,184.49

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

STATEMENT NO. II

BUDGET FOR 1933

Items	Budget for 1933 as Adopted by Exec. Com.	Reductions as of March 1	Revised Budget	Actual Income and Ex- penditures, Jan. 1- May 31	Budget Balance
Membership.....	\$25,000.00		\$25,000.00	\$13,710.11	\$11,289.89
Guaranties.....	2,000.00		2,000.00	.....	2,000.00
Registration fees.....	2,000.00		2,000.00	.....	2,000.00
Miscellaneous.....	1,000.00		1,000.00	1,797.85	.....
Total.....	\$30,000.00	.....	\$30,000.00	\$15,507.96	\$15,289.89
Salaries.....	\$14,920.00	\$2,722.47	\$12,147.53	\$ 5,609.91	\$ 6,537.62
Travel.....	3,050.00	500.00	2,550.00	955.75	1,594.25
Printing.....	7,300.00	1,200.00	6,100.00	1,528.17	4,571.83
Postage and express.....	2,150.00	500.00	1,650.00	820.31	829.69
Supplies.....	800.00		800.00	379.01	420.99
Telephone and telegraph.....	350.00		350.00	193.12	156.88
Rent.....	1,200.00	420.00	780.00	360.00	420.00
Equipment and repairs.....	150.00		150.00	135.09	14.91
Miscellaneous.....	400.00		400.00	197.09	202.91
Refunds.....				62.35	62.35
Total.....	\$30,320.00	\$5,392.47	\$24,927.53	\$10,240.80	\$14,686.73
General administration.....	\$10,950.00	\$ 966.67	\$ 9,983.33	\$ 4,573.32	\$ 5,410.01
Membership and publicity.....	1,700.00	718.30	981.70	619.56	362.14
Annual meeting.....	2,200.00	500.00	1,700.00	391.37	1,308.63
<i>Proceedings and Index</i>	5,700.00	1,100.00	4,600.00	174.45	4,425.55
<i>Bulletin</i>	2,400.00	250.00	2,150.00	788.34	1,361.66
Office operation.....	6,970.00	1,857.50	5,112.50	3,639.16	1,473.34
Other.....	400.00		400.00	54.60	345.40
Total.....	\$30,320.00	\$5,392.47	\$24,927.53	\$10,240.80	\$14,686.73

STATEMENT NO. III

TOTAL ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES,
JANUARY 1-DECEMBER 31

Total cash receipts, January 1-May 31	\$17,233.31
Estimated income, June 1-December 31	15,289.89
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	\$32,523.20
Total expenditures, January 1-May 31	\$15,184.49
Estimated expenditures, June 1-December 31	14,686.73
Unpaid 1932 bill	2,000.00
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	\$31,871.22
Estimated balance, December 31, 1933	651.98
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	\$32,523.20

The report of the Committee on Time and Place was presented by Mr. Harold J. Matthews, in the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Robert Lansdale, as follows:

The Committee on Time and Place of the National Conference of Social Work held two extensive sessions at which times the matter of where the Conference should hold its meeting in 1935 was given careful consideration. This was discussed from every angle and all details were fully weighed and debated.

As to time the Committee wishes to recommend that this be left to the judgment of the Executive Committee of the Conference and local committees of the city where the Conference will meet in 1935.

Four cities definitely invited the Conference for 1935, being: Montreal, Buffalo, Indianapolis, and Columbus. Delegations from each of these places appeared before the Committee and their respective cities were discussed fully. The Committee wishes to thank these people for their courtesy, the excellent information they brought to our attention, and most of all for inviting the National Conference to hold its annual meeting in their respective cities in 1935.

It was not an easy task to choose one of these places, any of which would have been an excellent place to hold our 1935 meeting; however, the matter eventually resolved itself down to a consideration of Buffalo and Montreal. This decision was reached after a consideration of location, guarantees offered, and other less important matters.

Because of the completely satisfactory nature of the financial pledges and guarantees presented; because of the unanimity and spirit of the invitation; because of the time that has elapsed since the Conference has met in this part of the country; because a six- or seven-hundred-mile radius includes the largest cities of the country and the most thickly populated sections; because the special attractiveness of the community makes an added inducement to our members; your Committee on Time and Place wishes to recommend that the National Conference of Social Work hold its annual meeting in 1935 in Montreal, Canada.

Discussion having been called for, and their being none, upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted unanimously to approve the recommendation of the Time and Place Committee, that the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work be held in Montreal, Canada, in 1935.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

Mrs. John M. Glenn, Chairman of the Committee on Second International Conference of Social Work, presented a summary of her report which is given below in full. Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report be accepted with an expression of appreciation and gratitude of the Conference to the Committee and the Chairman.

In making its final report your Committee on the Second International Conference of Social Work (appointed in October, 1930) would recall the fact that it was ten years ago at the Washington Conference that Dr. Rene Sand presented his proposal for an international conference of social work and called on our body to co-operate in the formulation of plans. At a general session of the same Conference, Dr. Alice Salomon gave voice to her convictions as to the need of united deliberation and action in our sphere. Her utterance may be taken as expressive of the attitude of our membership during the ten years which have intervened toward the conception of a permanently organized conference body on an international scale.

Dr. Salomon's words are advisedly quoted here, with a sense of reverence for and indebtedness to the spiritual and intellectual contributions of a colleague who is a present victim of the insensate forces of a distorted nationalism: "The social ideal . . . can be realized only in our relations with other human beings. . . . The underlying principle of our work [is] that we as social workers of the world are united in our attitude against [the] philosophy of individualism. Social work is a conception of life which must conquer individualism, which alone can reconstruct the world."

The special Committee on Relation of the National Conference of Social Work to the International Conference (appointed subsequent to the meeting of the First International Conference of Social Work in Paris in July, 1928) made definite recommendations which, having been adopted at the Boston Conference in 1930, were made the basis of your Committee's several undertakings. These recommendations were:

1. To promote membership from the United States in the International Conference of Social Work.
2. To promote (a) attendance on, (b) participation in, the Second International Conference of Social Work.
3. To make suggestion of subject matter and speakers from the United States.
4. To undertake any other responsibility requested by the executive board of the International Conference of Social Work.
5. To clarify the basis of membership.
6. To make full financial statements of the expenditures of the First International Conference as well as a budget for the Second.
7. To present to the Executive Committee of our own body, through the General Secretary, recommendations as to any special service which might be rendered to delegates from the United States in attendance at Frankfurt-am-Main which would tend to increase the derivable benefits.

Through the *Bulletins* of the National Conference our membership has been kept informed as to the way in which your Committee has covered the various items of its charge. In view of the *Bulletin* reports, of the printed statement as to the financing of the Second International Conference distributed in the summer of 1931, and of the printed program with its detailed statement as to services to be rendered to delegates, distributed in the winter of 1932, this final report does not repeat what is on record in the files of the National Conference and available for reference in many private offices and libraries.

To recapitulate briefly, however, your Committee would state in regard to:

1. Through the efforts of your Committee 292 five-dollar memberships in the Second

International Conference of Social Work were secured and forwarded to the international office.

2. (a) In spite of the economic depression more than 100 delegates from the United States were in attendance at Frankfurt-am-Main. This number represented one-twelfth of the total enrolment.

(b) A member of your Committee acted as president of the general sessions and made the opening address and the closing remarks. Two members gave papers at general sessions, one member and one other delegate made addresses at division meetings, one member acted as chairman of the meetings of one of the six divisions (program commissions).

Active part was taken by our delegates in the discussion of each of the division meetings and in the formulation of the summaries of the meetings presented at the closing session.

Each of our six commissions, headed each by a member of your Committee, having acted as working subcommittees, had material to submit at Frankfurt-am-Main, some of which had already appeared in the *International Bulletin*. Some of these data are of continuing value. All of it helped to determine the character of the discussions and to further an understanding of the types of experimentation the social workers of the United States are making. The November issue of the *Bulletin* contains summaries of the discussions of the six division (commission) meetings written by as many of our delegates in attendance.

The Chairman of your Committee would avail herself of this occasion to register recognition of the exceptional service rendered to the cause of international understanding of national social-work principles and practice by the sustained work of the chairmen and members of these several divisions of a total task.

3. The manner in which recommendation 2 was fulfilled is briefly covered in the above paragraph. It should be added that the secretaries-general of the International Conference were in constant correspondence with Mr. Knight and the Chairman as well as with Miss van Kleeck as a member of the Executive Board. The last proposed the theme of the Second International Conference of Social Work—"Social Work and the Family."

4. In response to the request of the Executive Board of the International Conference of Social Work, your Committee assumed responsibility for raising its proportion of the sum each national committee was asked to contribute to the international treasury in addition to securing five-dollar memberships. Our quota, based on size of population, was raised and presented at Frankfurt-am-Main. Our Committee recommended to the Executive Board that the quota plan be abandoned, that, in future, the International Conference of Social Work look to its national committees to secure contributions solely on the basis of memberships, these, if necessary for purposes of financing, to be of different categories. This recommendation was adopted.

5. The question of membership privileges was clarified in advance of the Frankfurt-am-Main meeting.

6. The statement issued in the summer of 1931 gave the estimated income and expenditures for the Second International Conference of Social Work.

7. Your Committee, with the indorsement of the Executive Committee, was privileged to make the distinctive contribution which was offered by the German-American Institute. Here again it is unnecessary to repeat what has been presented in print by way of advance information and report of accomplishment. The fact of special significance in June, 1933, is that in July, 1932, a group of approximately fifty social workers from the United States met for two days with leading German social workers. Through intimate exchange of experience and through the presentation by our German colleagues of a detailed picture of procedure and of goals of service, our representatives

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

saw social work in Germany in process of development. They realized that lessons were to be learnt which could be of peculiar value to us in the period of expansion of public aid on which we had entered. The presentation was realistic. It was skilfully placed against a political background and with modern tendencies in education held in view.

The action of the Executive Committee in releasing Mr. Knight, on request of the Executive Board of the International Conference of Social Work and with the recommendation of your Committee, to take the European trip in the summer of 1931 made possible the carrying-through of the German-American Institute, which may be accepted as the distinguishing feature of our participation in the Second International Conference. Other benefits of that trip are closely woven into the content of our total contribution.

The travel seminars, arranged for delegates, played also a significant rôle. Those who availed themselves of the chance to see different categories of social work in Europe under exceptionally favorable conditions of travel and elucidation were fewer in number than was anticipated when your Committee helped Mr. Knight to carry through his plan. This was due, of course, to the deepening financial stringency.

Your Committee, in expressing appreciation of the fact that the Executive Committee at its January meeting assumed the indebtedness of \$1,316.90 which represented the balance needed to cover the several items of expenditure assumed by your Committee with the approval of the Executive Committee, is relieved of its sense of residual financial obligation. It can report that since January, though no contractual responsibility rested on it, your Committee has secured two contributions of \$250.00 each specifically for the reduction of this indebtedness. Also in the campaign for contributions for the National Conference of Social Work sufficient contributions have been received from members of our Committee or through their efforts to wipe out completely the balance. The record is now clear.

To recapitulate here what has appeared in print:

The expenses of your Committee, including Mr. Knight's trip to Europe in the summer of 1931 and the cost of printing, postage, etc., was \$1,574.90. The remittances to the International Conference of Social Work were \$1,460.00 for memberships, \$1,740.15 for the quota; total, \$4,775.05.

May I state, as Chairman, that the record of the 33 members of your Committee for attendance at committee meetings, for contributions of thought to the shaping and fulfilment of its program, for the definite assumption of tasks, for repeated gifts of money, has been extraordinarily fine. But no member can fail to have a keen sense of the whole-hearted, unflagging, resourceful service of its Secretary, Mr. Knight.

Turning toward the Third International Conference, we should bear in mind:

1. The Conference will be held in England in the summer of 1936. (The Fourth International Conference is planned to be held in Prague in 1940.) It is pertinent to recall the invitation extended to the National Conference in 1925 by the National Council of Social Service to hold its 1927 session in England as a joint session of the two national bodies. The Denver Conference deemed it to be "inadvisable to interrupt the continuity of its own annual meetings in this country."

2. The theme chosen for 1936 is "The Home and the Community."

3. Sir Percy Alden is the Secretary-General for Great Britain as the country in which the meeting is held.

4. A balance of approximately \$6,000.00 of sums received from American foundations in the treasury of the International Conference of Social Work is held to further preparations for the next session. No requests for contributions are to be made outside Great Britain other than those accruing from memberships. A membership for the United States is one dollar for each year beginning with the present year, 1933.

In making announcement as to the membership fee, the international office has stated that memberships are payable to national committees. These committees may deduct a small amount from each membership to cover expenses incurred. Your Committee has asked Miss van Kleeck as a member of the Executive Board to request that this provision be clarified in the interest of sound accounting. Your Committee at its final session suggests that the new Committee on International Conference consider a membership fee of \$5.00 for members from the United States, of which \$4.00 shall be forwarded to the International Conference of Social Work in full payment of their membership fees and \$1.00 retained by the Committee on International Conference for its incidental expenses.

5. The stimulation of the collection of memberships should be immediate and continuous.

6. The importance of holding an institute in advance of the Conference should be given close consideration.

Your Committee regrets that, as yet, no report of proceedings has been received. No lengthy volumes such as were issued after the Paris Conference were contemplated. In their place a booklet was promised, which would be a record of procedures and (one might assume) would contain a brief digest or summary of the subject matter of the sessions. In view of the situation in Germany and of the incalculable pressure under which Dr. Polligkeit, the Secretary-General for Germany, who is responsible for publication, has labored, one can hardly assume a critical attitude to this regrettable delay.

Your Committee wishes to record its appreciation of the effective co-operation it has had since October, 1930, from the two secretaries-general, Dr. Polligkeit and Dr. Rene Sand. The indebtedness to the latter is dual in character. He has been during these ten, not alone these three years, an executive of a plan and the trustee of an ideal.

May your Committee, as a final word, bespeak a continuing and deepening interest on the part of our membership in the International Conference of Social Work. May such interest lead to generous support and to thoughtful furtherance of the third international conference. May this in trust be an embodiment of our conception of social life as necessarily fulfilled through translation into universal human terms. May we act as those who believe that in union of international social forces there is strength.

The Secretary read a resolution recommended by the Executive Committee as follows:

The experience of the last year or two has brought out clearly some of the weaknesses of the program organization in the National Conference of Social Work. The chief weaknesses are due to inflexibility and complexity. During the year there have been many suggestions made regarding possible modification of the program organization in order to make it more useful in the present emergency. Without going into detail regarding these weaknesses but also recognizing the many strengths in our program organization, we make the following recommendation:

Under our Constitution the Program Committee of the Conference of which the President is Chairman has among other responsibilities that of recommending from time to time any changes in the organization of the program that may seem desirable. It is, therefore, recommended that the Executive Committee instruct the Program Committee of the Conference as follows:

First, to study carefully the various suggestions that have been made relative to modification of program organization in the light of emergency needs and the probable situation in 1934 and recommend such changes as may seem desirable for the organization of the program at Kansas City in 1934 to the Executive Committee of the Conference at its fall meeting in October, 1933.

Second, to study carefully the whole divisional organization of the Conference, its weaknesses and its strengths, and to recommend to the Executive Committee such reorganization, changes, or modifications of our permanent program organization as may seem desirable. The recommendations should be made not later than the January, 1934, meeting of the Executive Committee in order to allow ample time for their presentation through the *Bulletin* to the membership of the Conference for action at the annual meeting in Kansas City in 1934.

It is suggested that the Executive Committee because of the importance of these two questions and the desirability of securing a variety of viewpoints may wish to authorize the Program Committee to enlarge its membership so far as its work on these recommendations may be concerned.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK J. BRUNO, President

HOWARD R. KNIGHT, General Secretary

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the recommendations of the Executive Committee be approved.

There being no further business, upon motion duly made and seconded the meeting adjourned.

Friday, June 16, 1933, 8:30 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Nominations of Officers for Election in 1934, Miss Alice M. Hill reporting in the absence of the Chairman, Miss Ruth Taylor, was called for and presented as follows: For President: Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington; First Vice-President: The Very Reverend Monsigneur Robert F. Keegan, New York City; Second Vice-President: Helen Hall, Philadelphia; Third Vice-President: C. Whit Pfeiffer, Kansas City. For members of the Executive Committee: Mary Irene Atkinson, Columbus, Ohio; Stanley P. Davies, New York City; Samuel A. Goldsmith, Chicago; John F. Hall, Seattle; Mrs. Blanche L. LaDu, St. Paul; Rev. Daniel N. McLachlan, Toronto; Kate McMahon, Boston; Roberta Morgan, Birmingham; John Slawson, New York City; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta.

The report of the Committee on Tellers, the result of the election of 1933 being called for, was presented by Mr. Raymond Clapp, Chairman of the Committee on Tellers, as follows:

The following officers have been elected as a result of the election of the preceding Wednesday and Thursday: For President: William Hodson, New York City; First Vice-President: J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President: Mary L. Gibbons, New York City; Third Vice-President: Joel D. Hunter, Chicago. For members of the Executive Committee: Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; William J. Ellis, Trenton, N.J.; William Hodson, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington; H. L. Lurie, New York City.

Saturday, June 17, 1933, 1:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. John Bradway, Chairman, was called for and presented as follows:

I. *Resolved*, That the National Conference of Social Work express its deep regret at the passing of Mrs. Bertha Freeman Hooper who for twenty years served on the staff. Her contacts with the national leaders of the social-work group in Boston prior to her coming with the Conference gave her broad and sympathetic understanding of its problems. Her work in editing the *Proceedings* year after year brought her in touch with everyone. She was greatly beloved. Her passing brings home to all who knew her a realization that her contribution cannot be duplicated.

II. WHEREAS, The 1933 National Conference of Social Work has found Detroit a gracious and hospitable host, and

WHEREAS, the members and delegates to the Conference have benefited by the efficient arrangements for the work of the Conference; and

WHEREAS, All who have attended the various sessions have profited by the timely, earnest, and stimulating programs presented; now be it

Resolved, That this Conference express to the city of Detroit its appreciation for the interest and support of the *Proceedings* of the Conference; that this Conference extends to Tracy W. McGregor, Chairman of the Detroit Committee; Earl N. Parker, Secretary; and to the other members of the Detroit Committee individually and collectively its deep appreciation of their work in behalf of the Conference members and delegates;

That particular acknowledgements are due the Detroit social workers who gave so freely and generously of their time and effort during the long weeks of planning for the Conference.

III. WHEREAS, The Hotel Men's Association of the city of Detroit on being apprised of the grave emergency facing Conference officials in finding a new way to finance the necessary minimum expenses volunteered to underwrite an irreducible minimum and otherwise to arrange for the comfort of the officers, delegates, and visitors; and

WHEREAS, The Hotel Men's Association gave their rooms for meeting purposes, supplied the unfailing and courteous service of their employees, and co-operated in every way to make this Conference one of the most outstanding in our history;

Resolved, That the National Conference of Social Work extend to the Hotel Men's Association of the city of Detroit and through it to all organizations and individuals who have made possible this Conference grateful thanks and appreciation.

IV. WHEREAS, The National Conference of Social Work is composed of workers of all classes; and

WHEREAS, During the past year a great share of the burden of social work in the United States has fallen upon the workers who ordinarily do not receive the acclaim that comes to those who appear on our programs; now be it

Resolved, That the recognition and thanks of the Conference be extended to these unsung workers of the ranks who have cheerfully held the first-line trenches and have supplied a dependable foundation for social progress in the midst of confusion. Because of their unselfish sacrifice the future holds a promise that challenges the best efforts of all of us; and

V. WHEREAS, During the past year the leadership of the National Conference of Social Work has been of an unusually high order; and

WHEREAS, The problems to be disposed of were unusually perplexing and at times almost insurmountable; now be it

Resolved, That the National Conference of Social Work record its lasting obligation to its President, Frank J. Bruno, and its Secretary, Howard R. Knight, who by their courage, vision, inspiration, and untiring effort in the face of all obstacles have given us a program which has stabilized, stimulated, and inspired us and completely changed the

atmosphere from one of depression to well-founded optimism. Through their leadership the delegates carry back to their own communities a vivid sense of the inherent vitality of social work in a period of national crisis.

Upon motion duly made and seconded the report of the Committee on Resolutions was unanimously accepted.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned to meet in Kansas City, May 20-26, 1934.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *Secretary*

PART IV

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State board and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all the Division Committees, ex-officio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided by the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

I. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in

such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the Next Meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, and six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Division and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to Division Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Division Committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference program, either General Sessions or Divisions. Where such commitments are made for Division programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Division involved or with its hearty cooperation and consent, and for not more than two of the five meetings now allowed each division.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Divisions.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions as from time to time may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

5. DIVISIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Administration of Public Social Work.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the

annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

9. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. DIVISION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except General Sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairman of Divisions shall preside at section meetings of their Divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:00 P.M. of the fourth day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the

committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the General Session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1 preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be the so called Cleveland ballot, and shall be so prepared that the member may vote for as many candidates as he may desire, in order of preference.

8. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls. Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office, but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the polling place provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period during which said polling place is officially open. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

9. A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference, to be open for at least four hours, at such times as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired, the ballots shall be counted by a committee of three tellers appointed by the President, and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. The ballots shall be counted and election determined by the so called Hare method. Regulations for the application of this method shall be developed by the Executive Committee, and shall be furnished to the committee of tellers for their instruction.

10. The Nominating Committee appointed for the Conference year 1931-32 shall prepare a list of nominations for election at the annual Conference of 1932, which election shall be conducted as provided in the Constitution and By-Laws as of June 1, 1931. They shall also prepare a list of nominations for election at the annual Conference of 1933, which election shall be conducted as provided in sections 1-9, above.



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